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Christos Tsagalis

EARLY GREEK EPIC FRAGMENTS I

ANTIQUARIAN AND GENEALOGICAL EPIC



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Early Greek Epic Fragments I

Trends in Classics – Supplementary Volumes

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Volume 47

Christos Tsagalis

Early Greek Epic Fragments I

Antiquarian and Genealogical Epic

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In Memoriam
Martin Litchfield West

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Preface

I have benefited from comments on selected passages from Guido Bastianini, Marta Cardin, Albio Cesare Cassio, Angelos Chaniotis, Andrea Debiasi, Marco Fantuzzi, Patrick Finglass, Nikos Litinas, Daniel Ogden, Marco Perale, Filippomaria Pontani, Antonios Rengakos, and Kyriakos Tsantsanoglou. I am also pleased to express my debt to the following colleagues and former students from whom I have received assistance with respect to bibliographical issues: Alberto Bernabé, Marco Fantuzzi, Franco Montanari, Athanassios Vergados, Maria Vassiliadou, Styliani Papastamati, Katerina Toumanidou, Martin Vöhler; also Stephanie Roussou and Enrico Emanuele Prodi, the former for sending me the text of her forthcoming critical edition of Pseudo-Arcadios' epitome of Herodian's *Peri katholikes prosoidias*, the latter for allowing me to access his DPhil thesis on Pindar's *Prosodia*. Special thanks are due to Malcolm Davies who shared with me in more than one occasions his views on some epic fragments, read parts of my work, and alerted me to the existence of specialized studies on particular issues pertaining to textual criticism and fragment editing.

This project would not have been completed without the generous help and support of the following institutions: the Center for Hellenic Studies at Washington DC, the Widener Library at Harvard, the Libraries of Classics-Ancient History and Archaeology-History of Art of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and the Institute of Classical Studies at London. I would also like to express my thanks to the Center for Hellenic Studies at Washington and its Director Greg Nagy for electing me as Fellow in the spring of 2014. It was during this semester that I was able to work under ideal conditions, make real progress, and complete a first draft of the commentary. I also gratefully acknowledge two research grants awarded to me by the Foundation for Education and European Culture (IPEP) and the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki that allowed me to acquire a number of rare books I was not able to find in Greece, as well as carry out some further research in London. Some of my ideas were presented in papers read to audiences in Delphi (European Cultural Center), Ithaca NY (Cornell), London (UCL), and Washington (CHS). It was in these venues that I benefited from discussions with Anton Bierl, David Bouvier, Ewen Bowie, Charles Britain, Chris Carey, Ettore Cingano, Douglas Frame, Greg Nagy, Jeff Rusten, Hayden Pellicia, Pietro Pucci, and Anthony Snodgrass. I would also like to express my gratitude to Antonios Rengakos both for constantly reminding me of the importance of this project and for

accepting (together with Franco Montanari) my work in the series *TCSV* of De Gruyter. My debt to the Department of Classics at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, in which I have been working for the last eight years, is something I can hardly describe in words. Its commitment to excellence, collegiate atmosphere, and firm decision to be truly international have steadily allowed me to grow as scholar. It is indeed rewarding to work alongside such inspired colleagues under the shadow of Olympos.

Now, two personal notes. I owe an immense amount of gratitude to Martin West, who has read the entire commentary from beginning to end during the Fall of 2014. His philological acumen, vast knowledge of Greek literature, and unique ability to combine sharpness for detail with balanced judgment for the larger context have saved me from various mistakes and allowed me to improve my work. He is virtually everywhere in this volume and I only regret that it was not published before his untimely death so that he could see it in print.

My wife Anna Lamari was, as always, there for me while this demanding project was in the making. I am profoundly grateful to her for the life I have been enjoying at her side together with our two little angels, Alexia and Konstantina.

Note on Citation System and Spelling of Greek Names

Fragment numbers referring to antiquarian and genealogical epic are those of the present edition, for which I am using the abbreviation *EGEF* (Early Greek Epic Fragments). When a fragment is first presented in the relevant section of each epic, I also provide the numbering of the three major modern editions (*PEG* [Bernabé],¹ *EGF* [Davies], and *GEF* [West]). At the end of the volume I have appended a detailed numerical comparison of the fragments included in this edition with all the main editions of epic fragments (Kinkel, Allen, Bernabé, Davies, West). Fragments with an asterisk indicate citations deprived of an explicit ascription.

With respect to the spelling of Greek proper names absolute consistency is impossible. I have adopted the system employed by R. L. Fowler in his *Early Greek Mythography*, vol. 2 (Oxford 2013), and transliterate most Greek personal and place names (Achilleus, Hellanikos, Lykourgos, Melampous, Sophokles) with very few exceptions, when the English spelling is too common (e.g. Helen, Cilicia but Kopais, Crete but Krates, Corinth [the city] / Korinthos [the person]). Still, I have rendered Greek χ as *ch* and not as *kh*. In the rare case that a name is half Roman, half Greek, I have opted for the Latin spelling (e.g. Ioannes Laurentius Lydus).

In the case of titles of ancient works, I have used the transliterated Greek form for works written in Greek (*Bibliothēke*, *Peri eusebeias*, *Peri menon*) and the Latin form for works written in Latin (*Fabulae*). I have kept exceptions to this rule to a minimum by employing the traditional anglicized spelling even at the cost of consistency: *Oedipodea* but *Titanomachy* and *Telegony*, *Iliad* but *Thebais*, *Danais*, and *Phokais*, *Epigoni* but *Nostoi*, *Cypria* but *Korinthiaka*.

Introduction

The shadow Homer, Hesiod, and the Homeric Hymns have cast on our knowledge and appreciation of the rest of archaic Greek epic can be seen even in the fact that Kinkel's edition of epic fragments (1877) lasted for exactly 110 years. Although things have changed since, as in the last three decades there have been three editions of the relevant material (A. Bernabé 1987; M. Davies 1988; M. L. West 2003), there are still pressing needs in the field of fragmentary epic poetry, such as the lack of a running commentary. In this respect, the statement made by the initial sentence of this introduction is even more true, since the standard commentary on Cyclic epic was, until very recently, almost a century old,² while Marckscheffel's commentary on antiquarian and genealogical epic dates from 1840. The publication of two running commentaries, on the Trojan and Theban epics by M. L. West (2013) and M. Davies (2014) respectively, as well as on the *Aethiopis* (again by Davies, 2016), are strong indications that there is a growing interest in fragmentary early Greek hexameter poetry. In the meantime, there have been several studies that 'have kept the fire burning': G. L. Huxley's *Greek Epic Poetry: From Eumelos to Panyassis* (1969), M. Davies' *The Greek Epic Cycle* (1989), A. Debiasi's *L'epica perduta* (2004), G. Scafoglio's edited volume *Studies on the Greek Epic Cycle*, vol. 1 (2014), and A. Debiasi's *Eumelo. Un poeta per Corinto con ulteriori divagazioni epiche* (2015). My personal involvement with fragmentary Greek epic has its roots in my interest in the Epic Cycle and its importance for the interpretation of Homeric poetry. The first fruits of this engagement with Cyclic epic can be seen in the *Greek Epic Cycle and its Ancient Reception* (2015) that I have co-edited with Marco Fantuzzi.

With respect to the criteria employed for inclusion of relevant material, I have been influenced by both the skeptical attitude of M. Davies (*Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta*, Göttingen 1988) and the balanced approach of M. L. West (*Greek Epic Fragments*, Cambridge MA and London 2003). In the case of Eumelos, the only author to whom more than one epic has been ascribed, I have used the following practice. Those fragments which, although deprived of an ascription to author and poem, I consider genuine and can safely be placed in a given poem, are included in the text of this poem with an asterisk attached to them. I have classified fragments ascribed to Eumelos but of uncertain placement under *fragmenta incerti carminis*. Last, I have classified as *fragmentum sine ascriptione fortasse ad Titanomachiam pertinens* a single fragment deprived of any sort of ascription that can only tentatively be

attributed to Eumelos. I have also taken pains to determine as impartially as possible whether some recent ‘discoveries’ should be included in an edition of the relevant material.³ In this particular case, my silence indicates that I have not been convinced, not that I have ignored the relevant bibliography.

Text

(i) Direct tradition

There are only three fragments belonging to the direct tradition, two of which are transmitted by papyri and one by an inscription.

P. Harris I.3 dates to the first or second century AD and was first published by Powell (1936). It contains a fragmentary hexameter text that has been attributed to Eumelos’ *Titanomachy* (fr. dub. *37 *EGEF*). Since then it has attracted considerable scholarly attention mainly with respect to the identification of the epic to which these hexameters belong.⁴ There is a recent, excellent commentary by D’Alessio⁵ and a forthcoming full-scale edition by Perale.⁶

Papyrus Ibscher

This papyrus dates to the first century BC and contains a hexameter text referring to the journey of Theseus and Peirithoos to the Underworld, so that Peirithoos takes Persephone as his wife. The extant fragment belongs to the encounter with the dead Meleagros. The fragment has been attributed either to the ‘Hesiodic’ epic *Peirithou katabasis* (fr. 280 M-W) or the *Minyas* (fr. dub. *6 *EGEF*). It was first edited by Merkelbach (1950) with successive additions in (1952) and (1958).⁷ Bernabé (*PEG*) and West (*GEF*) both include it in their proper editions of epic fragments, whereas Davies (*EGF*) excludes it, since he believes that it comes from the *Peirithou katabasis*.

Tabulae Iliacae (Kin. test. 3; Dan. test. 1, see also fr. 2)

The *Tabulae Iliacae*, a group of carved stone plaques employing images and text to summarize Greek mythical and historical tales, offer invaluable help as sources for Homeric and Cyclic poetry. With respect to this edition, one *tabula* gives information concerning the poet Kinaithon (*IG* 14.1292 ii 11 = Tabula Iliaca K [Borgia]), the size of the epic *Danais* (*IG* 14.1292 ii 10 = Tabula Iliaca 10K [Borgia]), and possibly information pertaining to its content (*IG* 14.1292 ii 10 (= Tabula Iliaca 10K [Borgia], g1–7). I have used the edition of Sadurska (1964), as well as the important studies by Valenzuela Montenegro (2004), Squire (2011), and Petrain (2014).

(ii) Indirect tradition

The vast majority of fragments of antiquarian and genealogical epic belong to the indirect tradition, since they survive as quotations in ancient and mediaeval authors. There is only one papyrus fragment pertaining to the indirect tradition. In this section I aim to inform readers about the editions used and also offer, when needed, some clarification with respect to the relevant quotations.

Apollodoros (Eum. *Tit.* frr. *6, *7, *9; Asios fr. 9; Carm. Naup. fr. 10^C)

For the *Bibliothèque* of Apollodoros (not Apollodoros of Athens) I use Wagner's *editio maior*. I have also consulted Papatthomopoulos' more recent edition.

Apollodoros of Athens? (*Phor.* fr. 6)

P.Oxy. 2260 is the sole papyrus fragment that may belong to the indirect tradition. It contains discussions of Athena's weapons and the etymology of the name Pallas. Merkelbach⁸ has argued that the text may belong to Apollodoros' of Athens *Peri theon*. Gaertner remains skeptical about this attribution.⁹

Athenaios (Eum. *Tit.* frr. 8, 12, 15; Asios test. 2, fr. 13)

Athenaios' text is preserved in three manuscripts, Marcianus gr. 447 (A) offering an unabridged version but lacking everything from 1a until 3.73a and also some other folios, and dated to the end of the ninth or the beginning of the tenth c. AD, Parisinus suppl. gr. 841 (C), dated 1456–1506, and Laurentianus 60.2 (E), dated around the end of the 15th c. AD. The Parisinus and Laurentianus manuscripts are epitomes descending from an earlier epitome that may have had another source besides Marcianus. I have used the edition of Kaibel and also consulted Olson's Loeb. One of the fragments included in this commentary (Eum. *Tit.* fr. 8) comes from book 1 of Athenaios that survives only as an epitome.¹⁰

Clement of Alexandria (Eum. *Tit.* fr. 14, Eur. fr. 1; Dan. fr. 1; Phor. frr. 1, 4)

All the fragments quoted by Clement belong to the *Stromateis*. I have used Stählin's edition (1905–1934).

***Epimerismi Homerici* (Eum. *Tit.* fr. 1^B)**

Only a single fragment from Eumelos' *Titanomachy* is cited in the *Epimerismi Homerici*, a commentary containing grammatical analysis and definitions of Homeric words, in the manner of Byzantine school tradition. The cited fragment comes from the second volume of the standard edition by Dyck (1983–1995) consisting in the alphabetical *epimerismi*, i.e. it represents a later stage of placing in alphabetical order all the Homeric *epimerismi* that initially

were arranged in the order the words occurred in the actual epics.¹¹

Etymologica (*Phor.* fr. 5)

There is only one fragment that is reported in both the *Etymologicum Genuinum* and the *Etymologicum Magnum*. For the former, which is the oldest (9th c. AD) and most important of Byzantine etymological lexica, I have repeated the information presented in Davies (*EGF*), who has been informed on this point by Alpers. Unfortunately, there is no complete edition of the *Etymologicum Genuinum* and V. Casadio's preliminary edition of the letter ε is only piecemeal (1990–1993, *MCr* 25–8: 379–408). For the *Etymologicum Magnum* (12th c. AD) I have used the full-scale edition of Gaisford (1848). For an informative overview, see Dickey (2007) 91–2.

Favorinus (*Eum. Kor.* frr. *17, *23 *EGEF*)

The *Corinthian oration* by Favorinus of Arelate, an erudite Roman sophist and philosopher whose *floruit* is placed during the reign of Hadrian (117–38 AD), is the source of two fragments from Eumelos' *Korinthiaka*. The attribution has been made by Barigazzi (1966a) and has been approved and endorsed in all three major editions of Greek epic fragments (*PEG*, *EGF*, *GEF*). I cite Favorinus from Barigazzi's edition (1966b) and have consulted his excellent presentation of Favorinus in *ANRW* 34.1, 556–81 (for the *Corinthian oration*, see 573–4).

Harpokration (*Dan.*, fr. 2 *EGEF*)

Following the practice of Davies and Finglass in their recent commentary on Stesichoros, I cite Harpokration from Dindorf's edition (1853), since Keaney's more recent edition (1991) is rather problematic. For a brief presentation of the relevant problems, see Dickey (2007) 94.

Herodian (*Carm. Naup.* fr. 2)

This fragment is attested in Herodian's *Peri monerous lekseos*, a grammatical treatise devoted to the study of anomalous words. I have cited the relevant fragment from Lentz's edition (*GG* iii.ii, 908–52) that is basically accurate, since this is the sole work of Herodian preserved in its original wording. Lentz's edition reprints Lehrs' text (1848, 7–189) but without the commentary. For some further improvements, see the summaries of Dyck (1993, 790–1) and Dickey (2007, 77).

Hesychios (*Eum. Tit.* fr. *5)

For Hesychios' *Lexikon* I have used the now complete edition in 4 vols. by Latte (1953: A–Δ, 1966: E–O), Hansen (2005: Π–Σ), and Hansen and Cunningham (2009: T–Ω).

Hyginus (Eum. *Tit.* fr. 11)

Although Hyginus' citation is deprived of an ascription, it has good chances to be reflecting Eumelos' *Titanomachy*, since it refers to the names of the Sun's horses, which we know (see Σ (T) Hom. *Il.* 23.295b [V 415.80–2 Erbse]) that they featured in Eumelos' epic. For Hyginus I have used the edition by Marshall (2002²).

Ioannes Laurentius Lydus (Eum. *Tit.* fr. 2)

Only a single fragment referring to the birthplace of Zeus in Eumelos' *Titanomachy* is attested in the work *Peri menon* by Ioannes Laurentius Lydus, a true man of letters, whose antiquarian knowledge was remarkable. I am citing Lydus from Wuensch's edition (1898).

Pausanias (Eum. *Kor.* fr. 16, *17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, *Eur.* fr. 30; *Kin.* fr. 1–2, 4–5; *Asios* fr. 1, 3–8, 11–12; *Heg.* fr. 1; *Chers.* fr. 1; *Carm. Naup.* fr. 9, 11; *Min.* fr. 1–4; *Phor.* fr. 7–8)

Pausanias is the most important source for fragmentary genealogical and antiquarian archaic epic with no less than 32 fragments. I have used the Teubner edition of Rocha-Pereira (1989).

Pausimachos (*Min.* fr. dub. *7)

The sole fragment from Pausimachos that is attested in Philodemos' *Peri poiematon* was noticed by Janko (2000) and subsequently introduced in West's *GEF* (2003). Pausimachos was a radical euphonist whose *floruit* must be placed around 200 BC. I have cited Pausimachos' fragment from Janko (2000).

Philodemos (Eum. *Tit.* fr. 1A, 10, *Eur.* fr. 27; *Dan.* fr. 3; *Carm. Naup.* fr. 10A–B; *Min.* fr. 5)

All fragments cited by Philodemos come from *Peri eusebeias*. Since the longawaited edition by Obbink has not been completed, I have decided to cite it *teste* West (*GEF*), who has had access to Obbink's forthcoming work. Although Gomperz's old edition is clearly surpassed by what I have seen from Obbink's work, I have cited it in all those cases that I had not access to Obbink's forthcoming edition through West (*GEF*).

Scholia to Apollonios Rhodios (Eum. *Tit.* fr. 3, 13, *Kor.* 16, 22, 26, *Eur.* fr. 31; *Carm. Naup.* fr. 3–8; *Phor.* fr. 2)

Wendel is still the best edition, despite some problems (see Dickey 2007, 62–3). The work of Lachenaud is not a new edition (2010), since it reproduces Wendel's text.

Scholia to Euripides (Eum. *Kor.* fr. 18, 21)

For the two scholia to Eur. *Med.* I have employed and cited Schwartz's edition, since Mastronarde's online edition of the Euripidean scholia is not yet complete and does not include the scholia to *Medeia*.

Scholia to Hesiod (Eum. fr. incert. carm. 36)

For Tzetzes' scholia to Hesiod's *Works and Days* I have used Gaisford's edition (1823). For the rich scholia to Hesiod, see West's excellent presentation (1978, 63–75) and more recently Dickey's fine overview (2007, 40–2). I have also consulted the forthcoming edition of Tzetzes' scholia to Hesiod's *Works and Days* by M. Cardin that prints the same text (concerning the fragment of Eumelos) with Gaisford's edition.

Scholia Homerica (Eum. *Tit.* fr. 11, *Eur.* fr. 29; Kin. fr. 3; Asios fr. 10; *Carm. Naup.* fr. 1)

All but one of these fragments are cited in scholia to the *Iliad*. For the scholia vetera transmitted by T (Townleianus), I have used Erbse's edition, while for the D-scholia I have employed van Thiel's online edition. For the single scholium to the *Odyssey*, I have used the second volume (books γ–δ) of Pontani's new edition which has now reached the letter ζ (3 vols. to date).

Scholia to Lykophron (Eum. *Kor.* fr. 18)

The single fragment pertaining to the scholia to Lykophron's *Alexandra* 174 and 1024 is cited according to Scheer's edition (1908), since it comes from Tzetzes' scholia. When a reference to an old scholium is used, I cite the editions by both Scheer and Leone (2002).

Scholia to Pindar (Eum. *Kor.* fr. 18)

For Pindar's scholia I have used Drachmann's edition (1903–1927).

Servius auctus (Eum. *Tit.* fr. 3, *4)

I am citing Servius according to the edition by Thilo-Hagen (1878–1902).

Strabo (Asios fr. 2; *Phor.* fr. 3)

For Strabo's *Geographika* I have used the excellent recent edition of Radt (2002–2011).

Tzetzes

For the *Exegesis Iliados* I have used the edition of Papathomopoulos (2007).

Virgil (Eum. *Tit.* fr. 3)

This fragment, like the ones transmitted by Servius, is deprived of an ascription. Nevertheless, I have followed West,¹² who conjectured that certain

details pertaining to the *Titanomachy* have reached Virgil and the Virgilian commentators.

Presentation of the material

The material is organized by author or work (when the author is unknown). When multiple works by the same author survive (as in the case of Eumelos), the commentary is presented by work. Internally, first comes the text followed by translation (with continuous numeration when the author is the same, e.g. Eumelos), and then the commentary, which comprises two parts: (i) information and discussion about the author and title(s) of his work(s), sources, plot, style, and date; (ii) commentary proper on each fragment.

Text

Under *testimonia*, which I number separately before the fragments in the section pertaining to the text, I include only information pertaining to the life and work of an author. In the cases in which this information also contains material pertaining to the content of his poetry, I have classified it only under *fragmenta*, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition. My decision to provide readers both with a critical apparatus and an English translation asks for some justification. As far as the critical apparatus is concerned, I provide the reader with textual variants and emendations pertaining either to the text of a secondary source framing the actual poetic quotation or to the quoted text itself only when they are crucial for the interpretation of given fragment.¹³ I regularly discuss in the commentary all those cases where textual variation is significant for understanding the citation at hand. Sigla refer to the edition of the text from which the fragment under discussion is quoted. When multiple sources are used in the critical apparatus of a given fragment, I provide the reader with the relevant sigla in a footnote to avoid confusion.¹⁴ I offer translation into English of all the extant fragments because I consider translation an integral and indispensable part of the process of interpretation.¹⁵ It is often the case that readers (especially, but not only, students) of ancient languages have the impression of understanding a given passage when they only get the gist. But it is not until we try to translate it into another language that we fully confront the text's mechanics and problems. This surprising, and at times annoying, realization is even more at home in the case of fragmentary texts, of the sort analyzed in this book. Translation, therefore, is crucial to the process of interpretation.

Commentary

Author and title of poem

In this section I present the material pertaining to the life and/ or *floruit* of the author of the given epic (with the exception of poems for which we have no surviving ascription). The title of a poem is also examined with respect to: (a) whether it is used for other poems of a later date about the content of which we know more; (b) its formation that may allow us to group it together with other titles shaped in the same manner.

Sources

This section contains enumeration and classification of all the sources available. It offers an overview of both the extent to which this poem was known in antiquity and the particular period or periods it became more popular. A careful consideration of the sources *in toto* can shed light on several important issues: for how long was the poem known in the original? When did people start to quote it by intermediate sources? Was it always known in a single version or were there more available? Did it fall into oblivion and attract interest again in a later date? Was there an episode or particular part of the poem that became more popular and why? Is this development to be connected with the taste of a particular age or genre that functioned as the vehicle for the ‘rediscovery’ of this epic in later times?

Plot

With the exception of the Trojan section of the Epic Cycle we hardly have any systematic narration of the plot of any fragmentary archaic Greek epic. But even in the case of the poems of the Epic Cycle, the summaries given by Proklos in his *Chrestomathy* are, for all their accuracy, characterized by a fair amount of ellipsis, since they omit certain episodes that we know from other sources and we can accommodate to the existing summaries. Reconstructing the plot of a fragmentary archaic Greek epic is not easy, but it is essential for the ordering of the fragments, the discussion of the size of the poem and the extent of material it covered, as well as its interpretation. I have hereby followed as closely as possible the advice of Wagner with the modification added by West that (despite being written in reference to Cyclic poetry) can be applied *mutatis mutandis* to genealogical and antiquarian epic of the archaic period:

‘In any attempt at reconstruction we must seek above all to attain a lively conception of how the available dry data about the content may have looked in the broad treatment of the poem itself’.¹⁶ ‘We must be guided in this by our knowledge of epic compositional technique as we see it in the Homeric poems, while recognizing that the Cyclic epics were less expansive and may have been in some respects less accomplished’.¹⁷

Style of the Poem

By style of the poem I am referring to the overall conception and presentation

of the main theme. In this section I will deal with issues pertaining to the way the central topic of the epic is carried out and, if possible, of the literary qualities the poem displays.

Date

In this section I will be discussing the date of composition of the poem by means of external and internal evidence. Even when information concerning the lifetime of the author of the poem is known, we must treat it with some reservation, each time evaluating the source it comes from. In general, I have tried to make decisions on balance and, especially, by giving weight to cumulative indications.

Fragments

This section contains detailed analysis of each and every fragment, which takes the larger part of the commentary and corresponds to their order and numeration presented in the section pertaining to the text of a given author and/ or poem.

Eumelos of Corinth

Text, Critical Apparatus, and Translation

Testimonia

Test. 1 Clem. *Strom.* 1.131.8 (II 82 Stählin)

Σιμωνίδης μὲν οὖν κατὰ Ἀρχίλοχον φέρεται, Καλλῖνος δὲ πρεσβύτερος οὐ μακρῶν· τῶν γὰρ Μαγνήτων ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίλοχος ἀπολωλὸς, ὁ δὲ εὐημερούντων μέμνηται· Εὐμηλος δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἐπιβεβληκέναι Ἀρχίαι τῷ Συρακούσας κτίσαντι.

Simonides is said to have been contemporary with Archilochos, and Kallinos not much older; for Archilochos mentions the Magnetes as having been defeated, while Kallinos (mentions them) as being thriving. And Eumelos of Corinth, who was older, (is said) to have overlapped with Archias who founded Syracuse.

Test. 2 Clem. *Strom.* 6.26.7 (II 443 Stählin)

τὰ δὲ Ἡσιόδου μετέλλαξαν εἰς πεζὸν λόγον καὶ ὥς ἴδια ἐξήνεγκαν Εὐμηλὸς τε καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος οἱ ἱστοριογράφοι.

Both Eumelos and Akousilaos the historians converted Hesiod's poetry to prose and presented them as their own work.

Test. 3 Euseb. (Hieron.) *Chron.* Ol. 5.2 = 759 BC (p. 87^A, 20–3 Helm); cf. eundem [Armen.] *Chron.* Ol. 3.4 = 765 BC (p. 181 Karst)

Eumelus poeta, qui Bugoniam et Europiam ... composuit ... agnoscitur.

The poet Eumelos, who composed the *Bougonia* and the *Europia*, is recognized.

Test. 4 Euseb. (Hieron.) *Chron.* Ol. 9.2 = 743 BC (p. 89^B, 5–6 Helm); cf. ib. [Armen.] *Chron.* Ol. 9.1 = 744 BC (p. 182 Karst)

Eumelus Corinthius versificator agnoscitur et Sibylla Erythraea.

Cf. Cyrill. *Contra Iulian.* 1.12 (*Patrol. Gr.* lxxvi. 520D): ἐννάτη Ὀλυμπιάδι Εὐμηλον (Marcksch. : Θύμηλον cod.) ἐποποιὸν γενέσθαι φασὶ καὶ Σίβυλλαν τὴν Ἐρυθραίαν.

The Corinthian poet Eumelos is recognized and the Erythraean Sibyl. They say that the epic poet Eumelos and the Erythraean Sibyl are dated to the ninth Olympiad.

Test. 5 Σ Pind. O. 13.31a (I 364.7–9 Drachmann): ‘έν δὲ Μοῖσ’ ἀδύπνοος’

ποῦ δὲ ἡ μουσικὴ ἀνθεῖ καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀλλαχοῦ; τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὸν Εὐμηλον (corr. Gyraldus : Εὐμολπον Σ) ὄντα Κορίνθιον καὶ γράψαντα Νόστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων.

In what other place does music and war flourish? This (is said) because of Eumelos who was a Corinthian and wrote *The Return of the Greeks*.

Test. 6 Paus. 4.4.1 (I 278.16–20 Rocha-Pereira)

ἐπὶ δὲ Φίντα τοῦ Συβότα πρῶτον Μεσσήνιοι τότε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐς Δῆλον θυσίαν καὶ ἀνδρῶν χορὸν ἀποστέλλουσι· τὸ δὲ σφισιν ἄισμα προσόδιον ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἐδίδαξεν Εὐμηλος, εἶναι τε ὡς ἀληθῶς Εὐμήλου νομίζεται μόνα τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα.

In the time of Phintas, son of Sybotas, the Messenians sent for the first time a sacrifice and a male chorus to Apollo at Delos; Eumelos produced their processional song for the god, and it is rightly assumed that these verses are the only ones written by Eumelos.

Fragmenta

Τιτανομαχία

Fr. 1^A Philod. *Peri eusebeias* B 4677 Obbink (= p. 61 Gomperz) [= fr. 1 PEG = 1^A EGF = 1 GEF]

ὁ δὲ τὴν Τι[τανο]μαχίαν γρά[ψας] ἐξ] Αἰθέρος φη[σίν] (*sc.* τὰ πάντα).

Whereas the author of the *Titanomachy* says that all things come from Aither.

Fr. 1^B *Epim. Hom.* α 313 (II 179.34–5 Dyck; see also *AnOx* I 75 Cramer) / source: Methodios [= fr. 2 PEG = 1^B EGF = 1 GEF]

οἱ δὲ Ἄκμονα τὸν αἰθέρα· Αἰθέρος δ’ υἱὸς Οὐρανός, ὡς ὁ τὴν Τιτανομαχίαν γράψας. ὁ δὲ αἰθὴρ ἀκάματος, ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἀκάματον.

Others understand Akmon as the air; Aither’s son is Ouranos, according to the author of the *Titanomachy*. The air is tireless, since fire is tireless too.

Fr. 2 Ioannes Laurentius Lydus *Peri menon* 4.71.14–21 (p. 123 Wuensch) [= fr. 18 PEG = Eum. dub. 4 EGF = 2 GEF]

Εὐμηλος δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος τὸν Δία ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς Λυδίαι τεχθῆναι βούλεται, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀληθεύει ὅσον ἐν ἱστορίᾳ· ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν πρὸς τῷ δυτικῷ τῆς Σαρδιανῶν πόλεως μέρει ἐπ' ἀκρωρείας τοῦ Τμώλου τόπος ἐστίν, ὃς πάλαι μὲν Γοναὶ Διὸς ὑετίου, νῦν δὲ παρατραπίσεως τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς λέξεως Δεῦσιον προσαγορεύεται. φύλακες ἦσαν οἱ Κουρήτες.

Eumelos of Corinth presents Zeus as being born in the land that is now Lydia, and probably he says the truth, to the extent that this is possible in history; for even now there is a place on the peak of Mt Tmolos at the west part of the city of Sardis, which was called in the past 'Birthplace of Rain-bringing Zeus', but now after the word has changed its form in the course of time it is called 'Deusion'. The Kouretes were his (Zeus') guardians.

Fr. 3 Σ Ap. Rh. 1.1165c (p. 106.1–3 Wendel) [= fr. 3 PEG = 3 EGF = 3 GEF]

Εὐμηλος δὲ ἐν τῇ Τιτανομαχίᾳ τὸν Αἰγαίωνα Γῆς καὶ Πόντου φησὶ παῖδα, κατοικοῦντα δὲ ἐν τῇ θαλάσσει τοῖς Τιτᾶσι συμμαχεῖν.

1 Τιτανομαχίαι codd. : Γιγαντομαχίαι H

Eumelos says in the *Titanomachy* that Aigaion was the son of Earth and Sea, lived in the sea, and fought on the side of the Titans.

Virg. *Aen.* 10.565

Aegaeon qualis, centum cui brachia dicunt / centenasque manus, quinquaginta oribus ignem / pectoribusque arsisse, Iovis cum fulmina contra / tot paribus streperet clipeis, tot stringeret ensis.

Like Aigaion, who they say had a hundred arms and a hundred hands and blazed fire from his fifty mouths and breasts, when he clanged against the thunderbolts of Zeus with the same number of shields and carried the same number of swords.

Servius auctus in *Aen.* 6.287, "centumgeminus Briareus" (II 50.19–23 Thilo et Hagen)

Qui ut nonnulli tradunt pro diis aduersus Gigantes bella gessit, ut uero alii adfirmant, contra deos pugnavit, eo maxime tempore quo inter Iouem et Saturnum de caelesti regno certamen fuit: unde eum a Ioue fulmine ad inferos tradunt esse trusum.

Who, as some say, waged war on the gods' side against the Giants; but as others make clear, he fought against the gods, especially at that time when there was a struggle between Jupiter and Saturn for the celestial kingdom. Hence they say that he was driven down to the underworld by Zeus'

thunderbolt.

Id. in *Aen.* 10.565 (II 450.8–10 Thilo et Hagen)

Alii hunc ex Terra et Ponto natum dicunt, qui habuit Coeum (Cottum Thilo) et Gygen fratres. Hic contra Titanas Ioui adfuisse dicitur, uel, ut quidam uolunt, Saturno.

Others say that he was born from Earth and Sea, and had Koeus and Gyges as brothers. He is said to have come to Zeus' support against the Titans, or as others have it, to have helped Saturn.

Fr. *4 Serv. in *Aen.* 6.580 (de Titanomachia; II 81.12–13 Thilo et Hagen) [= *4 GEF]

De his autem solus Sol abstinuisse narratur ab iniuria numinum, unde et caelum meruit.

But of these the Sun alone is reported to have abstained from attacking the gods. Hence he was considered worthy of a place in the sky.

Fr. *5 Hesych. I 387 (II 354 Latte) [= *5 GEF]

Ἴθαξ· ὁ τῶν Τιτίνων κῆρυξ, Προμηθεύς. τινὲς Ἴθαξ.

Ithas: the herald of the Titans, Prometheus. Some write Ithax.

Fr. *6 Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.2.1 (p. 7.3–11 Wagner) [= fr. *6 GEF]

μεθ' ὧν Ζεὺς τὸν πρὸς Κρόνον καὶ Τιτᾶνας ἐξήνεγκε πόλεμον. μαχομένων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐνιαυτοὺς δέκα ἢ Γῇ τῷ Διὶ ἔχρησε τὴν νίκην, τοὺς καταταρταρωθέντας ἂν ἔχῃ συμμαχοῦς· ὁ δὲ τὴν φρουροῦσαν αὐτῶν τὰ δεσμὰ Κάμπην ἀποκτείνας ἔλυσε. καὶ Κύκλωπες τότε Διὶ μὲν διδόασι βροντὴν καὶ ἀστραπὴν καὶ κεραυνόν, Πλούτωνι δὲ κυνέην, Ποσειδῶνι δὲ τρίαINAN· οἱ δὲ τούτοις ὀπλισθέντες κρατοῦσι Τιτάνων.

And with their aid Zeus waged the war against Kronos and the Titans. They fought for ten years, and Earth prophesied victory to Zeus if he should have as allies those who had been hurled down to Tartaros. So he slew their prison warder Kampe, and loosed their bonds. And the Kyklopes then gave Zeus thunder and lightning and a thunderbolt, and on Plouton they bestowed a helmet and on Poseidon a trident. Armed with these weapons the gods overcame the Titans.¹⁸

Fr. *7 Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.2.3 (p. 7.21–4 Wagner) [= fr. *7 GEF]

Ἰαπετοῦ δὲ καὶ Ἀσίας Ἄτλας, ὃς ἔχει τοῖς ὤμοις τὸν οὐρανόν, καὶ Προμηθεὺς καὶ Ἐπιμηθεὺς καὶ Μενόιτιος, ὃν κεραυνώσας ἐν τῇ τιτανομαχίᾳ Ζεὺς κατεταρτάρωσεν.

Iapetos' sons by Asia were Atlas, who holds the sky on his shoulders, Prometheus and Epimetheus and Menoitios, whom Zeus brought down to Tartaros after striking him with the thunderbolt in the clash against the Titans.

Fr. 8 Ath. 1.22c (I 49.12–13 Kaibel) [= fr. 6 PEG = 5 EGF = 8 GEF]

Εὐμήλος δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος ἢ Ἀρκτίνος, τὸν Δία ὀρχούμενόν που παράγει λέγων· μέσσοισιν δ' ὥρχεῖτο πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.

Eumelos of Corinth or Arktinos presents Zeus as dancing, when he says *and among them the father of gods and men was dancing*.

Fr. *9 Apollod. Bibl. 1.2.1 (p. 7.11–15 Wagner) [= fr. *6 GEF]

καὶ καθείρξαντες αὐτοὺς (*sc.* τοὺς Τιτᾶνας) ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ [...] αὐτοὶ δὲ διακληροῦνται περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς, καὶ λαγχάνει Ζεὺς μὲν τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ δυναστείαν, Ποσειδῶν δὲ τὴν ἐν θαλάσσῃ, Πλούτων δὲ τὴν ἐν Ἄϊδου.

And after having imprisoned them (i.e. the Titans) in Tartaros [...], they draw lots for government, and Zeus gets power in the sky, Poseidon in the sea, and Plouton in Hades.

Fr. 10 Philod. Peri eusebeias B 5731 Obbink [= 9 PEG = 10 EGF = 9 GEF]

καὶ τὰς Ἀρπυίας τὰ μῆ[λα φ]υλάττειν Ἀκο[υσί]λαος (fr. 10 EGM), Ἐπιμεν[ίδης] (fr. 9 EGM) δὲ καὶ τοῦτο καὶ τὰς αὐτὰς εἶναι ταῖς Ἑσπερίσιν· ὁ δὲ τὴν Τι<τα>νομαχίαν <γράψας φησὶν τὰ> μὲν μῆλα φυλάτ[τειν] . . .

Akousilaos says the Harpyiai guarded the (golden) apples, and so does Epimenides while claiming that they are identical to the Hesperides. The author of the *Titanomachy* says the apples were guarded by [. . .

Fr. 11 Σ (T) Hom. II. 23.295b (V 415.80–2 Erbse) [7 PEG = 4 EGF = 11 GEF]

Καὶ ὁ τὴν Τιτανομαχίαν δὲ γράψας δύο ἄρρενάς φησιν Ἥλιου καὶ δύο θηλείας.

The author of the *Titanomachy* says likewise that there are two male and two female horses of the Sun.

Hyg. *Fab.* 183 (equorum Solis et Horarum nomina)

Eo<u>s: per hunc caelum uerti solet. Aeth{ i}ops: quasi flammeus est, qui coquit fruges. Hi funales sunt mares; feminae iugariae, Bronte, quae nos tonitrua appellamus, Steropeque, quae fulgitrua. Huic rei auctor est Eumelus Corinthius.

Hyginus, *Legends* (on the names of the Hours and of the Sun's horses)

Eous: through him the sky revolves. Aithops: almost 'blazing', the one who seasons the fruits. These trace horses are males; females are the yoke pair, Bronte, whom we call thunder, and Sterope, whom we call lightning. The author of this piece of information is Eumelos of Corinth.

Fr. 12 Ath. 11.470c (III 33.17 Kaibel) [= 8 PEG = 7 EGF = 10 GEF]

Θεόλυτος δὲ ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὕρων (*FGrHist* 478 F 1) ἐπὶ λέβητός φησιν αὐτὸν (*sc.* τὸν Ἥλιον) διαπλεῦσαι, τοῦτο πρῶτον εἰπόντος τοῦ τὴν Τιτανομαχίαν ποιήσαντος.

Theolytos in the second book of his *Annals* says that he (the Sun) sails across (the Okeanos) on a cauldron. The first who said this was the author of the *Titanomachy*.

Fr. 13 Σ Ap. Rh. 1.554 (pp. 47.20–48.2 Wendel) [= 10 PEG = 9 EGF = 12 GEF]

ὁ δὲ τὴν Γιγαντομαχίαν¹⁹ ποιήσας φησὶν ὅτι Κρόνος μεταμορφωθείς εἰς ἵππον ἐμίγη Φιλύραι τῇ Ὠκεανοῦ, διόπερ καὶ ἵπποκένταυρος ἐγεννήθη Χείρων. τούτου δὲ γυνὴ Χαρικλώ.

The author of the *Titanomachy* says that Kronos changed himself into a horse and had intercourse with Philyra, daughter of Okeanos, and that is why Cheiron was born a horse-centaur. His wife was Chariklo.

Fr. 14 Clem. Strom. 1.73.3 (II 47 Stählin) [= 11 PEG = 6 EGF = 13 GEF]

ὁ δὲ Βηρύτιος Ἑρμιππος (cf. *FHG* 3.35 in adn. et 3.54) Χείρωνα τὸν Κένταυρον σοφὸν καλεῖ· ἐφ' οὗ καὶ ὁ τὴν Τιτανομαχίαν γράψας φησὶν ὡς πρῶτος οὗτος

εἷς τε δικαιοσύνην θνητῶν γένος ἤγαγε δείξας ὄρκους καὶ θυσίας ἱερὰς καὶ σήματ' Ὀλύμπου.

⁴²⁰ ἱερὰς Köchly : ἰλαρὰς codd. : ἰαχὰς Lebedev | σήματ' Teuffel : σχήματ' codd. : κώρχήματ' Lebedev

Hermippos of Beirut calls wise the centaur Cheiron, with respect to whom the author of the *Titanomachy* says that he was the first who

led to righteousness the race of mortals by showing them oaths and holy sacrifices and the signs of Olympos.

Fr. 15 Ath. 7.277d (II 114.22–3 Kaibel) [= 4 PEG = 8 EGF = 14 GEF]

πρὸς ὃν ὁ Ζοῖλος ἔφη· “ἐγὼ δὲ οὐκ ὦν ὀψοφαγίστατος (οὕτω γὰρ Ξενοφῶν ὠνόμασεν ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασι γράφων οὕτως· “ὀψοφαγίστατός τε καὶ βλακίστατός ἐστιν”) οἶδα ὅτι ὁ τὴν Τιτανομαχίαν ποιήσας, εἴτ’ Εὐμηλός ἐστιν ὁ Κορίνθιος ἢ Ἀρκτῖνος ἢ ὅστις δῆποτε χαίρει ὀνομαζόμενος, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ οὕτως εἶρηκεν·

ἐν δ’ αὐτῇ πλωτοὶ χρυσώπιδες ἰχθύες ἔλλοι νήχοντες παίζουσι δι’ ὕδατος ἀμβροσίοιο.

ἔχαιρε δὲ Σοφοκλῆς τῷ ἐπικῶι κύκλῳ, ὥς καὶ ὅλα δράματα ποιῆσαι κατακολουθῶν τῇ ἐν τούτῳ μυθοποιίᾳ.”

Zoilos responded: “Although I am not especially fond of eating *opson* - Xenophon used the word in this form in the *Memorabilia* (3.13.4), writing as follows: He’s extremely fond of eating *opson* and a great dunce- I am aware that the author of the *Titanomachy* (test. 2 Bernabé), whether this is Eumelos of Corinth or Arktinos, or whatever name he likes to use, says the following in Book II (*Tit.* fr. 4 Bernabé).²¹

And in it there float mute fish with golden scales, that swim and sport through the ambrosial water.

Sophokles liked the Epic Cycle, with the result that he composed entire plays following the mythology it contains.”

Κορινθιακά

Fr. 16 Σ Ap. Rh. 4.1212–1214b (p. 310.14–16 Wendel) [fr. 1 PEG = Kor. 1 EGF = 15 GEF]

Ἐφύρα ἢ Κόρινθος, ἀπὸ Ἐφύρας τῆς Ἐπιμηθέως θυγατρὸς· Εὐμηλός δὲ ἀπὸ Ἐφύρας τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος, γυναικὸς δὲ γενομένης Ἐπιμηθέως.

1 Εὐμηλός L : Σιμωνίδης P, unde Εὐμηλός <δὲ καὶ Σιμωνίδης> Schneidewin

“Ephyra” is Corinth, from Ephyra the daughter of Epimetheus. But Eumelos says from Ephyra, daughter of Okeanos and Tethys, who became Epimetheus’ wife.

Paus. 2.1.1 (I 107.1–7 Rocha-Pereira)

Ἡ δὲ Κορινθία χώρα μοῖρα οὖσα τῆς Ἀργείας ἀπὸ Κορίνθου τὸ ὄνομα ἔσχηκε. Διὸς δὲ εἶναι Κόρινθον οὐδένα οἶδα εἰπόντα πῶ σπουδῇ πλὴν Κορινθίων τῶν πολλῶν, ἐπεὶ Εὐμηλὸς γε ὁ Ἀμφιλύτου τῶν Βακχιδῶν καλουμένων, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἔπη λέγεται ποιῆσαι, φησὶν ἐν τῇ Κορινθίαι συγγραφῇ – εἰ δὲ Εὐμήλου γε ἡ συγγραφή – Ἐφύραν Ὠκεανοῦ θυγατέρα οἰκῆσαι πρῶτον ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ.

3 ἐπεὶ Εὐμηλὸς γε Siebelis : ἐπεὶ δὲ εὐμηλὸς τε β : εὐμηλος δὲ R Pa Va Vb (in his codicibus praeced. lac. Spiro) | βακχιδῶν R Pa Vb : βακχιαδῶν β Va

The region of Corinth being a part of Argive territory was named after Korinthos. That Korinthos was Zeus' son I know of nobody claiming that in earnest, with the exception of many Corinthians, since Eumelos, the son of Amphilytos, of the so-called Bacchiads, who is said to have composed epic poetry, says in the *Corinthian History* – if indeed it is by Eumelos – that Ephyra, Okeanos' daughter, first inhabited this land.

Fr. *17 Favorin. *Korinth. 11* (pp. 304.30–305.2 Barigazzi) [fr. 2 PEG = *Kor. 12 EGF* = *16 GEF]

...τῆς πόλεως ὑπὲρ ἧς τοὺς δύο θεοὺς φασιν ἐρίσαι, Ποσειδῶνα καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον τὸν μὲν τοῦ πυρὸς κύριον, τὸν δὲ τοῦ ὕδατος. ἐρίσαντε δὲ καὶ τὴν δίαίταν ἐπιτρέψαντε τρίτῳ θεῷ πρεσβυτέρῳ, οὗ

πλεῖσται μὲν κεφαλαί, πλεῖσται δὲ τε χεῖρες,

τούτῳ τὴν δίαίταν ἐπιτρέψαντες ἀμρότεροι τήνδε τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν ἔχουσιν.

4 τοῦ βριάρεω gloss. add. post versum M ||

5 καὶ M : τε καὶ UB

... the city over which they say that the two gods contested, Poseidon and the Sun, one lord of fire, the other of water. They contested and assigned the arbitration of their dispute to a third god, belonging to an earlier generation, who had

very many heads, and very many arms.

After assigning the arbitration to him, they both have under their rule the city and the region.

Paus. 2.1.6 (I 109.9–13 Rocha-Pereira)²²

Λέγουσι δὲ καὶ οἱ Κορίνθιοι Ποσειδῶνα ἔλθειν Ἡλίῳ περὶ τῆς γῆς ἐς ἀμφισβήτησιν, Βριάρεων δὲ διαλλακτὴν γενέσθαι σφίσιν, ἰσθμὸν μὲν καὶ ὅσα

ταύτην δικάσαντα εἶναι Ποσειδῶνος, τὴν δὲ ἄκραν Ἡλίῳ δόντα τὴν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως.

The Corinthians too say that Poseidon was involved in a dispute with the Sun over the land, and that Briareos was their arbitrator, who decided that the Isthmos and everything pertaining to it should be given to Poseidon, while the heights above the city should be given to the Sun.

Fr. 18 Σ Pind. O. 13.74f (I 372.22–3, 373.9–17 Drachmann); see Σ Eur. Med. 9 (II 143.3–6 Schwartz); Σ Lyk. Alex. 174 (II 80.2–4 Scheer), 1024 (II 317.18–19 Scheer) [3 PEG = Kor. 2^{A+B} EGF = 17 GEF]

διὰ τὴ Μηδείας ἐμνημόνευσεν; ὅτι ἡ Κόρινθος πατρῷον αὐτῆς κτῆμα γέγονε τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ· ... διδάσκει δὲ τοῦτο Εὐμηλὸς τις ποιητὴς ἱστορικὸς εἰπὼν·

*ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ Αἰήτης καὶ Ἀλωεὺς ἐξεγένοντο
Ἡελίου τε καὶ Ἀντιόπης, τότε δ' ἄνδιχα χώραν
δάσσατο παισὶν ἐοῖς Ὑπερίωνος ἀγλαὸς υἱός·
ἦν μὲν ἔχ' Ἀσωπός, ταύτην πόρε δῖοι Ἀλωεῖ·
ἦν δ' Ἐφύρη κτεάτισσ', Αἰήτηι δῶκεν ἅπασαν.
Αἰήτης δ' ἄρ' ἐκὼν Βοῦνῳ παρέδωκε φυλάσσειν,
εἰς ὃ κεν αὐτὸς ἴκοιτ' ἢ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τις ἄλλος,
ἢ παῖς ἢ υἱωνός· ὃ δ' ἔκετο Κολχίδα γαῖαν.*

Βοῦνος δὲ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ νύμφης τινὸς παῖς. Cf. Σ Lyk. Alex. 174 (II 79.23 Scheer) and Σ Eur. Med. 9 (II 143.6–7 Schwartz)²³

3 δὴ West : δ' Σ (BCEQ) Pind. | ἐξεγένοντο Σ (BCE) Pind. et Tz. in Lyc. 174: ἐγένοντο Σ (Q) Pind. ||

5 δάσσατο Σ (AB) Eur. et Tz. in Lyc. 174 : δάσατο Σ (BCE) Pind. (et nonnulli codd. Tzetzae) : δεύσαντο Σ (Q) Pind. ||

6 ἔχ' | ἔσχ' Σ (E) Pind. : ἔβαιεν Tz. in Lyc. 174 | ταύτην] τὴν Tz. in Lyc. 174 ||

7 Ἐφύρη C^{corr} Tz. in Lyc. 174 : Ἐφύρην Σ (BQ) Pind. : ἐφύρει Σ (E) Pind. | κτεάτισσ' Σ (B) Pind. et Tz. in Lyc. 174 : κτεάτισεν Σ (C) Pind. : κτεάτεσ' Σ (E) Pind. : κτεάτεσσ' Σ (Q) Pind. (et nonnulli codd. Tzetzae) | δῶκεν ἅπασαν Σ (BEQ) Pind. : δῶκε περὶ πᾶσαν Σ (C) Pind. : δῶκεν ἀνάσσειν Ruhnken ||

8 Αἰήτης Σ (BCEQ) Pind. et Tz. in Lyc. 174 : Αἰήτηι Σ E¹ Pind. | Βοῦνῳ Σ (B) Pind. et Tz. in Lyc. 174 : Βουνῶι Σ (E) Pind. : Βουνόμῳ Σ (CQ) Pind. ||

9 εἰς ὃ κεν West : εἰσόκεν Σ (BCEQ) Pind. et Tz. in Lyc. 174 ||

10 ἢ παῖς ἢ Σ (B) Pind. : παῖς ἢ Σ (C¹ E) Pind. : παῖς ἢ δὴ Σ (Q) Pind. : παῖς ἢ καὶ Σ (C³) Pind. : ἢ παῖς ἢ δὲ Σ (v) Pind. | ἔκετο] ὠχετο Σ (h) Pind. et Tz. in Lyc. 174.

Why did he refer to Medeia? Because Corinth was her fatherly possession according to this story ... And it is Eumelos, a historical poet, who tells this by saying:

But when Aietes and Aloeus were born from the Sun and Antiope, then Hyperion's splendid son divided the land in two between his sons. The part that had Asopos, this he gave to divine Aloeus, whereas the region in which

Ephyra had settled, he gave it all to Aietes. And Aietes entrusted on his own will to Bounos to protect it, until he or someone else from his line, a child or grandchild would return, and he departed for the land of Kolchis.

Paus. 2.3.10 (I 115.11–15 Rocha-Pereira)

Εὐμηλος δὲ Ἥλιον ἔφη δοῦναι τὴν χώραν Ἀλωεῖ μὲν τὴν Ἀσωπίαν, Αἰήτηι δὲ τὴν Ἐφυραϊάν· καὶ Αἰήτην ἀπιόντα ἐς Κόλχους παρακαταθέσθαι Βοῦνῳ τὴν γῆν, Βοῦνον δὲ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀλκιδαμείας εἶναι.

Eumelos said that the Sun gave the land of Asopos to Aloeus, and the land of Ephyra to Aietes, and that when Aietes left for Kolchis he entrusted the country to Bounos, who was the son of Hermes and Alkidameia.

Fr. 19 2.3.10 Paus. (I 115.15–16 Rocha-Pereira) [= fr. 3 PEG = Kor. 3^A EGF = 18 GEF]

καὶ ἐπεὶ Βοῦνος ἐτελεύτησεν, οὕτως Ἐπωπέα τὸν Ἀλωέως καὶ τὴν Ἐφυραίων σχεῖν ἀρχήν.

And that when Bounos died, so Epopeus the son of Aloeus obtained control over the Ephyraians too.

Fr. 20 Paus. 2.1.1 (I 107.8–14 Rocha-Pereira) [fr. 4 PEG = Kor. 5 EGF = 19 GEF]

Μαραθῶνα δὲ ὕστερον τὸν Ἐπωπέως τοῦ Ἀλωέως τοῦ Ἥλιου φεύγοντα ἀνομίαν καὶ ὕβριν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια μετοικῆσαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς, ἀποθανόντος δὲ Ἐπωπέως ἀφικόμενον ἐς Πελοπόννησον καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν διανείμαντα τοῖς παισὶν αὐτὸν ἐς τὴν Ἀττικὴν αὖθις ἀναχωρῆσαι, καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν Σικυῶνος τὴν Ἀσωπίαν, ἀπὸ δὲ Κορίνθου τὴν Ἐφυραϊάν μετονομασθῆναι.

And that later Marathon, son of Epopeus, son of Aloeus, son of Helios, trying to escape from the lawlessness and hybris of his father, migrated to the coastal region of Attica. And that, after Epopeus' death, he arrived at the Peloponnese and divided his kingdom between his sons, and that he went back again to Attica. And that Asopia was renamed after Sikyon and Ephyraia after Korinthos.

Fr. 21 Paus. 2.3.10 (I 115.17–19 Rocha-Pereira) [fr. 5 PEG (I) = Kor. 3^A EGF = 20 GEF]

Κορίνθου δὲ ὕστερον τοῦ Μαραθῶνος οὐδένα ὑπολειπομένου παῖδα, τοὺς Κορινθίους Μῆδειαν μεταπεμψαμένους ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ παραδοῦναι οἱ τὴν ἀρχήν.

And that subsequently, since Korinthos, son of Marathon, did not leave behind any child, the Corinthians summoned Medeia from Iolkos and gave her the

rule.

Σ Eur. *Med.* 9 (II 142.16–18 Schwartz) [fr. 5 *PEG* (II) = 3^B *EGF* = 20 *GEF*]
ὅτι δὲ βεβασίλευκε τῆς Κορίνθου ἢ Μήδεια, Εὐμηλος ἱστορεῖ καὶ Σιμωνίδης
(*PMG* 545).

Σ Eur. *Med.* 19 (II 144.14–15 Schwartz) [fr. 5 *PEG* (II) = 3^B *EGF* = 20 *GEF*]
ὅτι δὲ καὶ ἐβασίλευσε Κορίνθου, ἱστοροῦσιν Εὐμηλος καὶ Σιμωνίδης λέγων
οὕτως (*PMG* 545).

And that Medeia (19: she) was queen at Corinth, Eumelos and Simonides
report (19: the latter saying the following).²⁴

**Fr. 22 Σ Ap. Rh. 3.1354–1356a (pp. 257.17–258.8 Wendel) [fr. dub. 19 *PEG* = Kor.
4 *EGF* = 21 *GEF*]**

“οἳ δ’ ἤδη κατὰ πᾶσαν ἀνασταχύεσκον ἄρουραν | γηγενέες· φριζέειν δὲ περὶ
στιβαροῖς σακέεσσι | δούρασί τ’ ἀμφιγούις κορύθεσσί τε λαμπομένησιν | Ἄρης
τέμενος φθεισιμβρότου”

οὗτος καὶ οἱ ἐξῆς στίχοι εἰλημμένοι εἰσὶ παρ’ Εὐμήλου, παρ’ ᾧ φησι Μήδεια
πρὸς Ἴδμονα: < >. Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν ταῖς Κολχίσι πεποίηκε τὸν ἄγγελον, τοῦ
Αἰήτου πυθομένου περὶ τῶν προειρημένων

“ἢ βλαστὸς οὐκ ἔβλασταν οὐπιχώριος ;”

λέγοντα·

“καὶ κάρτα φρίζας τ’ εὐλόφωι σφηκώματι
χαλκηλάτοις ὄπλοισι μητρὸς ἐξέδν”

ταῦτα δὲ Ἀπολλώνιος παραγέγραφεν.

5 Ἴδμονα L : Ἰάσωνα P | πυθομένου Keil : πυθόμενον codd. ||

6 οὕτως post προειρημένων add. P ||

9 κάρτα codd. : κῤῥατα Bergk | τ’ Wendel : τῶν L : (κῤῥατα-) γ’ Jebb : om. P | σφηκώματι
Valckenaer : σφηκώμενα L : σφηνώματι P ||

10 μητρὸς ἐξέδν Rutgers : μὴ προσεξέδν codd.

“But now the earthborn were springing up all over the earth; and the precinct
of Ares who brings death to mortals bristled with hefty shields and double-
edged spears and shining helmets”.

This and the following verses are taken from Eumelos, in whom Medeia says
to Idmon < >. Sophokles in his *Kolchian Women* presents the messenger
saying, when Aietes asks about the aforementioned events

“Is it true that no local shoot grew?”

“And with a great bristling he leapt out of his mother with his beautifully-crested helmet and his brass-formed weapons”.

Apollonios imitated these verses.

Fr. *23 Favorin. *Korinth.* 14 (p. 305.15–24 Barigazzi) [fr. 8 PEG= *Kor.* 12 EGF = *22 GEF]

καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ ἀγῶνα πρῶτον ἐνταυθοῖ τεθῆναι φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν δύο θεῶν, καὶ νικῆσαι *Κάστορα μὲν στάδιον, Κάλαιν δὲ δίαυλον* ... Ὀρφεὺς κιθάρα, Ἡρακλῆς πάμμαχον, πυγμὴν Πολυδεύκης, πάλην Πηλεὺς, δίσκον Τελαμών, ἐνόπλιον Θησεύς. ἐτέθη δὲ καὶ ἵππων ἀγὼν, καὶ ἐνίκα κέλητι μὲν Φαέθων, τεθρίππῳ δὲ Νηλεὺς. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ νεῶν ἄμιλλα καὶ Ἀργῶ ἐνίκα. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔπλευσεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὴν ἀνέθηκεν ὁ Ἴάσων ἐνταῦθα τῷ Ποσειδῶνι.

For indeed they say that a contest was established here for the first time by the two gods, and that

Kastor won the in the single race, Kalais in the long run;

Orpheus was victorious with the kithara, Herakles in the pankration, Polydeukes in boxing, Peleus in wrestling, Telamon in the discus throwing, Theseus in the armor-race. A horse race was also established, and Phaethon won in the single horse contest, whereas Neleus in the chariot race. There was also a boat competition, and Argo was victorious. And after these events it did not sail, but Jason dedicated it there to Poseidon.

Fr. 24 Paus. 2.3.11–2.4.1 (I 1.115.19–29 Rocha-Pereira) [fr. 5 PEG = 3^A EGF = 23 GEF]

βασιλεύειν μὲν δὴ δι’ αὐτὴν Ἰάσωνα ἐν Κορίνθῳ, Μηδείαι δὲ παῖδας μὲν γίνεσθαι, τὸ δὲ αἰεὶ τικτόμενον κατακρύπτειν αὐτὸ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν φέρουσιν τῆς Ἥρας, κατακρύπτειν δὲ ἀθανάτους ἔσεσθαι νομίζουσιν· τέλος δὲ αὐτὴν τε μαθεῖν ὡς ἡμαρτήκοι τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰάσονος φωραθεῖσαν – οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἔχειν δεομένην συγγνώμην, ἀποπλέοντα <δὲ> ἐς Ἰωλκὸν οἴχεσθαι – τούτων δὲ ἔνεκα ἀπελθεῖν καὶ Μήδειαν παραδοῦσαν Σισύφῳ τὴν ἀρχήν. Τάδε μὲν οὕτως ἔχοντα ἐπελεξάμην.

[And they say] that because of her Jason ruled at Corinth, and that Medeia had children and that she used to carry and hide each one that was born in Hera’s shrine, thinking that by hiding them they would become immortal. But in the end she realized that her hopes had gone astray and she was detected by Jason, who did not forgive her when she begged him but sailed off to Iolkos; so for these reasons Medeia left too, handing over the rule to Sisyphos. That is

the story as I read it.

Fr. 25 Paus. 2.2.2 (I 110.19–111.1 Rocha-Pereira) [fr. 6 PEG = Kor. 6 EGF = 24 GEF]

<τάφους δὲ> Σισύφου καὶ Νηλέως – καὶ γὰρ Νηλέα ἀφικόμενον ἐς Κόρινθον νόσωι τελευτῆσαι φασὶ καὶ περὶ τὸν ἰσθμὸν ταφῆναι – οὐκ ἂν οἶδ’ εἰ ζητοίη τις ἐπιλεξάμενος τὰ Εὐμήλου· Νηλέως μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ Νέστορι ἐπιδειχθῆναι τὸ μνήμα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σισύφου φησί, χρῆναι γὰρ ἄγνωστον τοῖς πᾶσιν ὁμοίως εἶναι, Σίσυφον δὲ ταφῆναι μὲν ἐν τῷ ἰσθμῷ, τὸν δὲ οἱ τάφον καὶ τῶν ἐφ’ αὐτοῦ Κορινθίων ὀλίγους εἶναι τοὺς εἰδότας.

1 <τάφους δὲ> suppl. Rocha-Pereira : καὶ τάφος P^{ms} : τάφοι post Νηλέως habet Lb^{ms} : τοὺς δὲ Rossbach ||

4 (Σισύφου) φησί Bekker : φασὶ β

With respect to the graves of Sisyphos and Neleus – for they say that when Neleus arrived at Corinth he died there of an illness and was buried at the Isthmos- I do not know if one should look for them, after having read Eumelos. For he relates that Neleus’ grave was not shown by Sisyphos even to Nestor, and that it had to remain equally unknown to everyone; and that Sisyphos was buried at the Isthmos, and that as to his grave there were a few Corinthians of his time who knew where it was.

Fr. 26 Σ Ap. Rh. 1.146–9a [pp. 19.25–20.3 Wendel] (fr. 7 PEG = 8 EGF = 25 GEF)

Γλαύκου δὲ αὐτὴν (*sc.* Λήδαν) τοῦ Σισύφου εἶναι πατρὸς ἐν Κορινθιακοῖς λέγει Εὐμηλος καὶ Παντειδυίας μητρός, ἱστορῶν ὅτι τῶν ἵππων ἀπολομένων ἦλθεν εἰς Λακεδαίμονα ὁ Γλαῦκος καὶ ἐκεῖ ἐμίγη Παντειδυίᾳ· ἦν ὕστερον γήμασθαι Θεστίῳ φασὶ <καὶ τεκεῖν> τὴν Λήδαν, γόνῳ μὲν οὖσαν Γλαύκου, λόγῳ δὲ Θεστίου.

3 Θεστίῳ H corr. : Θεσπίῳ H ante corr. et F : Θέσπιον LP ||

4 φασὶ L : φησὶ P | φασὶ <καὶ τεκεῖν> Jacoby | καὶ <ποιῆσαι> Keil : ὥστε Wendel | γόνῳ μὲν Keil : λόγῳ μὲν L : ἔργοι μὲν H : om. P | λόγῳ δὲ L : λέγεσθαι Wendel : κληθῆναι P post Θεστίου in L iniectum legitur sch. b

But Eumelos says in the *Korinthiaka* that Leda was the daughter of Glaukos, the son of Sisyphos, and of Panteidyia, who was her mother, relating that when his horses were missing Glaukos came to Lakedaimon and that it was there that he had intercourse with Panteidyia, who they say was married to Thestios <and gave birth> to Leda, who was the biological daughter of Glaukos, but the legal daughter of Thestios.

ὁ δὲ [τὴν Εὐ]ρώπειαν γράψα[ς] καὶ αὐτῆς τὸν α[ὐ]τὸν ἐρασθῆναι φησιν, καὶ διὰ τ[ὸ] μὴ ὑπομεῖνα[ι μι]χθῆναι Διὶ αὐτ[ὸν] αὐτὴν [τὸν] Δία [πα]ρηρηῆσ[θαι]

The author of the *Europeia* says that the same [god] fell in love with her [Europa?], and that because she did not accept to have intercourse with Zeus, Zeus himself abducted her.

Fr. 28 Clem. *Strom.* 1.164.3 (II 102 sq. Stählin) [fr. 12 PEG = 2 EGF = 28 GEF]

ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τὴν Εὐρώπιαν ποιήσας ἱστορεῖ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κίονα εἶναι διὰ τῶνδε·

ὄφρα θεῶι δεκάτην ἀκροθίνία τε κρεμάσαιμεν σταθμῶν ἐκ ζαθέων καὶ κίονος ὕψηλοιο.

The author of the *Europia*, too [*sc.* like the author of the *Phoronis*], records that Apollo's statue at Delphi was a pillar, by these verses:

In order to hang up for the god a tithe and first offerings from his holy standing-posts and tall pillar.

Fr. 29 Σ (D) Hom. *II.* 6.130 Z^s et Y^s [p. 262 van Thiel] (fr. 11 PEG = 1 EGF = 27 GEF)

Διώνυσος ὁ Διὸς καὶ Σεμέλης παῖς, ἐν Κυβέλοις τῆς Φρυγίας ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥέας τυγῶν καθαρμῶν καὶ διδασχεῖς τὰς τελετὰς καὶ λαβὼν πᾶσαν παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ τὴν διασκευὴν, ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἐφέρετο τὴν γῆν χορεύων καὶ τελετὰς ποιούμενος, καὶ τιμῶν τυγχάνων προηγεῖτο πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων. παραγενόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Θράικην Λυκοῦργος ὁ Δρύαντος, λυπήσας Ἥρας μίσει, μύωπι ἀπελαύνει τῆς γῆς καὶ καθάπτεται τῶν τούτου τιθηνῶν· ἐτύγχανον γὰρ αὐτῷ συνοργιάζουσαι· θεηλάτῳ δ' ἐλαννόμενος μάστιγι τὸν θεὸν ἔσπευδε τιμωρήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ δέους εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καταδύνει, καὶ ὑπὸ Θέτιδος ὑπολαμβάνεται καὶ Εὐρυνομῆς. Ὁ οὖν Λυκοῦργος οὐκ ἀμισθὶ δυσσεβήσας ἔδωκε τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δίκην· ἀφηιρέθη γὰρ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς. τῆς ἱστορίας πολλοὶ ἐμνήσθησαν, προηγουμένως ὁ τὴν Εὐρώπιαν πεποιηκὼς Εὐμηλος.

1 ὁ YQAR : om. Z | παῖς YQAR : om. Z | ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥέας YQAR : om. Z ||

2 καθαρμῶν YQAR : καθαρσίων Z | διδασχεῖς Z : διαθεῖς YQAR | καὶ λαβὼν YQAR : λαβὼν τε Z | τῆς θεοῦ Z : τῆς θεᾶς YQAR ||

3 τὴν γῆν (ZQAR) post ἐφέρετο transp. West : τὴν οἰκουμένην Y | χορεύων ZYAR : χορειῶν Q | καὶ τελετὰς ποιούμενος Z : om. YQAR ||

3-4 καὶ τιμῶν τυγχάνων YQAR : τιμῶν τε τυγχάνων Z | προηγεῖτο πάντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων YQAR : ὧν προείρητο ||

4-5 εἰς τὴν Θράικην YQAR : εἰς Θράικην Z ||

5 λυπήσας Ἥρας μίσει YQAR : om. Z | μύωπι QAR : om. ZY | ἀπελαύνει τῆς γῆς Z : αὐτὸν

τῆς γῆς YQAR ||

6 καθάπτεται Y : ἄπτεται Z : καθάπτει αὐτὸν A : καθάπτει αὐτοῦ Q : καθάπτει αὐτῶν R ||

7 θεηλάτοι δ' ἔλυνόμενος μάλιστα τὸν θεὸν ἔσπευδε τιμωρήσασθαι YQAR : om. Z ||

7–8 ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ δέους εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καταδύνει YQAR : ὁ δὲ διωκόμενος κατέδυσεν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν Z ||

8 καὶ ὑπὸ Θέτιδος ὑπολαμβάνεται YQAR : καὶ αὐτὸν Θέτις προσδέχεται εἰς τὸν κόλπον Z | καὶ Εὐρυνόμης YQAR : om. Z ||

8–9 Ὁ οὖν Λυκούργος οὐκ ἀμισθὶ δυσσεβήσας ἔδωκε τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δίκην YQAR : τὸν δὲ Λυκούργον παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς τιμωρίαν δοῦναι Z ||

9–10 ἀφηρεῖται γὰρ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς YQAR : ἀφαιρεθέντα Z | τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς YQ : τῆς ὁράσεως Z : τὸν ὀφθαλμὸν A : τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν R ||

10–11 τῆς ἱστορίας πολλοὶ ἐμνήσθησαν, προηγουμένως ὁ τὴν Εὐρωπίαν πεποιηκὼς Εὐμηλὸς YQAR : ἱστορεῖ ὁ τὴν Εὐρωπίαν πεποιηκὼς Εὐμηλὸς Z

Dionysos, the son of Zeus and Semele, having received purification by Rheia in Mt. Kybela in Phrygia and being instructed the rites and having acquired all the equipment from the goddess, traveled all over the world dancing, performing rites, and receiving honors, and all the people followed him. When he arrived in Thrace, Lykourgos, the son of Dryas, made vexatious by Hera's hatred, tried to drive him out of the land with an ox-goad, and attacked his nurses, who were taking part in his revels. Driven on by a divine scourge he was set on punishing the god. Dionysos jumped into the sea in his fear, and was taken in by Thetis and Eurynome. And so Lykourgos paid for his impiety with mortal punishment: he was deprived of his vision by Zeus. Many authors refer to this story, and first of all Eumelos, the author of the *Europa*.

Fr. 30 Paus. 9.5.8 (III 10.8–11 Rocha-Pereira) [fr. 13 PEG = 3 EGF = 30 GEF]

ὁ δὲ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐς Εὐρώπην ποιήσας φησὶν Ἀμφίονα χρήσασθαι λύραι πρῶτον, Ἑρμοῦ διδάξαντος· πεποίηκε δὲ καὶ <τὰ περὶ> λίθων καὶ θηρίων, ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα αἰδὼν ἦγε.

2 τὰ περὶ suppl. West : περὶ suppl. Schubart | post θηρίων <δημητῆρα> suppl. Bekker

The author of the epic pertaining to Europa says that Amphion was the first to use the lyre, Hermes having taught him. He has also told the story concerning the stones and the animals, and that Amphion drew them by his singing.

Fr. 31 Σ Ap. Rh. 2.946–954c (pp. 196.15–197.2 Wendel) [fr. 10 PEG = Kor. 7 EGF = 29 GEF]

πόλις τοῦ Πόντου ἢ Σινώπη, ὠνομασμένη ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀσωποῦ θυγατρὸς Σινώπης, ἣν ἀρπάσας Ἀπόλλων ἀπὸ Ὑρίας ἐκόμισεν εἰς Πόντον καὶ μιγεῖς αὐτῇ ἔσχε Σύρον, ἀφ' οὗ οἱ Σύροι. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς (fr. 366 PEG II.1 = 45 Kern) Ἄρεως καὶ Αἰγίνης γενεαλογεῖται· κατὰ δέ τινας Ἄρεως καὶ Παρνάσσης, κατ' Εὐμηλον καὶ Ἀριστοτέλην (fr. 599 Gigon) Ἀσωποῦ.

2 Ὑριάς Hoefel : Συριάς L : Βοιωτίας P : Ὑριάς τῆς Βοιωτίας coni. West (teste Davies in *Kor.* fr. 7 *EGF*) sed solum Ὑριάς (in *Eur.* fr. 29 *GEF*)

Sinope is a city at Pontos, named after the daughter of Asopos Sinope, whom Apollo snatched and carried off to the Pontic region; and after having intercourse with her Syros was born to him, from whom the Syrians (*sc.* Assyrians) originate. In the Orphic poems her pedigree is traced back to Ares and Aigina, but according to some back to Ares and Parnasse, while according to Eumelos and Aristotle back to Asopos.

Fragmenta incerti carminis

Fr. 32 Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.11.1 (p. 145.5–9 Wagner) [= 9 *PEG* = *Kor.* 9 *EGF* = 33 *GEF*]

Μενέλαος μὲν οὖν ἐξ Ἑλένης Ἑρμιόνην ἐγέννησε καὶ κατὰ τινὰς Νικόστρατον, ἐκ δούλης <δὲ> Πιερίδος, γένος Αἰτωλίδος, ἣ καθάπερ Ἀκουσίλαός φησι Τηρηίδος, Μεγαπένθη, ἐκ Κνωσσίας δὲ νύμφης κατὰ Εὐμηλον Ξενόδαμον.

Menelaos fathered Hermione from Helen and according to some others Nikostratos. From the slave Pieris, of Aitolian race, or as Akousilaos has it from Tereis, he fathered Megapenthes, and from a Knossian nymph, according to Eumelos, Xenodamos.

Fr. 33 Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.2 (p. 135.14–15 Wagner) [= 14 *PEG* = *Kor.* 10 *EGF* = 31 *GEF*]

Εὐμηλος δὲ καὶ τινες ἕτεροι λέγουσι Λυκάονι καὶ θυγατέρα Καλλιστὼ γενέσθαι.

Eumelos and certain others say that Lykaon also had a daughter, Kallisto.

Fr. 34 Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.9.1 (p. 136.6–8 Wagner) [= 15 *PEG* = *Kor.* 11 *EGF* = 32 *GEF*]

Ἀρκάδος δὲ καὶ Λεανείρας τῆς Ἀμύκλου ἢ Μετανείρας τῆς Κρόκωνος, ὥς δὲ Εὐμηλος λέγει, νύμφης Χρυσοπελείας, ἐγένοντο παῖδες Ἑλάτος καὶ Ἀφείδας.

1 Λεανείρας Gale : Λεαινείρας A | Μετανείρας Keil : Μεγανείρας A ||

2 Χρυσοπελείας Heyne ex Tz. in Lyc. 480 : χρυσοπελείας A | Ἑλάτος Aegius ex Tz. in Lyc. 480 : Ἑλάστος A

From Arkas and Leaneira the daughter of Amyklos, or Metaneira the daughter of Krokon, or, as Eumelos says, a nymph Chrysopeleia, were born Elatos and Apheidas.

Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 480 (II 172.27–31 Scheer)

ὁ δὲ Ἀρκὰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἀνέτρεψε καὶ τὴν γῆν χόματι ὠχύρωσεν. ἡ δὲ νύμφη Χρυσοπέλεια τὴν κλῆσιν κατ' Εὐμηλον συνελθοῦσα αὐτῷ ἔτεκεν Ἑλατον καὶ Ἀμφιδάμαντα, ἐξ ὧν εἰσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες ὡς φησιν Ἀπολλώνιος (2.475 sq.).

3 Ἀμφιδάμαντα codd. : Ἀφείδαντα Tz. in Lyc. 480 (ex Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.9.1)

Arkas changed the course of the river and fortified the soil with a dyke. And the nymph called Chrysopeleia according to Eumelos, after having intercourse with him gave birth to Elatos and Amphidamas, from whom stem the Arkadians, according to Apollonios.

Fr. 35 Clem. *Strom.* 6.11.1 (II 430 Stählin) [fr. 16 PEG = dub. 2 EGF = 34 GEF]

Εὐμήλου γὰρ ποιήσαντος

Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐννέα κοῦραι,

Σόλων τῆς ἐλεγείας ὧδε ἄρχεται· “Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα” (fr. 13.1 *IEG*).

For when Eumelos had written

of Mnemosyne and Olympian Zeus nine daughters,

Solon begins his elegy thus: ‘Shining children of Mnemosyne and Olympian Zeus’.

Fr. 36 Σ Tzetz. in Hes. *Works and Days* p. 23 (Gaisford) [fr. 17 PEG = dub. 3 EGF = 35 GEF]

ἀλλ’ Εὐμηλος μὲν ὁ Κορίνθιος τρεῖς φησιν εἶναι Μούσας θυγατέρας Ἀπόλλωνος· Κηφισοῦν, Ἀπολλωνίδα, Βορυσθενίδα.

2 Ἀχελωΐδα Hermann : Ἀσωπίδα West

But Eumelos of Corinth says there are three Muses, daughters of Apollo: Kephiso, Apollonis, and Borysthenis.

Fragmentum sine ascriptione fortasse ad Titanomachiam pertinens

Fr. *37 P. Harr. I.3. (Powell, 1936; *MP*³ 1807; *LDAB* 4429; Giabbani, *Testi letterari greci di provenienza egiziana* 1081)

]νεκ[] ο []
]c νεφεληγε[ρέτα Ζεύc
] Τιτῆνα μέ[γιστον
]βαλέοντι ἐο[ικώς.
5 ἔχαιρ]ε μέγα φρεσι[ν ἦισιν
]ντορα Φοῖβον []
 π]ροσέφη ευ []
]φα οὗ κράτος []
]ς θ' ἴσταται []
10 δρι]μὺν χόλον[]
]τα γε cθεν []
]ενει απε []
]ἐc ἔργον δ' α[]
]πάντεc δ[]
15]αντη[]
]νωνυ[]
] γαπα[]
]cπλη[]
]ν ἀδικο[]
20]cεν []
] ανα[]

1]δος Perale | δ]ν vel τὸ]ν ἐκ [πο]δὸc Perale ||

2 suppl. Powell ||

3 θε]ᾶ Τιτῆνα μέ[ν fortasse D'Alessio qui interpunxit ante Τιτῆνα : Τιτῆνα μέ[γιστον vel ἐτίτηνα- Snell : Τιτῆν' ἀμέγαρτον fortasse Perale ||

4 suppl. Powell, post ἐο[ικώς interpunxit Bernabé ||

5 ἔχαιρ]ε Snell | φρεσι[ν ἦισιν Powell : φρεc[ι πευκαλίμηιcι D'Alessio ||

6 μάχης ἀπαμύ]ντορα Powell : ἐπαμύ]ντορα Snell ||

7 π]ροσέφη Powell | λευ[κώλενοc Ἥρη Perale : δ' εὐ] fortasse Snell ||

8 οὗ Bernabé ||

10 suppl. Powell ||

11] τα γε cθεν. [verba tria distinx. Powell et Bernabé : cθένε[ι ὦι vel cθένο[c ἵππων D'Alessio ||

12] ενει απε [Powell :]ενεν ῥ' ἀπε [Perale ||

13] ἐc ἔργον D'Alessio | δ' α[Powell et D'Alessio vel δα[D'Alessio ||

16] νωνυμ [ν vel]νων υμ[: μο]νώνυχ [εc ἵπποι dub. D'Alessio ||

18 πληγ [, πληξ [et πλητ[Perale ||

19 ἀδικο[Powell

2–16 Zeus the cloud-gatherer / greatest Titan (?) / like one who is ready to

shoot / was much pleased in his heart / Phoibos as defender / addressed /
whose (?) might / stands (?) / bitter anger / (strength?) / ... / deed / all / ... /

Eumelos of Corinth

Commentary

1 Life

The Corinthian poet Eumelos, son of Amphilytos,²⁵ was a prominent member of the Bacchiads who governed Corinth until the mid-seventh century (ca. 657 BC, the time of Kypselos). According to Eusebios,²⁶ Eumelos' *floruit* was in the mid-eighth century, a date consonant with that given by Clement, who says that Eumelos overlapped with the Bacchiad Archias, the founder of Syracuse (734 BC).²⁷ Eumelos is considered the author of a *προσόδιον*²⁸ composed for the Messenians who performed it in honor of Apollo at Delos (PMG 696).²⁹ Pavese and Grandolini³⁰ have argued in favor of a link between Zeus of Ithome and Apollo at Delos. The nucleus of their argument rests on the function of the adjective *καθαρά*, which modifies *Μοῖσα*:³¹ 'as Zeus of Ithome welcomed my pure song and my free dance, so these things can please Delian Apollo'. But the majority of scholars argue that an archaic date for the *prosodion* is unlikely. Von Schoeffer claimed that both the *προσόδιον* itself and the entire story of its composition were fabricated by the fifth-century Messenian exiles in Naupaktos.³² The same suggestion, with various additions and modifications, was fostered by Robertson³³ and D'Alessio. The latter scholar considered the possibility that the *προσόδιον* could be dated 'to the period after the refoundation of Messene, when the city was in need of constructing not only its walls but also an historical, musical and poetic tradition',³⁴ but acknowledged that a 'more attractive scenario ... would be provided if we suppose that the poem was "forged" in the fifth century by the Messenian refugees resident in Naupactus under Athenian protection'.³⁵ Pohlenz³⁶ and Tausend³⁷ opted for a fourth-century date, after the refoundation of Messene, but, as Prodi rightly observes, 'a *theoria* to Delos - and even more so the series of later *theoriai* implied by Pausanias' *πρῶτον* (4.4.1) - suits better a period of close relationship with Athens than the years after 369, when such relationship was occasional at best'.³⁸ West entertained the theory, virtually on the basis of the emphasis the two-line fragment of the *προσόδιον* lays on Messenian liberty, that the processional song 'dates from the years before or during the Second rather than the First Messenian War'.³⁹ He then postulated that Eumelos, as a Bacchiad, after being exiled by Kypselos, went to Messenia to compose a choral song for Messenian independence. Notwithstanding the difficulties inherent in any explanation of the connection between the Messenian Wars and an exiled Bacchiad,⁴⁰ what matters for Eumelos' epic production is that 'if we accept that Eumelos was remembered by the Messenians as the author of their *Prosodion*, it will be a considerable possibility that his name was attached to a body of Corinthian

2 Works

Eumelos' name has been associated with the following works: *Τιτανομαχία*, *Κορινθιακά*, *Εὐρώπεια*, *Νόστος τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, *Βουγονία*. Of these five, the last two, which are mentioned by a single source each, have little or no credit.⁴²

The title *Νόστος τῶν Ἑλλήνων*, which is parallel to the Homeric 'title' *Νόστος Ἀχαιῶν*,⁴³ pertains to the Cyclic epic *Νόστοι* attributed to Agias of Troizen, the genitive τῶν Ἑλλήνων being a scribal addition that makes sense for someone with a poor knowledge of the Epic Cycle, since it has wrong both the name of the poet and the work; see Σ^{BCEQ} Pind. *O.* 13.31a (I 364.7–9 Drachmann): 'ἐν δὲ Μοῖσ' ἀδύπνοος': ποῦ δὲ ἡ μουσικὴ ἀνθεῖ καὶ τὰ πολεμικὰ ἀλλαχοῦ; τοῦτο δὲ διὰ τὸν Εὐμηλον (corr. Gyraldus: Εὐμολπον Σ) ὄντα Κορίνθιον καὶ γράψαντα νόστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων (test. 5 *EGEF*). That the expression νόστον τῶν Ἑλλήνων, with or without the genitive, had been employed in this scholium to designate the returning voyage of the Argonauts and so referred to a given portion of Eumelos' *Korinthiaka*⁴⁴ is extremely unlikely.⁴⁵ On *Βουγονία*, see Euseb. [Hieron.] *Chron.* Ol. 5.1: *Eumelos poeta, qui Bugoniam et Europiam... composuit... agnoscitur*. Varro (*R. R.* 2.5.5 Goetz), in a context about cattle and Greek words containing the suffix *bus* (βοῦς), mentions a *Bugonia* but without associating it with Eumelos or any other poet.

In contrast, the first three works (*Titanomachy*, *Korinthiaka*, *Europeia*) are regularly⁴⁶ attributed to Eumelos and seem to share a number of thematic links. They may have formed, as Will and West have forcefully argued,⁴⁷ a 'Corinthian Epic Cycle' that circulated under Eumelos' name. A Corinthian tradition that was shaped during the archaic period may well have been linked to a single person who must have acquired such authority that he became the poetic emblem of his powerful city-state.

Titanomachy

If Eumelos' processional song had acquired in the course of time the status of an anthem of freedom and independence, then it is not unthinkable that another early epic attributed to him, the *Titanomachy*, would have equally gained such fame and prestige that it could be, at a much later date, separated from a body of poems assigned to Eumelos (*Titanomachy*, *Korinthiaka*, *Europeia*) and be placed in the corpus of poems forming the Epic Cycle.

The main piece of evidence in favor of the view that the *Titanomachy* belongs to the Epic Cycle is based on Philo of Byblos (Herennius Philo, 1st c.

AD), cited by Eusebios in his *Praeparatio evangelica* (1.10.40 [I 51 Mras] = *FGrHist* 790 F 2):

ἐνθεν Ἡσίοδος οἱ τε κυκλικοὶ περιηχημένοι Θεογονίας καὶ Γίγαντομαχίας καὶ Τίτανομαχίας ἐπλάσαν ἰδίας καὶ ἑκτομάς· οἷς συμπεριφερόμενοι ἐξενίκησαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

Hence Hesiod and the celebrated Cyclic poets fashioned their own Theogonies and Gigantomachies and Titanomachies and castrations; and with these fables, as they traveled about, they prevailed upon the truth.

I see no reason to doubt what is said in the above passage with respect to the Cyclic poets. In Hesiod, a Cosmogony and a Titanomachy form part of his *Theogony*, but in the case of Cyclic poetry they may well have been separate poems. There are two points that should be taken into account with respect to this issue: (a) that according to Prokl. *Chrest.* (in Phot. *Bibl.* 319a 21 [V 157 Henry]),⁴⁸ the Epic Cycle began with the mingling of Ouranos and Gaia and the birth of the three Hundred-Handers and the three Kyklopes which corresponds to the beginning of Apollodoros' narrative on the creation of the world in the very start of his *Bibliothēke* (1.1.1–2.1.1);⁴⁹ and (b) that although Apollodoros' narrative continues with a *Titanomachy*, in which the Olympians with the help of the Kyklopes defeat the Titans and throw them into Tartaros, it is not to be assumed that the Cyclic *Theogony* included or ended with a Titanomachy section.

Of particular importance to this issue is a passage from Clement, *Strom.* 6.26.7 (test. 2 *EGEF*), which tends to confirm that Eumelos' *Titanomachy* began with a theogonic section:

τὰ δὲ Ἡσιόδου μετέλλαξαν εἰς πεζὸν λόγον καὶ ὡς ἴδια ἐξήνεγκαν Εὐμηλὸς τε καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος οἱ ἱστοριογράφοι.

The historians Eumelos and Akousilaos turned Hesiod's poetry into prose and presented it as their own.

Since Akousilaos had included the entire history of the world (from its creation down to the aftermath of the Trojan War) in his *Genealogies* (or *Histories*) in three books, which means that the part devoted to the gods contained both a Theogony and a Titanomachy,⁵⁰ and given that Clement's comment refers equally to Eumelos and Akousilaos, it is likely that Eumelos had a theogonic section in the beginning of the *Titanomachy*. Given that both the Cyclic *Theogony* and the theogonic section of Eumelos' *Titanomachy* (as we can judge from the extant fragments) were un-Hesiodic,⁵¹ then Clement's comment makes sense only if he refers to Hesiod as the representative and 'author' of all theogonic poetry, more or less as Homer was considered to be the poet of everything pertaining to the Trojan War (and sometimes the Theban). The use of the term ἱστοριογράφος for Eumelos is specific and, therefore, less likely to have been created under the influence of its use for Akousilaos in the same comment.⁵² In view of its application to Eumelos and,

most importantly, the statement that Eumelos ‘turned Hesiod’s poetry into prose’, it is more probable that Clement knew (apart from Eumelos’ poetry) some prose work dealing with Greek cosmogony, which (in light of Eumelos’ similar poetic work) he attributed to the famous Corinthian poet. An analogous case is known from Pausanias, who in the second century AD refers to Eumelos as a poet to whom a prose work (Κορινθία συγγραφή) is equally attributed.⁵³ In contrast to Pausanias, who doubts about this attribution, Clement seems to accept Eumelian authorship without any hesitation. In this respect, Eumelos’ designation by the scholiast of Pindar (Σ^{BCDEQ} O. 13.74f [I 373.8 Drachmann]) as ποιητῆς ἱστορικός may be also relevant, although (strictly speaking) it is employed in the context of the *Korinthiaka* that may easily have been regarded as ‘historical’ epic.

Since (a) the information about the beginning of the Epic Cycle reflects with remarkable precision the beginning of Apollodoros’ narrative in the *Bibliothēke* and (b) we know both from Philo of Byblos⁵⁴ and from Athenaios that the Cyclic poets dealt with a Titanomachy,⁵⁵ it seems likely that the Epic Cycle began with a theogonic section which was followed by a Titanomachy (the struggle between the Olympians and the Titans), the latter forming part of Eumelos’ *Titanomachy*.

It has been argued that the Cyclic *Titanomachy* contained at some point, probably in its beginning, a Theogony, just as Hesiod’s *Theogony* included a ‘Titanomachy’ section.⁵⁶ Davies’ argument may very well be right but it does not mean that a theogonic or cosmogonic section is against the existence of an independent poem, i.e. a Cyclic *Theogony* that preceded Eumelos’ *Titanomachy* in the Epic Cycle. The theogonic or cosmogonic section of the Cyclic *Titanomachy* was no doubt different from that of the Cyclic *Theogony* (see fr. 1 below) with respect not only to part of its material but also to its scope. A ‘solution’ to the problem of the two Theogonies, one in the Cyclic *Theogony* and the other in the initial section of the Cyclic *Titanomachy*, has been put forward by D’Alessio,⁵⁷ who has argued that when the Cyclic *Titanomachy* became part of the Epic Cycle, then its theogonic section (book 1?) was omitted, in order to avoid a strong discrepancy or rather contradiction and create a functional ἀκολουθία τῶν πραγμάτων for the Cycle’s readers.⁵⁸

Title

The title *Τιτανομαχία* is given by a variety of authors and works: Athenaios (7.277d, 11.470c), Philodemos (*Peri eusebeias* B 4677, B 5731 Obbink), *Epimerismi Homerici* (α 313 [II 179.34 Dyck]), Σ Ap. Rh. (1.554 [p. 47.20–1 Wendel]),⁵⁹ 1.1165c [p. 106.1 Wendel]), Σ (T) Hom. *Il.* 23.295b^{bT} (V 415.2 Erbse), Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 1.73.3), Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1.2.3), Σ Opp. *Halieut.* (3.16 (3) [p. 329.6–7 Bussemaker]). It is usually cited in the formula ὁ τὴν Τιτανομαχίαν γράψας/ποίησας. The name of its author is mentioned next to this standard expression only occasionally (Athenaios 7.277d; Σ Ap. Rh. 1.1165c [p. 106.1 Wendel]).

There were other poems of the same title, but the information available is extremely scant and difficult to assess. According to [Plutarch] (*De musica* 3 = 1132 B), Herakleides Pontikos says that the Thracian Thamyras composed a poem on the war of the gods against the Titans. In the scholia to Apollonios Rhodios, Mousaios is mentioned as the author of a Τιτανογραφία (Σ 3.1177–87b [p. 251.11 Wendel]: ἐν δὲ τῇ γ' ἱΜουσαῖος Τιτανογραφία† (= 2 B 1 D–K [ἐν δὲ τῷ α' τῆς Μουσαίου Τιτανογραφίας P, ubi Τιτανομαχίας Passow⁶⁰ : Μουσαίου Τιτανο<μαχίαι ἐπι>γραφείσῃ caute Diels]) including at least three books. References to Mousaios in the context of divine genealogies in the scholia to Apollonios Rhodios (Σ 3.1–5a [p. 214.19–21 Wendel]; 3.467 [p. 233.11 Wendel]; 3.1035 [p. 247.8–10 Wendel]) may also point to a lost *Titanomachy* under his name.

Τιτανομαχία strictly refers only to the fight between the Olympians and the Titans. Compounds with –μαχία as second part were often used with respect to battles in which the two adversaries were not human or civilized: Θεομαχία, Γιγαντομαχία (probably a separate poem judging from its wide use in art),⁶¹ Ἀμαζονομαχία. There are also a number of parodies, featuring battles between animals, whose title operates on the same principle: Ἀραχνομαχία, Βατραχομνομαχία, Γαλεομνομαχία, Γερανομαχία, Ψαρομαχία. Either only one of the adversaries is mentioned in the first part of the compound (Τιτανομαχία, Γιγαντομαχία, Ἀμαζονομαχία)⁶² or both when the compound is triple (Βατραχομνομαχία, Γαλεομνομαχία).

Sources

The title of the poem is attested eight times.⁶³ It is assigned once to Eumelos alone (Σ Ap. Rh. 1.1165c [p. 106.1 Wendel]) and once either to Eumelos or to Arktinos (Athen. 7.277d).⁶⁴ Without specific reference to the *Titanomachy* individual fragments are assigned to Eumelos alone twice (Lyd. *Peri menon* 4.71; Hyg. *Fab.* 183) and to Eumelos or Arktinos once (Athen. 1.22c).⁶⁵

Authorship

With respect to the attribution of the *Titanomachy* to Eumelos or Arktinos of Miletos, the former is much more likely to be the epic's author. Not only is he cited by a wide variety of sources in contrast to Arktinos, who is only mentioned twice by Athenaios as a second alternative to Eumelos with respect to the poem's authorship, but also thematic associations between the *Titanomachy*, the *Korinthiaka*, and the *Europeia* turn the scales in favor of the attribution of the *Titanomachy* to Eumelos, given that the other two epics are attributed solely to him.⁶⁶ Arktinos was a well-known Cyclic poet whose name could easily be 'transferred' to other Cyclic epics as well. The author of the *Aithiopsis* and the *Iliou Persis* may have been therefore employed by Athenaios as a candidate for the authorship of the *Titanomachy*, when this Eumelian poem had been moved from a 'Corinthian Epic Cycle' to the famous Epic Cycle. A change in context led by mistake to a change of author

or, at least, to potential authorship. In fact, Athenaios (7.277d) is anything but certain about the authorship of the *Titanomachy*: οἶδα ὅτι ὁ τὴν Τιτανομαχίαν ποιήσας, εἴτ' Εὐμηλὸς ἐστὶν ὁ Κορίνθιος ἢ Ἀρκτῖνος ἢ ὅστις δῆποτε χαίρει ὀνομαζόμενος. His uncertainty with respect to the author of this poem, coupled by his abandoning his common practice of referring to the poems of the Cycle by name only,⁶⁷ is seen in his extending his reference to it by means of the author's name and not simply by its title.

Plot

The central theme of the poem was the war between the Olympian gods and the Titans. Given that the epic included at least two books (fr. 15 *EGEF*), the actual fight must have been placed at the second book, the first being devoted to some sort of cosmogony or an account of the first and second generations of immortals (fr. 1^{A+B} *EGEF*) and what took place before the actual clash between the Olympians and the Titans. After the birth of Zeus (fr. 2 *EGEF*) in Mount Sipylos in Lydia, the poem must have featured the preparation for the war, which would have involved a presentation of the forces supporting the two sides (fr. 3 *EGEF*), with the sea monster Aigaion committing to fight against the Olympians.⁶⁸ The preparation for the war must have included some smaller episodes or scenes: the Titan Hyperion decided not to attack the Olympians (fr. *4 *GEF*), while one of Iapetos' sons, Prometheus, functioned as a herald between the two divine camps before they started fighting (fr. *5 *EGEF*). Prometheus may have changed sides, since his subsequent punishment is always presented as a result of helping humans and not being defeated in the clash between Olympians and Titans.⁶⁹ The struggle between the two sides was fierce; the scales did not turn in favor of the Olympians, until Zeus killed the prison warder Kampe and released the Kyklopes from Tartaros, who furnished him with thunder, lightning, and thunderbolt, Plouton with a cap that made him invisible, and Poseidon with the trident (fr. *9 *EGEF*). When the Titans were defeated, they were punished by being incarcerated in Tartaros (fr. *9 *EGEF*), where Menoitios was also placed after being hit by Zeus with his thunderbolt (fr. *7 *EGEF*). Then, it was time for festivity (fr. 8 *EGEF*) and the distribution of privileges. The gods gathered in Mekone and drew lots: Zeus got the sky, Hades the Underworld, and Poseidon the sea (*9 *EGEF*). Atlas was punished by being condemned to hold the vault of the sky (fr. 10 *EGEF*). In acknowledgement of the help Hyperion had provided to the Olympians during the Titanomachy, he became the Sun and was awarded both with a four-horse chariot (fr. 11 *EGEF*) and a vessel on which he sails across the Okeanos at night (fr. 12 *EGEF*).

From this point ahead, it is not clear how the plot would have unraveled. Fragments 13–14 (*EGEF*) refer to the Centaur Cheiron, who is designated as the son of Kronos and Philyra (13 *EGEF*), as well as the first instructor of humankind in oath-taking, offering sacrifices to the gods, and learning astronomical and meteorological lore (14 *EGEF*). Cheiron's birth may have

been mentioned in the context of a catalogue relating in brief the fate of the Titans' offspring.⁷⁰ Given that there is no evidence that the *Titanomachy* contained anything more about Cheiron than his birth and his status as an instructor of mankind, it seems rather unlikely that he was mentioned in the context of his self-sacrifice and surrender of his immortality to Prometheus as that would necessarily have involved some sort of reference to Herakles and his Labors (Cheiron being wounded by him in the episode with Pholos during the Labor of the Erymanthian boar). Equally puzzling is fr. 15 (*EGEF*) referring to 'fish with golden scales sporting and playing in the ambrosial water'. Since ambrosial water designates only fresh water, some lake or pool or spring may have been meant. In connection to whom or what remains a matter of speculation.

Style of the Poem

The *Titanomachy*, which covered many more events than its title suggests, began with a theogonic section. This would have included both genealogies and some narrative, at least when Eumelos had to explain the events that led from the first and second generations of the immortals to the birth of Zeus. The narrative pace in this first part of the epic must have been fast. The actual clash between the Olympians and the Titans was presented in a slower pace, with considerable attention to its different phases: the preparation for war, description of the gods committing themselves to the two sides, initial phase of the battle with no obvious victor, Zeus' stratagem of releasing the Kyklopes from Tartaros to furnish him and his brothers with new weapons that allow the Olympians to achieve final victory. The use of the motif of the 'Helper' was here filtered exclusively through Zeus, who liberated the Kyklopes after killing the monster Kampe on his own. Zeus' stratagem was, as is the case with the Hesiodic *Theogony*, the result of Gaia's advice about how victory will be achieved, but whereas in Hesiod the Olympians collectively bring the Hundred-Handers to light (*Th.* 626), in Eumelos this is carried out by Zeus alone. Since the motif of the 'Helper' is usually employed to introduce a dramatic reversal of the initial course of a fight, it seems that the *Titanomachy* organized, as Hesiod's *Theogony*, the divine clash in two phases, an initial undecided stage and a final victorious one for the Olympians. Zeus' dance after his victory over the Titans shows that the *Titanomachy* may have dwelt for some time on the aftermath of the war, the more so since there would be no new adversary against Zeus. Now the new order had to be established: this involved a series of rather brief scenes in which Zeus showed himself to be a harsh but just divine king: he incarcerated the Titans in Tartaros, distributed privileges to those who helped him or remained neutral (e.g. Hyperion), and drew lots with his two brothers for the division of the world in three realms.

It is difficult to imagine how the non-martial second part of the epic would have been organized. If Cheiron (frs. 13–14 *EGEF*) featured there, it is possible that the *Titanomachy* would have presented the fate of the Titans'

offspring (in the manner of Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.2.2–5) in catalogue form, as is the case with Cheiron's brief mention in Hes. *Th.* 1001–2.⁷¹ For how long would the epic continue and whether it would have involved anything but catalogues, it is impossible to tell.

Date

It is not an easy task to determine the date of the *Titanomachy*. Given that Eumelos may well be a collective name⁷² employed for various epics with a strong Corinthian coloring, it is advisable to use internal criteria, such as motifs and realia, in order to be more precise. In this respect, comparison with Hesiod (and partly Homer) will be of some help.

The role of one of the Hundred-Handers, Aigaion-Briareos who is connected to the sea, of the three sons of Iapetos (Atlas, Menoitios, and Prometheus), as well as the fact that the Kyklopes are of prime importance for the victory of the Olympians after being released from Tartaros testify to a more organic connection to the epic's plot than what happens in Hesiod. Zeus' fight against Briareos who is a sea creature reflects Eastern influence as it recalls the fight between Baal and Yammu.⁷³ This is a quite old motif, like the one pertaining to the special weapon each of the three brothers (Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades) possesses, and the tripartite division of the world that is also known to Homer.⁷⁴ These motifs point to the eighth century, but the Sun's four-horse chariot (that is unknown before 680, when the τέθριππον started to be used in the Olympic Games)⁷⁵, the chariot and vessel of the Sun (that are attested for the first time in Mimnermos⁷⁶ and Pisander),⁷⁷ and the presentation of the Centaur Cheiron as a teacher of mankind (that presupposes a date close to the *Χείρωνος ὑποθήκαι*), yield 650 as a *terminus post quem*. In this light, we are faced with either a mid- or late-seventh or early sixth-century date.⁷⁸ Those scholars⁷⁹ who think that Prometheus as a new 'culture hero' and the Flood story were included in the *Titanomachy*⁸⁰ must be willing to accept an even later date, probably in the late sixth century, since the earliest (secure) attestation of the Flood comes from Pindar⁸¹ and Epicharmos.⁸²

Commentary

Fr. 1^A – 1^B

The *Titanomachy* began with the expression of an evolutionary doctrine: everything came into being from Aither. This is the only time Aither is considered the first element, but it is not the first time an entity is treated as the *Urvater* or *Urmutter*.⁸³ The difference of this theogonic version from Hesiod's *Theogony* is obvious, since there the first being is Chaos. If we take fr. 1^A *EGEF* at face value, then there is a further divergence: whereas in Hesiod's cosmogony Chaos is not the generator of everything, since Gaia and Eros have also independently their own offspring, in the *Titanomachy* Aither

is the single, first source or being that creates its offspring without mating. Despite the fact that Aither is presented in other cosmogonic genealogies in relation to Hemera (either as brother [Hes. *Th.* 124] or husband [Cic. *De natura deorum* 3.44; Hyg. *Fab. praef.* 2], he may well have been presented as a single generator of his offspring in the *Titanomachy*. In this light, it may be argued that the poet of the *Titanomachy* immediately proceeded after Aither to the generation of Ouranos and the struggle for divine succession. In Hesiod, Aither is the offspring of Erebos and Nyx who are both born from Chaos.

Aither should be understood as ‘the bright integument of fire’,⁸⁴ the driving force of the entire cosmogonic process. The wide representation of this view in the fifth- and fourth centuries BC speaks for its antiquity, which is analogous to that of the divine nature of the Sun. This doctrine, which was consonant with the Sun’s preeminence in Corinth, would be very much at home in a poem belonging to a ‘Corinthian Epic Cycle’.

Davies argues that the version according to which Ouranos was the son of Aither can be paralleled with those (Alkm. fr. 61 *PMGF*; Antim. *Theb.* fr. 51 Matthews; Kallim. fr. 498 Pf.; Simias of Rhodes, *Alae*, fr. 24 Powell = *A.P.* 15.24) in which he is the son of Akmon (meaning ‘meteoric stone’⁸⁵ in this context), since ‘early Greek literature shows vestiges of a primitive belief that the sky was actually made out of stone’.⁸⁶ There is a useful parallel in Vedic (*ásman-*), Avestan (*asman-*) and Lithuanian *akmuō*, since the Vedic and Avestan forms mean both ‘hammer’, ‘stone’ and ‘heaven’, ‘sky’, while in Lithuanian the thunderstone is called *Perkūno akmuō*, ‘Perkunas’ stone’.⁸⁷ The notion of a stony sky seems to have been an Indo-European belief.⁸⁸ The analogy between Aither and Akmon is telling: by designating Aither, instead of Akmon, as father of Ouranos the poet of the *Titanomachy* may have stressed his fiery nature (< αἴθω ‘light up, kindle’, ‘burn, blaze’) as a symbol of the tireless (ἀκάματος) force of creation, which in other poets was called Akmon. In the various attestations of Akmon as father of Ouranos there is never mention of a female consort. With respect to Akmon, his identification with the ‘fiery’ Aither may reflect a development related to the name of one of the Idaian Daktyls, who are all designated as ‘Phrygian men’ (*Phor.* fr. 2 *EGEF*). Perhaps it is no coincidence that the birth of Zeus is depicted on coins from Akmonia in Phrygia⁸⁹ and that one of the Kyklopes is called Pyrakmon (*Virg. Aen.* 8.425) or Akmonides (*Ov. Fasti* 4.288).⁹⁰

Aither is here masculine, as in Hesiod, lyric, Attic prose etc. It is feminine in Homer (with the exception of the *varia lectio* in *Hom. Od.* 19.540), Pind. *O.* 1.6, Soph. *OT* 866–7.

Fr. 2

The attribution of this fragment to the *Titanomachy* belongs to West.⁹¹ D’Alessio⁹² takes ἐν ἱστορίαις as referring to the prose summary or epitome⁹³ of Eumelos’ *Korinthiaka*⁹⁴ and argues that Zeus’ birth in Lydia has to be placed in that poem, rather than the *Titanomachy*. On the other hand, the fact

that Eumelos and Akousilaos were designated as historians who had turned Hesiod's poetry to prose (Clement, *Strom.* 6.26.7 [test. 2 *EGEF*]) makes much more sense if the prose epitome included both the *Titanomachy* and Corinthian history.⁹⁵ Fowler suggests that Zeus' birth could have figured in any poem, thus bringing also the *Europeia* into the picture.⁹⁶

Lydus offers a list of etymologies for the name of Zeus and their proper sources (Krates, Poseidonios, Chrysippos, ἄλλοι, ἄλλοι, τινές), as well as various accounts (Phoenicians, Eratosthenes, Eumelos) about the supreme god's birth. Eumelos' citation is, then, framed in Lydus' text by means of associating an etymology of Zeus' name with a particular geographical location (coinciding with Lydus' area of origin).⁹⁷ According to West,⁹⁸ this must be Mt Sipylos and not Tmolos as Lydus wrongly thinks,⁹⁹ since this is the place where both the goddesses have their beds (Hom. *Il.* 24.615) and the Kouretes dance around the mother of Zeus (Aristeides, *Or.* 173; see also 18.2, 21.3).

The appearance of Eumelos in a mainly philosophical context influenced by Stoicism is odd. But given the allegorical nature of the etymologies and the dating of Poseidonios at the 2nd–1st c. BC, Lydus may be drawing his material not directly from the authors he names but from an intermediate source the *terminus post quem* of which is the lifetime of Poseidonios. This would be in accordance with Lydus' general practice with respect to the citation of his sources. He tends not to mention the intermediate source and quotes the original one, which he only knows through the intermediate. In his eyes, the intermediate source is not important, for the accuracy of the information he reports depends ultimately on the initial source.¹⁰⁰

Why did Eumelos decide to place Zeus' birth in Lydia instead of Crete, as in Hesiod? Given that one of the epicenters of his *Europeia* was Boiotian mythology, he may well have paved the way for it in his *Titanomachy*, as he may have done with the 'fiery' nature of Aither that pointed to the preeminence of the Sun in the *Korinthiaka*. According to Pausanias (9.39.4), there was a sanctuary of Demeter-Europa at Lebadeia¹⁰¹ as well as a statue (and probably a cult) of Zeus Hyetios ἐν ὑπαίθρῳι. Perhaps Eumelos had in mind a cult of Zeus Hyetios when he placed the birth of Zeus in Lydia. That would explain why Lydus stresses the change of naming with respect to the cult of Zeus in Lydia (ὃς πάλαι μὲν Γοναί Διὸς ὑετίου, νῦν δὲ παρατραπείσης τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς λέξεως Δεύσιον προσαγορεύεται).¹⁰² We may even postulate that Rhea may have played a role in his transfer to Lydia in the manner she had brought him to Mt Lyktos in Crete in the Hesiodic version. After all, in the *Europeia* she had purified and taught the rites on Mt. Kybela in Phrygia to another god with strong Boiotian associations, Dionysos (Eum. fr. 29 *EGEF*). Cretan influence on local cults in Lydia with respect to Zeus' birth is strong: coins from Tralles bear the inscription Διὸς γοναί and depict Amaltheia and dancing Korybantes who beat their shields. Moreover, in cult the mother of the gods at Mt Sipylos is surrounded by Kouretes.¹⁰³ Thus, it seems that a

nexus of Cretan and Boiotian elements that were used by Eumelos in the *Europeia* because of its subject matter were also employed as a filter in the *Titanomachy*.

Fr. 3

In contrast to Hesiod's *Theogony* in which Aigaion/Briareos was one of the three Hundred-Handers (Kottos, Gyges, Briareos) summoned by the Olympians after the advice of Gaia in order to defeat the Titans (*Th.* 624–8), in the *Titanomachy* he is fighting on the Titans' side.¹⁰⁴ Despite the initial oddity of presenting the Hundred-Handers being imprisoned at the dark depths of the world (*Hes. Th.* 617–23), Hesiod then has Kottos and Gyges leaving ἐπ' Ὀκεανοῖο θεμέθλοις ('at the foundations of Okeanos', *Hes. Th.* 816–17), and Briareos being worthy of a special treatment as Poseidon gives him his daughter Kymopoleia as his wife (*Hes. Th.* 817–19). In the *Iliad* (1.398–406) where his double name is explained on the basis of the different language of gods and men, the Hundred-Hander Aigaion/Briareos is fetched from his watery abode by Thetis who saves Zeus from an intra-Olympian mutiny. The Iliadic version is in line with the Hesiodic, since Aigaion/Briareos is supporting Zeus and he is living in the sea (as suggested by his marriage to Poseidon's daughter).

Briareos may well have been a sea monster challenging the sky-god, as Yammu challenges Baal in Ugaritic tradition.¹⁰⁵ In Greek myth, he was either dragged to a group of gods fighting against the sky-god Zeus while keeping some of his marine qualities and features (Eumelos) or he underwent a radical change by shifting sides and becoming one of the Hundred-Handers who assisted the Olympians against the Titans.¹⁰⁶ Hesiod's muddled picture of Briareos reflects his attempt to change his role in the *Titanomachy* while preserving some traces of his 'old' marine nature. His 'separation from the other two Hundred-Handers is an argument *ex silentio* that he had a life of his own. The Iliadic version moves even further, by using him as supporter of Zeus against the other Olympians, while still preserving his marine associations, since Thetis has, in all probability, brought him up from the sea to Olympos to help Zeus. Dietze's suggestion¹⁰⁷ that he occupied the place Phorkys had in the list of seven Titans in the *Titanomachy* is not correct, for the scholium Ap. Rh. 1.1165c (p. 106.1–3 Wendel) explicitly says that he was an ally of the Titans, not that he was one of them. On the contrary, he must have had a special role as a sea creature. In my view, he did not belong to any group of gods or creatures, but was an independent source of power that fought on the side of the Titans.¹⁰⁸ The Eumelian presentation of Aigaion, in which he is the son of Gaia and Pontos, not of Gaia and Ouranos as in the Hesiodic *Theogony*,¹⁰⁹ may have had important consequences for the content not only of this Cyclic epic, but also of the *Korinthiaka*, in which he functioned as an arbitrator between the Sun and Poseidon for the possession of Corinth (fr. *17 *EGEF*). His transformation from an ally of the Titans in the

Titanomachy to an arbitrator between a defector from the Titans (the Sun) and an Olympian (Poseidon)¹¹⁰ in the *Korinthiaka* is puzzling,¹¹¹ but his role as a savior of Zeus in an otherwise unattested version (Hom. *Il.* 1.399–406) shows that he may have been (more often than our scant evidence allows us to guess) involved in intra-‘Olympian’ strifes.¹¹² The statement (Servius auctus on Virg. *Aen.* 6.287) that Briareos was driven to the underworld by Zeus’ thunderbolt is unlikely to be reflecting what happened to him at the end of the clash between the Olympians and the Titans in the *Titanomachy*, for as a marine creature he must have returned to his abode at the depth of the sea.¹¹³ If that is the case, then the Iliadic episode, in which he is presented as an ally of the Olympians, could have belonged to the tradition reflected in the *Korinthiaka*: after the defeat of the Titans, Briareos returns to his marine abode by promising Zeus, who has spared him (*Titanomachy*), to side with him in the future. When there was a mutiny by Hera, Poseidon and Apollo, he was summoned to Olympos¹¹⁴ and sat next to Zeus repelling any thoughts of rebellion. Subsequently, Hera was punished by being suspended in fetters (Hom. *Il.* 15.18), while Poseidon¹¹⁵ and Apollo were put under the servitude of king Laomedon of Troy (Hom. *Il.* 7.452–3; 21.442–57). In the Iliadic version of the story, Achilles replaces Apollo by Athena, in order to make all the rebellious gods pro-Achaean and lend further support to his mother’s request.¹¹⁶ After all, these three gods are the same gods who became hostile to Troy after the Judgment of Paris (Hom. *Il.* 24.25–30). Something equivalent happens in the *Korinthiaka*, where Briareos was summoned as an arbitrator to solve a potential strife between two gods, the Sun and Poseidon over Corinth.¹¹⁷

Fr. *4

Although no explicit ascription to the *Titanomachy* exists, such an episode is consonant with the reference to the horses of the Sun’s chariot (fr. 11 *EGEF*). It may be the case that Hyperion, who was one of the Titans, became the Sun-god, in the course of the Cyclic *Titanomachy* as a result of his refusal to fight at the side of the Titans against the Olympians.¹¹⁸ This would conform to the motif of ‘change sides or remain neutral in the war and receive award by the winning side’, which seems to have been employed in the cases of the Sun and Prometheus¹¹⁹ and is to a smaller extent reflected in the story of Briareos. There are two alternatives with respect to the placement of the episode of the Sun’s abstaining from the war: either before the actual clash between the Olympians and the Titans or after the victory of the Olympians and the distribution of privileges. In my view, an early placement is better. On the analogy of the role of Prometheus, who will be introduced as a herald early in the poem only to play an important role towards the end of the epic, we may argue that the abridged comment by Servius contains a highly elliptical reference pertaining to the Sun, whom Eumelos treated for a second time later in his poem, perhaps when the various privileges and assignments of places to

Fr. *5

The Ionic form Τιτήνων indicates that Hesychius is using a relic from a verse quotation. Given that the expression ‘the Herald of the Titans’ most probably presupposes the context of a Titanomachy and that there were no Hellenistic poetic renderings of this topic, certain scholars¹²¹ have tentatively suggested an association of this citation with the Eumelian *Titanomachy*: Prometheus may have been sent by the Titans as a messenger to the Olympians before the actual clash. His later role makes us think that he may, like the Sun,¹²² have changed sides. Other scholars have been less inclined to endorse this suggestion. Davies placed this fragment in a separate section of *fragmenta fortasse ad Titanomachiam pertinentia* (though using a smaller font for these fragments deprived of an ascription).¹²³ D’Alessio does not comment on it at all, which shows that he too does not see any convincing evidence that it comes from the *Titanomachy*.¹²⁴ Others have thought that it comes from a satyr-play or a comedy called *Ithas* or *Ithax*.¹²⁵ Separate from the question pertaining to the inclusion of this fragment in the *Titanomachy* is that of the meaning of Ἰθαῖς. West interprets it as ‘the mythical eponym of a phyle in some region or other known as the Ithageneis, literally the Indigenous Ones’. According to this line of thought, when the meaning of *itha-* (Skt. *Ihá*, Prākṛ. *Idha*, Av. *iḍa* ‘here’; see also Lat. *ibi* ‘there’)¹²⁶ was no longer clear, it was understood as denoting provenance from Ithas. Given that these Ithageneis may have regarded themselves as descendants of Prometheus, by means of his son Deukalion (Flood), Ithas and Prometheus were thought to be the same person. Still, there are problems with this kind of explanation: first, one hypothesis (Ithas being a mythical eponym) is based on another (the existence of the Ithageneis), and then on a third one (the members of this unattested phyle regarding themselves as descendants of Prometheus); second, it is against West’s own rejection of the inclusion of Deukalion and the Flood in the *Titanomachy*, since it is hard to see how the Ithageneis would have been mentioned if not as descendants of Deukalion. The etymology of Ἰθαῖς can be based on the stem *ith-* (**h2idh-*) that represents the zero grade of a proterodynamic neuter in *-ap*, whose full grade can be seen in the Homeric adverb εἶθαρ (**h2eidh-*) ‘at once, forthwith’ that is cognate with εὐθύς (ion. ἰθύς). In fact, ἰθαρός, whose antiquity is guaranteed by its attestation in Mycenaen (*Itarajo*) and its use as a personal name in Asia Minor¹²⁷ and is derived from εἶθαρ (see *πῖαρ-πιαρός*),¹²⁸ is glossed by Hesychius as ταχύς, ἰλαρός, καλός, καθαρός.¹²⁹ Moreover, Hesychius glosses an adverb ἰθαρ (perhaps ἰθαρ) as ταχέως.¹³⁰ Since ἰθαρός (**h2idh-*) is derived from αἶθω, then we can be confident that both Hesychian glosses are correct. Given that brightness and speed are closely associated in IE (e.g. ἄργός ‘bright’ and ‘swift’), then the stem *ith-* may indicate brightness (αἶθω), directness (εὐθύς, ἰθύς), and finally speed (ἰθαῖς). In this light, Prometheus may have been called in the relevant

episode of the *Titanomachy* Ἰθαῦς (‘the Speedy one’) in his capacity as herald of the Titans.¹³¹

Prometheus’ speaking skills are also known from [Aischylos] *PV* 62 and 944, where he is called σοφιστής. Such a characterization makes sense only if Prometheus ‘had once persuaded the Olympians that moderate φιλάνθρωπία need entail no betrayal of divine interests and that the extirpation of mankind might have disadvantages’.¹³² It may also be a distant echo, especially if the author of *PV* knew the *Titanomachy*, of Prometheus’ eloquence as a herald of the Titans and of his subsequent desertion of his brothers in the clash against the Olympians.¹³³

Fr. *6

Apollodoros’ version of the god’s history (*Bibl.* 1.2.1) is a fussy muddle. It is mainly based on an ‘Orphic’ theogony, which was a collage of the Protogonos and Eudemian theogonies, and was probably the work of the person who organized the Epic Cycle in the late classical period and wanted to begin his panoramic account of the world with a theogony that was circulating under the name of Orpheus.¹³⁴ On the other hand, Apollodoros’ account of the war against the Titans, which is clearly non-Hesiodic, may be of Eumelian origin.¹³⁵ A schematic comparison of the three sources will show how conflated Apollodoros’ version is.

Orphic theogony	Hesiod	Titanomachy
Ouranos + Gaia	Chaos Ouranos + Gaia	Aither Ouranos + Gaia
Birth of: Hundred-Handers, Kyklopes, and Titans First incarceration of Kyklopes in Tartaros by Ouranos	Birth of: Titans, Kyklopes and Hundred-Handers First incarceration under the earth of Titans, Kyklopes and Hundred-Handers by Ouranos	Birth of: Titans and Kyklopes
Titans release Kyklopes Titans attack Ouranos	Kronos cuts Ouranos’ genitals Kronos releases Kyklopes and Hundred-Handers	
Second incarceration of Kyklopes in Tartaros and Hundred-Handers by Kronos	Second incarceration of Kyklopes	Incarceration of Kyklopes in Tartaros by Kronos
Olympians release Kyklopes	Zeus releases Kyklopes and Hundred-Handers	Zeus releases Kyklopes
Olympians defeat Titans	Olympians defeat Titans	Olympians defeat Titans
Incarceration of Titans in Tartaros by Zeus	Incarceration of Titans in Tartaros by Zeus	Incarceration of Titans in Tartaros by Zeus
Hundred-Handers are placed as their guards	Hundred-Handers are placed as their guards	Kyklopes are placed as their guards

In Eumelos, the Titans could not have been guarded by the Hundred-Handers, since Briareos (who is traditionally one of them) is a sea-monster that had

fought on the Titans' side (fr. 3 *EGEF*). Apollodoros' account may have been conditioned by the 'Orphic' theogony that preceded in the Epic Cycle and agreed with the Hesiodic version on this point.¹³⁶ The fact that Briareos is on the Titans' side and is mentioned on his own, in contrast to Hesiod and Apollodoros where the Hundred-Handers are referred to collectively, allows the possibility that in Eumelos' *Titanomachy* Kottos and Gyges, the other two Hundred-Handers, did not feature at all.¹³⁷ In fact, Apollodoros' account (*Bibl.* 1.1.2) which is based on an 'Orphic' theogony agrees with the identification of τοὺς καταταρταρωθέντας ... συμμάχους (*Bibl.* 1.2.1) with the Kyklopes alone. The phrase ἀλλὰ τούτους μὲν Οὐρανὸς δῆσας εἰς Τάρταρον ἔρριψε 'Ouranos tied them and threw them to Tartaros' (*Bibl.* 1.1.2) may well designate *only* the Kyklopes¹³⁸ and not the Hundred-Handers who are modified by a different τούτους in the preceding period. If both groups were designated, then we should expect a πάντας before the second τούτους.¹³⁹

Eumelos' version contained older material than the Hesiodic one. Kampe,¹⁴⁰ whose name means 'worm', may have been a serpentine¹⁴¹ monster appointed by Kronos to guard the Kyklopes. In Diod. Sik. 3.72.3, ¹⁴² Kampe is designated as a γηγενὲς θηρίον 'a monster born from the earth' and is killed by Dionysos. In Nonn. *Dion.* 18.236–64, she is described as a dragon with fifty heads, a woman's torso and various serpentine features and is killed by Zeus. She represents another version of Echidna,¹⁴³ the daughter of Keto and consort of Typhoeus in Arimoi in Hes. *Th.* 295, 304–7. It is also likely that she had marine associations, especially if Epicharmos (fr. 192 *PCG*) called her a κῆτος ('sea-monster')¹⁴⁴ and Lykophron designated sea-monsters in general as κάμπη.¹⁴⁵ All this material may well derive from or reflect the *Titanomachy*.¹⁴⁶

Whereas in Hesiod the three Kyklopes supply Zeus with his weapons, each one's name corresponding to the three weapons given to him (Brontes - thunder, Steropes - lightning, Arges - bright bolt), in Apollodoros' version (which seems to reflect Eumelos' poem) the weapons like their recipients are different: Zeus receives thunder, lightning, and thunderbolt (βροντὴν καὶ ἀστραπὴν καὶ κεραυνόν), Plouton a helmet (κυνέην), and Poseidon a trident (τρίαιναν). The motif of the special weapons given to three different gods is consonant with the subsequent division of the world into three zones, each assigned to one of the three brothers, Zeus, Poseidon, and Plouton/ Hades. Given that the 'casting of lots for the division of the world' is a motif with multiple Near-Eastern antecedents,¹⁴⁷ and therefore quite old, it is likely that the motif of the 'special weapons for the three brothers' is also old. We do not know whether there was in the Eumelian poem a correspondence between the three brothers and the number of Kyklopes giving each god his weapons.¹⁴⁸ In Hesiod such analogy did exist, each Kyklops manufacturing a different weapon for Zeus. If the analogy was preserved, something that must remain doubtful, then we should imagine that a single Kyklops would have manufactured all three 'thunderbolt-associated' weapons of Zeus. If this

scenario is not true, then we should postulate the existence of more than three Kyklopes, since the weapons are five, which is even more doubtful. In any case, what is very likely is that the names of the Kyklopes must have been different altogether, since Bronte and Sterope were the names used by Eumelos for two of the four horses of the Sun's chariot.¹⁴⁹

Given that Zeus and the Olympians had no Hundred-Handers to assist them against the Titans, these special weapons must have been the key element for their victory. It is a reasonable inference that they would have given to the actual clash with the Titans a truly universal dimension. Although Apollodoros does not describe the actual Titanomachy (in contrast to the Gigantomachy¹⁵⁰ and Typhonomachy about which he is quite eloquent), we may postulate an attack in which Zeus and his brothers would have made ample use of the special weapons manufactured for them by the Kyklopes: thunderbolts for Zeus, a trident for Poseidon, and the helmet of invisibility for Plouton.¹⁵¹

Fr. *7

If Atlas featured in the *Titanomachy* (fr. 10 *EGEF*),¹⁵² the detail about holding the sky on his shoulders may also come from Eumelos' poem. If this is true, then Eumelos would have offered a version close to the Hesiodic one (*Th.* 517–19),¹⁵³ in which Atlas is placed at the world's end in front of the Hesperides and holds the sky on his head and hands. This is a very different representation from the one found in the *Odyssey* (1.52–4), where he is placed at the sea depth and supports the long columns keeping earth and sky apart.¹⁵⁴ On the Chest of Kypselos (Paus. 5.18.4) and on the painted scenes placed around Zeus' statue at Olympia (Paus. 5.11.5) Atlas was depicted as holding on his shoulders both earth and sky, but Pausanias may have 'misinterpreted a globe on Atlas' shoulders (the usual art type) which really represented only the sky'.¹⁵⁵ In contrast to the widely attested idea of pillars or demons or anthropomorphic figures holding the sky,¹⁵⁶ the Greek tradition must have invented a reason for assigning this task exclusively to Atlas. What has caused his punishment remains unknown.¹⁵⁷ West suggests that Atlas' punishment may go back to a lost myth, in which Ullikummi-like he grew up from the sea and threatened the gods.¹⁵⁸ Is it possible that Atlas played an active role in the Titanomachy as a leader of the Titans against Zeus and that the type of his punishment was suggested to Zeus by his effort to climb the sky?¹⁵⁹

There are good reasons for including Apollodoros' reference to Menoitios in the *Titanomachy*. Hesiod (*Th.* 514–16), who designates him as a son of Iapetos and Klymene and brother of Atlas, Prometheus and Epimetheus, does not explicitly connect his thunderbolting by Zeus and subsequent imprisonment in Tartaros with the actual war between the Olympians and the Titans, but leaves unexplained the epithets *ὑπερκύδαντα* ('renowned')¹⁶⁰ and *ὕβριστην* ('ruffian').¹⁶¹ The reason for his punishment is even more vague ('because of his wickedness and defiant manhood'),¹⁶² although phraseology

and context¹⁶³ indicate that he must have committed some specific insolence that had caused Zeus' punishment. Since Apollodoros' reference cannot refer to Hesiod and given that both Atlas (fr. *7 and 10[?] *EGEF*) and Prometheus (*5 *EGEF*) featured in the Eumelian poem, Menoitios may have been punished by Zeus in the context of the clash between the Olympians and the Titans. An external piece of evidence indicating that the above passage of Apollodoros may come from Eumelos' poem is that it is immediately followed by a reference that undoubtedly belonged to the *Titanomachy*: although no explicit ascription is given here, we know that what is said about the Centaur Cheiron, who is designated as son of Kronos and Philyra, is in perfect agreement with Σ Ap. Rh. 1.554 (pp. 47.20–48.2 Wendel),¹⁶⁴ which is ascribed to the poet of the *Titanomachy*, offering the same genealogical details about Cheiron.¹⁶⁵ In this light, it is likely that Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1.2.9) is drawing (with respect to this feature) on Eumelos' poem.¹⁶⁶

Fr. 8

The way Athenaios' text is phrased gives the impression that he assigns this fragment either to Eumelos or Arktinos. But since the expression ἡ Ἀρκτίνος is preserved in the margin of a single manuscript (Parisinus suppl. gr. 841, traditionally known as C) and may be due to a scribe influenced by the context of 11.470c (= fr. 11 *EGEF*), the attribution of the fragment to Eumelos is safe.¹⁶⁷

Zeus' dance among the other Olympians makes more sense if placed *before* the distribution of privileges; for it would have been awkward if Zeus danced in delight in the middle of the other gods (μέσσοισιν) not immediately after the defeat of the Titans but after he had been allotted control of the sky.¹⁶⁸ That this fragment makes better sense if placed after the defeat of the Titans¹⁶⁹ can be seen from the fact that later authors mention various festivities among the Olympians after their victory over the Titans: according to Diodoros,¹⁷⁰ Zeus was garlanded by the other Olympians; Tibullus and Seneca have Apollo singing praises for Zeus, in the former poet after Apollo puts on his nicest garment and combs nicely his long hair;¹⁷¹ in Dionysios of Halikarnassos it is Athena who is dancing the πυρρίχη, a form of ἐνόπλιος ὄρχησις.¹⁷² Zeus' dancing is associated with his delight at defeating a dangerous opponent even by authors who do not connect this event with the Titanomachy: Euripides,¹⁷³ Hermippos,¹⁷⁴ and Pampreprios,¹⁷⁵ all link Zeus' dancing with his triumph in the Gigantomachy. In all these cases where the younger gods (Apollo, Athena) are mentioned participating in the celebrations for the defeat of the Titans, the term 'Titans' is due to a terminological overlap with 'Giants', as can be seen from Eur. *Hek.* 477 and *IT* 224 with respect to the iconography of the *peplos* at the Panathenaia.¹⁷⁶ Be that as it may, there is evidence that the situation may have been blurred. To start from the end, in the Tibullus passage cited above (2.5.7–10), in which Apollo sang in praise of

victorious Jupiter (Zeus) when Saturn (Kronos) fled his throne, apart from the fact that the term ‘Titans’ is not employed, which shows that in this case we are hardly dealing with a terminological overlap, the event is explicitly located after the defeat of Kronos in the Titanomachy. The most remarkable piece of evidence for the same phenomenon is a fragment by Epicharmos (PCG 135) preserved in a papyrus (Pap. Colon. 126) published in 1976 that contains a mythological treatise and probably coming from the work *Peri theon* by Apollodoros of Athens.¹⁷⁷ According to this fragment, as soon as Athena was born from Zeus’ head she killed the Giant Pallas, flayed his corpse, and used the skin to protect herself. What is really important is that, according to Epicharmos, this event took place ‘in the battle that happened at the time of Kronos (ἐν μάχαι τῇ γενομέναι κατὰ Κρόνον). This means that the clash between Athena and Pallas (who is a mortal Giant) is chronologically linked to the Titanomachy.¹⁷⁸

ἐν μέσσοισιν implies that the other gods were also participating in the festivities, perhaps forming a circle around Zeus. We should probably picture them all dancing, singing and expressing their happiness that the Titans have been defeated.¹⁷⁹ On the other hand, the fact that Zeus is dancing in the middle is of prime importance for the scene that is described.¹⁸⁰ Zeus’ dance highlights his personal delight and key role both in defeating the Titans and in ruling the new world order.¹⁸¹ This does not mean that the *Titanomachy* included a Gigantomachy or that Athena and Apollo took part in the festivities. Lebedev has argued that Apollo participated in the celebrations as a divine musician.¹⁸² Contextual evidence with respect to the source of this fragment tells otherwise, since Athenaios places the quotation from Eumelos after two other quotations referring to Apollo dancing (Pind. fr. 148 S–M) or playing the *kithara* and ‘stepping high and gracefully’ (*HHom to Apollo* [3] 514–16). It would have been very awkward if Apollo had participated in the dancing and singing festivities in Eumelos’ poem) but Athenaios decided to refer to his dancing and singing skills in two other poems and suddenly switch to Zeus’ dancing in the *Titanomachy*. This may indicate that Apollo did not dance in Eumelos’ poem, and the only reason for not having a god, who was so closely associated with dance and music, dance and sing in the *Titanomachy* was that the passage under examination refers to Zeus’ jubilant dance *after* his defeat of the Titans, when Apollo was not yet born. This is, I think, how far we can go. This way of reasoning does not prove or disprove the existence of a Gigantomachy in Eumelos’ epic.¹⁸³

Fr. *9

The tradition about the gods dividing the world between themselves by casting lots,¹⁸⁴ which presupposes some type of equality between those taking part in it, is attested for the first time in Greek literature in Homer (*Hom. Il.* 15.187–93),¹⁸⁵ in a passage that bears striking similarities with what is said about the same topic in the Akkadian epic of *Atrahasis* (I 11–16).¹⁸⁶ The

division of the world between Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades may have taken place at Mekone, where Hesiod (*Th.* 535–6) placed the division between the divine and human portions of the world. Such a localization of the episode would be consonant with the fact that Mekone is often identified with Sikyon¹⁸⁷ or a village in the same area,¹⁸⁸ since both the *Korinthiaka* and the *Europeia* show traces of a Sikyonian-Corinthian perspective.¹⁸⁹

Kallimachos (*Ait. fr.* 119 Harder) places the same event at Mekone,¹⁹⁰ albeit after the Gigantomachy, but the confusion between the Gigantomachy and the Titanomachy starting at least in the second half of the 5th c. BC is hardly surprising.¹⁹¹ In this light and given the identification of Mekone with Sikyon, Kallimachos' rejection of the casting of lots (*Hymn to Zeus* 60–7) may be targeting the Cyclic *Titanomachy*, where this episode is more at home than its Iliadic counterpart (Hom. *Il.* 15.187–93).¹⁹²

Fr. 10

The way Philodemos' text unfolds indicates that the missing section referring to the author of the *Titanomachy* would have included something like 'the apples are guarded by the Hesperides, whereas Tartaros is guarded by the Harpies'.¹⁹³ This reading or a reading along these lines is supported by the fact that the author of the *Titanomachy* appearing third in the list must have offered a version of this episode that (a) is different both from that of Akousilaos (the Harpyiai guard the apples) and from that of Epimenides (the Harpyiai guard the apples and are identical to the Hesperides), and (b) is based on ascribing two different functions to the Hesperides and the Harpyiai (μὲν ... <δέ>).¹⁹⁴

Whether this reference to the apples of the Hesperides included Herakles' journey to obtain them is a thorny issue.¹⁹⁵ Some scholars support such a connection,¹⁹⁶ but West, who draws attention to a number of passages in Hesiod's *Theogony* (215–16, 334–5, 517–19) that refer to the Hesperides in a context *not* including Herakles, has argued that the presence of Herakles is not needed.¹⁹⁷ D'Alessio, who follows West, suggests that the Hesperides may have been mentioned in various contexts without any reference to Herakles.¹⁹⁸ The most cautious approach is to leave the matter open. The examples from the Hesiodic *Theogony* do not show for sure that Herakles was *not* mentioned in this context for the following reasons: (a) if lack of an explicit mention to an integral part of a mythical reference is treated as a strong indication that this mythical reference could exist without that integral part, then Hes. *Th.* 275 and 517–19 could be used as proof that the Hesperides are *not always* linked with the golden apples, since the latter are *not* mentioned in these particular contexts. This is most unlikely. (b) Hesiod does not mention Herakles with respect to the golden apples in *Th.* 215–16 because his goal is to offer an almost blank list of Nyx's children and nothing else.¹⁹⁹ As for Hes. *Th.* 334–5, it seems to be an afterthought, a possibility left open by West himself.²⁰⁰ This interpretation is further supported by the fact that Hesiod does not give even the name of Keto's last child nor does he mention by name the Hesperides themselves, but is contended, in contrast to what he has systematically done in this section, with the general and rather vague expression δεινὸν ὄφιν 'terrible serpent' (Hes. *Th.* 334). By allowing for a reference to Herakles I am not suggesting that the Hesperides would have featured in a fully-fledged narrative of the hero's Labors, since we have no

evidence that the *Titanomachy* would have covered such an extended narrative encompassing Herakles' Labors.

According to West, 'it may have been in the same context of Atlas' punishment that Eumelos told of the golden apples of the Hesperides'.²⁰¹ This is a possibility, but it does not mean that we should envisage a fully-blown episode involving Herakles. According to Pherekydes (fr. 17; see also 16*a, b, *c, and *d *EGM*) and Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.5.11) who is clearly following him,²⁰² Herakles on his way to Erytheia saved Prometheus who advised him not to go directly to the garden of the Hesperides but to ask Atlas to fetch the apples, while he (Herakles) would take his place during his absence and hold the heaven on his shoulders. When Atlas returned with the apples, he told Herakles that he would go on his own to Eurystheus and give him the apples, whereas Herakles would be holding the sky. Following Prometheus' advice Herakles replied to Atlas that he would agree to hold the heavens, once he was able to put a pad on his head. When Atlas placed the apples on the ground and took the sky on his shoulders again, Herakles took the apples and returned to Greece, to give the apples to Eurystheus. Pherekydes' narrative indicates what the *Titanomachy* did not contain, since anything but a brief reference to Herakles would necessitate a prolonged narrative of the hero's Labors, of which we have no evidence at all in this Eumelian epic.

Fr. 11

The most likely place for a reference to the horses of the Sun's chariot is the episode of the distribution of privileges among the Olympians, as well as to those gods who fought at their side or remained neutral. Hyperion may have been one of them (fr. *4 *EGEF*). If this attribution to the *Titanomachy* is correct, then we may postulate a scene in which he would receive his award. Being now stationed in the sky instead of being imprisoned in Tartaros like the rest of the Titans, Hyperion became the Sun-god. Eumelos must have referred to his new role by mentioning his daily journey on his chariot in the sky and his nocturnal return by sailing across the Okeanos on his cauldron.²⁰³ A different interpretation placing the reference to the Sun's cauldron in an episode, in which he gave Herakles his cauldron so that the son of Zeus could travel to the Hesperides, should be rejected.²⁰⁴

The names of the horses are not based on the same principle: the males' names pertain to direction (Eoos pointing to the east, Aithops to the south), while the mares' names are associated not so much with the Sun but with Zeus (Bronte and Sterope).²⁰⁵ West has made the attractive suggestion that the yoke-pair of female horses was the older one, that it belonged to the Storm-God,²⁰⁶ and that the pair of male trace horses was added later.²⁰⁷

Welcker's²⁰⁸ suggestion that the scholium reflects the end and beginning of two verses from the *Titanomachy* (δύο ἄρρενας ἵππους / καὶ δύο θηλείας) has been criticized by Bernabé²⁰⁹ on the basis of the non-epic form ἄρρενας and the hiatus between δύο and ἄρρενας. But if ἄρρενας is due to the

scholiast's 'adaptation' of the epic form ἄρσενας (see his use of the form ἄρρεν in the expression ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ a few lines below in the same scholium), then Welcker's proposal may not be dismissed lightly, the more so since the argument concerning the hiatus is not valid (see e.g. Hom. *Od.* 9.438: ἐξέσσυτο ἄρσενα μῆλα; Hom. *Od.* 13.81: τετράοροι ἄρσενες ἵπποι).

Fr. 12

The Sun's travelling from west to east by night on a golden bowl (or couch: Mimnermos, or cauldron: Eumelos, or goblet: Stesichoros) is a story well known from various authors: Mimnermos (fr. 12.5–10 *IEG*), Stesichoros (*Geryoneis* fr. 8a Finglass),²¹⁰ Pisander (*Herakleia* fr. 5 *GEF*), Aischylos (*Heliades* fr. 69 *TrGF* 3), Pherekydes of Athens (fr. 18 *EGM*), Panyassis (*Herakleia* fr. 12 *GEF* = 7 Matthews), Antimachos of Kolophon (*Lyde*, fr. 86 Matthews), Alexander of Ephesos (fr. 38 *SH*), and Apollodoros (*Bibliothēke*, 2.5.10); for Near-Eastern material, see West (1997) 507–8; for Indo-European references, see West (2007a) 203–7.

The association of Herakles with the Sun's bowl is attested as early as the end of the sixth and the beginning of the fifth century BC (though the Sun is not depicted).²¹¹ The picture changes radically in the fifth century: two lekythoi show Herakles carrying a club or bow and approaching the Sun's chariot, while Athena appears on the other side.²¹² The similarity with Pherekydes' version of this episode and the hostile encounter between Herakles and the Sun is obvious.²¹³ On a lekythos from Eretria, the Sun is rising out of the Okeanos in his chariot, while Herakles is sitting on the sea-shore holding his club and having his other hand raised as if greeting.²¹⁴ The same is the case with an Attic black-figure skyphos²¹⁵ attributed to the Theseus painter and depicting two different moments of the same scene: on one side Herakles is seated, raising one of his hands (greeting the Sun) and holding his club with the other, while on the other side he is walking on the sea-shore, holding both his bow and club as if he is departing for a Labor and looking back to the Sun. These depictions show a clear distancing from the hostile tone of the encounter seen in both earlier representations and Pherekydes. It seems that the artists were at this stage more interested in emphasizing a turning point of this episode, i.e. the scene in which the Sun freely gives to Herakles his bowl and the hero departs for Erytheia.

Although the source of our fragment (Theolytos), as quoted by Athenaios, does not explicitly refer to Herakles in relation to the Sun's cauldron in the *Titanomachy*, the association with Herakles is worth investigating, given the context in which this information is placed. In 469d–70d, Athenaios refers to the drinking cup ἡράκλειον ('Herakleion' or 'of Herakles') and quotes a series of authors who mention the Sun's bowl or couch or cauldron. The internal organization of this list is important for determining whether the author of the *Titanomachy* mentioned Herakles travelling on the Sun's bowl to the west:

Pisander	Herakles crosses the Okeanos on the Sun's bowl given to him by Okeanos himself
Panyassis	Herakles travels to Erytheia on the Sun's bowl ²¹⁶ given to him by Nereus

At this point, Athenaios switches to another embedded list of authors referring *solely* to the Sun's travelling on his bowl (and not to Herakles travelling on it),²¹⁷ as is evident from the way he introduces this second list:

469e: ὅτι δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἥλιος ἐπὶ ποτηρίου διεκομίζετο ἐπὶ τὴν δύσιν Στησίχορος μὲν οὕτως φησὶν ('Stesichoros [fr. 8a Finglass] claims that the Sun used to travel to the West in a cup, as follows:')²¹⁸

Stesichoros:	the Sun gets into his golden bowl in order to cross the Okeanos, while Herakles walks in the grove of Erytheia
Antimachos:	Erytheia conducts the Sun in his golden bowl
Aischylos:	the Sun travels on his ὄεπας 'after escaping the dead of sacred night with its dark horses'

At this point a third list is introduced by Athenaios including authors who do *not* refer to the Sun's means of transport as 'bowl'.²¹⁹ As in the immediately preceding list, here too the focus is *exclusively* on the Sun. Herakles is not mentioned at all.

Mimnermos:	the Sun is conveyed on a winged golden couch made by Hephaistos
Eumelos:	the Sun sails across the Okeanos on a cauldron (λάβης)

Having completed his lists of authors referring (a) to the Sun's bowl and Herakles' use of it, (b) the Sun's bowl or (c) couch or cauldron with no reference to Herakles, Athenaios then switches to Pherekydes who caps the initial list having Herakles travel on the golden bowl by force. Pisander and Panyassis, who stand in the beginning of the list, also mention the Sun's bowl (by Okeanos and Nereus respectively) though no force is used in these cases:

Pherekydes:	Herakles threatens the Sun with his bow; the Sun gives him his golden bowl to travel to Erytheia
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The structure of Athenaios' section on the *Herakleion* is, then, the following (A– B1/B2– A'):

A. *the Sun's bowl and Herakles travelling with it*
Pisander
Panyassis

B1. *The Sun's bowl (with no reference to Herakles)*

Stesichoros

Antimachos

Aischylos

B2. *The Sun's couch or cauldron*

Mimnermos

Theolytos

Eumelos

A'. *The Sun's bowl and Herakles travelling on it after obtaining it by force* Pherekydes

Since the Eumelian reference is included in list B that refers to the Sun's vehicle (bowl or couch or cauldron) without mentioning Herakles, we cannot be sure whether the author of the *Titanomachy* presented Herakles travelling on the Sun's cauldron. Did then the reference to the λέβης pertain *only* to the Sun in the *Titanomachy*? Although we should use the aforementioned list with caution, since in another occasion Athenaios (11.781d) *does* mention the Sun's bowl in the context of the Herakles-Geryoneus episode,²²⁰ whereas this time (11.469ef) he refrains from saying that Herakles did use the bowl,²²¹ still it is clear that the main Labor in which the cauldron is employed pertains to the episode of Geryoneus. Pherekydes is the sole author (followed by Apollodoros), who uses it twice, with respect to both the Hesperides and Geryoneus.²²² As a result, the Sun's cauldron may have been used on its own sake in the *Titanomachy*, i.e. with reference only to the Sun.

The Sun's cauldron is then employed for the first time by Eumelos in the *Titanomachy* and then by Theolytos (*FGrHist* 481 F), without any reference to Herakles. The opposite is the case with Agatharchides of Knidos (in Phot. *Bibl.* 443a [VII 139.37–8 Henry]) and Alexander of Ephesos (*SH* 38), who both mention it in the context of Herakles' journey.²²³ D'Alessio has suggested that the choice of the cauldron by Eumelos may have had a specific mythological connotation, pointing to the Sun's 'rebirth' or 'rejuvenation' the next day, as is the case with similar uses of the cauldron in the archaic and early classical period.²²⁴

Fr. 13

The slip from Τιτανομαχίαν to Γίγαντομαχίαν in the 'author-title' formula ὁ δὲ τὴν 'title of work' ποιήσας seems to be a scribal error. It has been explained²²⁵ by means of a widespread (after the 5th century BC) confusion between the *Titanomachy* and the *Gigantomachy*, the latter enjoying a wider publicity in literature and the visual arts.²²⁶ The fact that Cheiron featured in the poem has made some scholars²²⁷ argue that the *Gigantomachy* was part of the *Titanomachy*. No extant evidence supports such a view, though 'there must have been an early *Gigantomachy*, to account for the wealth of allusions to the subject in literature and art'.²²⁸ Such a poem may have been oral.²²⁹ If there was a written one, it may have disappeared before the Hellenistic period,

since we can't identify one among the early epics of which there is any record.²³⁰ Much emphasis has been put on the following passage by Xenophanes of Kolophon (6th–5th c. BC) as indicating the existence of a Gigantomachy and Centauromachy within the *Titanomachy* (1.19–24 *IEG*):

ἀνδρῶν δ' αἰνεῖν τοῦτον ὃς ἐσθλὰ πῶν ἀναφαίνει,
ὥς ἦι μνημοσύνη καὶ τόνος ἀμφ' ἀρετῆς,
οὐ τι μάχας διέπειν Τιτῆνων οὐδὲ Γιγάντων
οὐδὲ <> Κενταύρων, πλάσμα<τα> τῶν προτέρων,
ἢ στάσις σφεδανὰς τοῖς οὐδὲν χρηστὸν ἔνεστιν·
θεῶν <δὲ> προμηθεῖν αἰὲν ἔχειν ἀγαθὴν.

Praise the man who, when he has taken drink, brings noble deeds to light,
as memory and a striving for virtue bring to him.
He deals neither with the battles of Titans nor Giants
nor <> Centaurs, fictions of old,
nor furious conflicts – for there is no use in these.
But it is good always to hold the gods in high regard.²³¹

The expression πλάσμα<τα> τῶν προτέρων ('fictions of old') seems to refer to earlier poetry, but it would be mere guesswork to claim that Xenophanes is here pointing to a single poetic treatment of these themes. Moreover, to interpret the word προμηθεῖν (1.24) as an allusion²³² to Prometheus' role in the clash of the Olympians and the Titans and on this basis to argue that this line of thought is further reinforced if Cheiron is the θεῶν τις διάδοχος τῶν σῶν πόνων ([Aisch.] *PV* 1027) who has exchanged his immortality for the life of Prometheus,²³³ is highly conjectural.

Although the Philyra-Kronos episode refers to an event that precedes the actual clash between the Olympians and the Titans, when Kronos was still ruling the world, it is more likely that it was mentioned as a brief flashback digression at this point of the plot.²³⁴ It would have been quite awkward to have an early reference to the birth of Cheiron that had no narrative function at all (since Cheiron did not take part in the Titanomachy), and return to him much later, when his instructive role for mankind was brought to the fore (14 *EGEF*). The placing of both fragments at the beginning of the poem, in the context of a mention of the offspring of Kronos, would result in an even more strange reference to Cheiron's role as culture-hero. There is no evidence that Cheiron played any other role in the *Titanomachy* or that this poem contained other stories about him, 'such as his voluntary surrender of his immortality to Prometheus'.²³⁵ This story presupposes Cheiron's wounding by Herakles' arrow in the episode with Pholos. This line of thought points to a fully-fledged narrative²³⁶ involving Herakles that would raise serious problems about the scope of the poem and as such it better be withdrawn. The placement presented here is based on the fact that there is no evidence that the *Titanomachy* would start with a reference to one of Kronos' offspring who played no part whatsoever in the ensuing divine war.²³⁷

διφυγῆς in Apollodoros *Bibl.* 1.2.4 (ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Κρόνου καὶ Φιλύρας

Χείρων διφυής Κένταυρος) reproduces²³⁸ the Σ Ap. Rh. 2.1231 ([p. 210.22–4 Wendel] Φερεκύδης [fr. 50 *EGM*] φησὶν ὅτι Κρόνος ἀπεικασθεὶς ἵππῳ ἐμίγη τῇ Φιλύρῃ τῇ Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο διφυής ὁ Χείρων),²³⁹ which is also glossed by the scholiast's ἵπποκένταυρος (1.554).²⁴⁰ It is anything but certain that Cheiron was called in the *Titanomachy* by his matronymic Φιλυρίδης. The form seems Aiolic and is typical for gods or humans with divine parents.²⁴¹ It is already attested in Hesiod (*Th.* 1002) and is an effective way of designating someone like Cheiron who could never be called with his patronymic, since this was exclusively used for Zeus (Κρονίδης).

Fr. 14

The manuscript tradition offers a text with several problems, all based on the fact that three terms (δικαιοσύνη, ἰλαράς, and σχῆματ' Ὀλύμπου) sit uneasily in an archaic epic. δικαιοσύνη is first attested in the *Certamen* 168 and Theogn. 147. ἰλαρός is not attested before the classical period (see e.g. Xen. *Mem.* 2.7.12; Kritias, *Eleg.* 6.15 *IEG*: ὥστε φρέν' εἰς ἰλαρὰν ἄσπιδα πάντ' ἀπάγειν) and, moreover, seems at home in a Christian author of the Imperial period like Hermippos. Its correction to ἱεράς that has been proposed by Köchly is very probable, given that it modifies the noun θυσίαι in Ar. *Pax* 397 (θυσίαισιν ἱεραῖσι) and that the corruption of ἱερόν to ἰλαρόν is found in Ar. *Ran.* 455 (φέγγος ἱερόν [ἰλαρόν A M Np1^s U Vb3 Vs1]) and is confirmed by a stanza from the *Ranae* inscribed by a Dionysiac association on a statue base at Rhodos in the 1st c. BC.²⁴² The expression σχῆματ' Ὀλύμπου is even more problematic,²⁴³ since σχῆμα is not otherwise attested before the classical period and its astronomical interpretation is unknown at such an early age.²⁴⁴ Teuffel's σήματα seems to work well: it is paralleled by Hom. *Il.* 13.242–4 (ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος Ὀλύμπου δεικνὺς σῆμα βροτοῖσιν)²⁴⁵ providing an economical explanation for its corruption into σχήματα, which in Christian texts is used together with the noun οὐρανός in the sense 'shape of the sky'.²⁴⁶ Lebedev's ἰαχὰς κώρχηματ' Ὀλύμπου that is based on the view that the text Hermippos employed was already corrupt is thoroughly implausible.²⁴⁷

Cheiron's contribution to leading the human race to the right path, which can be seen in his instructing them with respect to oaths, sacrifices, and astronomical lore, is in agreement with the early notion of Cheiron as the most civilized among the Centaurs.²⁴⁸ It also reflects his role as educator of heroes. Perhaps sacrifices to the gods may have formed part of the instruction of young men by Cheiron, if we press fr. 283 M–W of the epic *Cheironos Hypothekai* referring to the importance of sacrifices.

Fr. 15

This is one of the most notorious *crucēs* among the fragments pertaining to the *Titanomachy*, since its contextualization and placement in the plot are anything but self-evident. Various lines of interpretation have been suggested:

(a) These two lines are part of an *ekphrasis*, describing what is depicted on Zeus' or Athena's shield.²⁴⁹ Davies²⁵⁰ argues in favor of this suggestion under the proviso of an emendation of νήχοντες παίζουσι to παίζοντες νήχοντο (first proposed by Bergk), since early Greek epic does not employ the historic present (παίζουσι). West²⁵¹ does not exclude the *ekphrasis*-scenario on a shield or some other artefact provided that 'it was represented as a god's possession that still exists now', but opts for a different hypothesis (see 'd' below). Welcker's thesis is based on the decorative style of these two lines, as well as on a 'superficially similar episode'²⁵² attested in the pseudo-Hesiodic *Shield of Herakles* (207–15), in which we find the expression ἔλλοπας ἰχθῦς (212). Against this view, it may be stressed that the decorative style of this distich is hardly ekphrastic in nature, since χρυσώπιδες refers to a feature of the fish, while in the pseudo-Hesiodic *ekphrasis* of a harbor depicted on Herakles' shield the metal-based adjectives modifying the dolphins (ἀργύρεοι 'silver') and the fish (χάλκεοι 'bronze') pertain to the color they have on the shield. Conjectural too is the idea that this *ekphrasis* must refer to what was depicted on Zeus' or Athena's shield because the pseudo-Hesiodic passage pertains to another shield (of Herakles). In this light, it becomes clear that Bergk's emendation is based on the assumption that we are dealing with an *ekphrasis*.

(b) These verses come from a speech by someone (Nereus?),²⁵³ who tells Herakles about a divine lake and gives him advice with respect to his journey to the Hesperides.²⁵⁴ Debiasi²⁵⁵ argues that αὐτῇι designates a sea in the West, where strange creatures dwell, among which are the Hesperides and Briareos (living in the sea) that feature in the *Titanomachy*. Kranz's opinion that these lines come from a speech is possible, but his suggestion that the speaker is Nereus and the addressee Herakles is unlikely, since it is based on the highly conjectural hypothesis that the Labors were included in the *Titanomachy*.

(c) Given the influence of the epic of *Gilgamesh* on Homer²⁵⁶ and a possible reflection of (i) Sennacherib's destruction of Babylon (689 BC) by a diversion of the river Euphrates, and (ii) the Flood,²⁵⁷ Bremmer has suggested that these lines may come from an account of the Flood.²⁵⁸ This idea is incompatible with the present tense (παίζουσι) of the fragment. Moreover, no explanation is given about the fragment's focus on this particular kind of fish.²⁵⁹

(d) The quotation refers to either the Delian Lake in which Leto gave birth to her children²⁶⁰ or the Okeanos above which the Sun drives his chariot²⁶¹ or Lake Tritonis in Libya.²⁶² There is no particular reason why Athenaios' quotation must be associated with the Delian Lake or the Okeanos or Lake Tritonis in Libya, of which the first and the third are linked to the birth of the children of Leto and Athena respectively.

(e) D'Alessio²⁶³ rejects the idea that αὐτῇι refers to the sea or the Flood on the basis of the fact that the expression ἀμβρόσιον ὕδωρ designates drinking water. He suggests that since the *Titanomachy* featured the golden apples of

the Hesperides (fr. 10 *EGEF*), whose garden included ἀμβρόσιαι κρήναι (Eur. *Hipp.* 748), it may be the case that αὐτῇ stands for κρήνη or ῥοή. He also entertains the possibility that τρέφουσι κρήνης φύλακα, χωρίτην ὄφιν (Soph. *Her.* fr. 226 *TrGF* 4) may reflect the couplet under discussion, the more so since Sophokles was so fond of the Epic Cycle. D'Alessio draws attention to Athenaios' reference (in a different part of his work) to a passage of the *Hypomnemata* of Ptolemy VIII of Egypt (*FGrHist* 234 F 1 in Athen. 71b), in which it is stated that the χρύσοφρυς (Gilthead) is one of the various species of fishes found in the small river Lethon flowing next to the city Berenike in the Cyrenaica. The older name of this city was Euesperides, since it was regarded as one of the locations of the Hesperides. Given, D'Alessio adds,²⁶⁴ that this connection had been made by Pliny (*NH* 5.31: *nec procul ante oppidum (Berenicen) fluvius Lethon, lucus sacer, ubi horti memorantur*),²⁶⁵ it is possible that αὐτῇ in Eumelos' couplet cited by Athenaios refers to the ῥοή of the river Lethon in the Cyrenaica, and so the context of this reference must have been that of the apples of the Hesperides that featured in the *Titanomachy*. D'Alessio's suggestion that the expression δι' ὕδατος ἀμβροσίῳ designates drinking, unsalted water is correct. The necessary concomitant is that the fish are sporting in a pool, spring, or lagoon.²⁶⁶ On the other hand, since there are springs or coastal lagoons whose water flows to the sea, we should treat this acute observation with caution as to where we should picture the fish sporting, the more so since the χρύσοφρυς (Gilthead) lives both in the river-mouths, lagoons, and the sea.²⁶⁷ Conversely, his view that the quoted distich of Eumelos must be associated with the river Lethon in Cyrenaica and the Hesperides does not seem convincing to me because of the following reasons: (1) The passage of Ptolemaios mentioned by D'Alessio shows one thing only: that the Gilthead was *also* found in the water of a small river called Lethon in Cyrenaica, in the area of the city of the Euesperides. To argue that because Athenaios mentions *in a different context* Ptolemaios' reference to this location where various fishes (among which the Gilthead) live, any other reference to the Gilthead in Athenaios' work must refer to the same place is mere conjecture. After all, Athenaios refers to the Gilthead a number of times in the context of different locations (4.13.81; 7.20.18; 7.68.8; 7.86.5; 7.136.1; 7.136.11; 7.136.14; 8.51.35; 8.54.4) pertaining both to unsalted and salted water. (2) Athenaios clearly refers to Sophokles' *Ajax*, not to Sophokles in general with respect to the meaning and use of ἔλλός. The meaning of ἔλλός in Sophokles' *Ajax* 1297 is 'mute', 'dumb' (Finglass 2011, 499): 'The fishes are dumb²⁶⁸ (cf. fr. 762.1 *TrGF* χορὸς ... ἀναύδων ἰχθύων, fr. 1072, Aisch. *Pers.* 577–8) because Aerope's fate will be unknown (cf. Collard (2005b) 52 and the Loeb edition by *id.* and Cropp, I 521 n. 1): she is to be wiped out, forgotten.' This meaning is not explained by D'Alessio's interpretation,²⁶⁹ who takes ἔλλός as referring to Sophokles' work in general and not to the *Ajax*, as Athenaios explicitly says [277c: τοῦ Σοφοκλέους εἰπόντος ἐν Αἴαντι μαστιγοφόρῳ τοὺς ἰχθῦς ἔλλούς]. On this point, Finglass's

remarks (2011, 499) are crucial: “‘dumb’” was how pseudo-Theokritos understood ἔλλωψ at *Syrinx* 18 ἔλλωπι κούραι, referring to Echo: and since two other adjectives are applied to fish in S. with this meaning (one of them, μυνδός at fr. 1072 *TrGF*, another obscure word), we may guess that this was a favourite designation of his for them and so applies here, especially as it gives a significantly meaningful phrase where e.g. “scaly” would not’. (3) Eur. *Hipp.* 748 tells us only that the expression ἀμβρόσια κρῆναι could be employed in reference to the garden of the Hesperides, not that any reference to ambrosial water pertained to the Hesperides. After all, in this same passage Euripides places the garden of the Hesperides in Tartessos, not in Cyrenaica.

(f) In an attempt to explain the present tense of this fragment, its placement in a context pertaining to *fish-eating*,²⁷⁰ and the designation of the fish as dumb (ἔλλοι), I argued²⁷¹ that Athenaios’ citation comes from a speech delivered by Pan who with the help of Hermes, his father and archetypal beguiler, enticed Typhoeus²⁷² hiding in his sea abode to come to the shore in order to be offered a banquet involving the eating of ‘the golden-faced dumb fish’.²⁷³ It was there that Zeus brought him down with his thunderbolts.²⁷⁴ Along these lines, I had also pointed to Σ Opp. *Halieut.* 3.16 (p. 329 Bussemaker), drawing attention to the fact that the scholiast places this episode τῇ Τιτανομαχίᾳ, which I argued that it could refer to the *Titanomachy*, since the use of the simple dative for the designation of a written source of a quotation is a standard practice in Greek.²⁷⁵ Since then, I have further reflected on this puzzling fragment and changed my mind. Today, I regard my proposed interpretation as conjectural. Its main drawback is that although its Hittite model (the story of Illuyankas) belongs to the second millennium BC, it seems to have influenced Greek culture *not before* the Hellenistic period.²⁷⁶ The key-role of Pan in this episode points to the same direction. Pan is not attested in any literary source before the Classical period. The few times he appears on archaic inscriptions he is limited to Arkadia and is clearly a local god until the end of the archaic era. That he played so early such a pivotal role in the Typhoeus episode is unlikely.

Korinthiaka

Title

The title *Korinthiaká* poses a serious problem, since it is attested only once (Σ Ap. Rh. 1.146–9a [p. 19.26 Wendel]) and the endings –ικά, –ιακά are anything but frequently employed for archaic Greek epics.²⁷⁷ It seems to have been assigned to an epic dealing with Corinth’s early mythical history much later, when the name of its poet was forgotten, or when it became associated with Eumelos from Corinth who was the most reasonable candidate for having composed ‘Corinthian’ epic. The problem of the title is connected (but not restricted to) to the existence of a prose epitome of Eumelos’ epic that

Pausanias (2.1.1) designates as Κορινθία συγγραφή, a term that he also employs retrospectively (5.18.8) when he refers to his own account of Corinth's mythical past, i.e. to his own Κορινθιακά (Book 2 of his *Hellados periegesis*). Since Pausanias regularly employs the word συγγραφή for various prose works,²⁷⁸ it is likely that the formulation Κορινθία συγγραφή is nothing more than a reference to a prose work on Corinthian history that was known to him under the name of Eumelos but was deprived of a title. Drawing on this analogy, Marckscheffel tentatively argued that Pausanias was aware of the title *Κορινθιακά* for Eumelos' poem, since he employed both the expression Κορινθία συγγραφή and the title Κορινθιακά interchangeably to refer to Book 2 of his own work.²⁷⁹ This suggestion is consonant with the fact that the scholiast to Ap. Rh. 1.146–9a (p. 19.26 Wendel), who refers to this epic by the title *Κορινθιακά* (*ἐν Κορινθιακοῖς ... λέγει Εὐμηλος*), does not cite a single verse but gives his information in reported speech. It is likely that the scholiast did not have the actual poem in front of him, but some prose epitome, though not necessarily the same used by Pausanias.²⁸⁰ In that case, his single point of divergence from Pausanias would be that he did not doubt that Eumelos composed the epic *Korinthiaka*.

Sources

We possess 11 fragments (*GEF*, *EGEF*),²⁸¹ of which only one cites the poem by title (Σ Ap. Rh. 1.146–9a [p. 19.26 Wendel]: fr. 26 *EGEF*).²⁸² Apart from this fragment that mentions the poet's name as well, of the rest only two do not give the name of Eumelos (both in Favorin. *Korinth.*: fr. *17 *EGEF*; *23 *EGEF*).

Whatever attention the *Korinthiaka* attracted was mainly due to the fact that it offered interesting material pertaining to Corinth's mythical past, its poetry not being greatly appreciated.²⁸³ At some point, probably in the Hellenistic period, a prose version was created which was soon to take the place of the actual epic.²⁸⁴ Pausanias (2.1.1) uses the term Κορινθία συγγραφή to refer to this prose version or, rather, epitome and never cites a single line from this lost epic, although he is our principal source for its content. This is because he did not have access to the actual work but only to the prose epitome. Moreover, he never mentions the epic by its name (*Korinthiaka*), although he knows that an epic on the same topic as the Κορινθία συγγραφή was attributed to Eumelos.²⁸⁵

Since most of our sources do not cite any verses from the actual epic, it is highly likely that they are using a prose version of the *Korinthiaka*. Favorinus (*Korinth.* 11) and the Pindar scholiast (in *O.* 13.74f [I 372.22–373.16 Drachmann]), who cite one and eight verses respectively may be drawing on material found in ancient grammarians. It is unlikely that they had the actual poem in front of them. The Pindar scholiast, the scholiast on Eur. *Med.* 9 (II 142.16–17 Schwartz), Theopompos of Chios (in Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 174 [II 80.2–3 Scheer]) and Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 6.26.7) all refer to Eumelos as a

historian or historical poet. This designation, like the reference to the Κορινθία συγγραφή by Pausanias, is due (in the case of the Pindar scholiast and Theopompos of Chios, who both use the term ‘historical poet’ and cite the same eight verses from Eumelos)²⁸⁶ to the fact that the poetic material of the *Korinthiaka* they had access to seemed to them like an early historian’s prose work. This may have been also the case with the Euripides scholiast (Εὐμηλος ἱστορεῖ), who had probably access solely to the prose version, although (strictly speaking) the use of the same verb (ἱστορεῖ, ἱστοροῦσιν) for both Eumelos and Simonides shows that it can be equally applied to a poetic work.²⁸⁷

In probably the most fascinating testimony about Eumelos’ poetry Clement of Alexandria designates him as a historian (‘ἱστοριογράφος’) and claims that he and Akousilaos ‘turned Hesiod’s poetry into prose and brought it out as their own work’ (τὰ δὲ Ἡσιόδου μετέλλαξαν εἰς πεζὸν λόγον καὶ ὡς ἴδια ἐξήνεγκαν Εὐμηλὸς τε καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος οἱ ἱστοριογράφοι).²⁸⁸ Clement’s designation of Eumelos as a historian cannot be only due to the fact that he had access to a prose version of his work that had largely displaced Eumelos’ poetic text, but also to the nature of the material he treated and the kind of treatment he had undertaken, which must have looked like a historical work.²⁸⁹ This observation becomes more plausible if we take into account Eumelos’ designation as a historical poet even by authors who had cited verses from his work (no doubt by means of some intermediate source). This is further corroborated by the phrasing of Clement’s text. Placing Eumelos on a par with Akousilaos with respect to their handling of mythological material flagged as Hesiodic makes sense both if Eumelos’ account seemed like that of a historian’s and if the material he had presented was of the sort that early historians also treated. This does not mean that Clement had access to anything more than the prose version of Eumelos’ work, but makes it a challenging hypothesis that this prose version included the *Titanomachy*, not the *Korinthiaka*, which Clement never mentions or cites.²⁹⁰ If this holds true, then we must account for two different prose versions or redactions of an earlier prose version²⁹¹ used by Pausanias and Clement and circulating more or less during the 2nd century AD. To this assumption points Pausanias’ designation of the prose epitome as Κορινθία συγγραφή (2.1.1), a term that hardly leaves any room for the inclusion of the *Titanomachy* (never referred to by Pausanias). Likewise, Clement’s reference to Eumelos as a historiographer of the Hesiodic type makes more sense, if he had access only to a prose epitome of the *Titanomachy*.²⁹²

Authorship

The only source indicating that Eumelos is the author of the *Korinthiaka* is the scholiast to Ap. Rh. (1.146–9a [19.26 Wendel]). All other sources referring to Eumelos do not give the title of the epic.

Pausanias explicitly states (4.4.1)²⁹³ that Eumelos is known as the author

of a προσόδιον to the Messenians and nothing else, whereas in (2.1.1) he reports that Eumelos is said to have composed epic poetry in which Ephyra, daughter of Okeanos, first inhabited Corinth.²⁹⁴ Pausanias, who had access only to a prose epitome of the *Korinthiaka*, was aware of the attribution of a body of epic poetry on Corinth's mythical history (on which the prose epitome was based) to Eumelos, but did not regard this attribution as genuine. The information about Eumelos having composed epic poetry solely on Corinth's early history may have come from the prose epitome itself, in the preface of which it may have been stated that this is the prose rendering or epitome of Eumelos' *Korinthiaka*. In this light, it would make perfect sense why Clement who had access to a prose epitome of Eumelos' work including only the *Titanomachy*, quoted two lines from this poem that he found in Hermippos of Berytos,²⁹⁵ a student of Herennius Philo.²⁹⁶ Clement's citation must be placed within the context of a standard topic in Christian apologetic literature written in Greek, namely whether the Greeks had taken their knowledge from the Jews.²⁹⁷ Herennius Philo had dealt with this topic in his *Phoinikika*, claiming that the mythology and religion of the Phoenicians had been distorted by the Greeks. It is, therefore, along the same lines that Clement quotes these two lines of the *Titanomachy* that he has found in Hermippos of Berytos. The word πρῶτος modifying Cheiron as a sort of 'culture hero' falls within this framework. In fact, the whole section on philosophy in Clement's *Stromateis* aims to prove that barbarians had invented philosophy²⁹⁸ (Cheiron obviously counted among them, like the Idaian Daktyls and Atlas being labeled 'Phrygian').²⁹⁹

It seems, therefore, plausible that Pausanias and Clement had access to different prose versions or epitomes of the *Korinthiaka* and *Titanomachy* respectively. Clement's citation of two lines of the *Titanomachy* via Hermippos of Berytos leaves open the possibility that Hermippos (and perhaps his teacher Herennius Philo) had used some anthology of Greek poetry.³⁰⁰

Plot

The poem may have started with Ephyra, the first settler in the area of Corinth. She was the daughter of Okeanos and Tethys and wife of Epimetheus (fr. 16 *EGEF*). The first king was the Sun, who took part in a contest against Poseidon for the possession of the region. This episode must have been treated at some length, since divine disputes for the ownership of a city are typical in *ktisis* myths (the contest between Athena and Poseidon for Athens being the best known example), and Eumelos may have followed a patterned narration of such an episode. That the final settlement of the issue was achieved only when an arbitrator was summoned reinforces this point. This διαλλακτής was none other than Briareos (fr. *17 *EGEF*), who had already featured in the *Titanomachy* as a sea-creature fighting on the side of the Titans against the Olympian gods. Briareos suggested that both gods get their

reward: Poseidon got the Isthmos and the whole area, while the Sun who received the heights above the city would become the first king of the region.

The poem went on with the offspring of the Sun and Antiope, Aietes and Aloeus, to whom the regions Ephyraia (Corinth) and Asopia (Sikyon) were assigned respectively (fr. 18 *EGEF*). Not being satisfied with his kingdom, Aietes left for Kolchis, leaving behind in his absence Bounos, son of Hermes and the nymph Alkidameia (Tzetz. in Lyk. 174 [II 79.22–6 Scheer]; Paus. 2.3.10) with the specific order to protect his land until he himself or someone of his line returns. As far as Aloeus is concerned, his son Epopeus ruled in Asopia after his father's death. When Bounos died and since neither Aietes nor any descendant of his was available to rule Ephyraia, Epopeus took it over as well (fr. 19 *EGEF*). Epopeus turned out a quite arrogant king, with the result that his son Marathon left the entire region and settled in a coastal area in Attica, later named after him.

When Epopeus passed away, Marathon returned to the Peloponnese only to divide the region of Corinth between his two sons: Sikyon, who took control of Asopia, and Korinthos who ruled in Ephyraia. It was then that these two areas were re-named after the two sons of Marathon, who returned to Attica (fr. 20 *EGEF*). When Korinthos died without any offspring, Medeia, Aietes' daughter, was summoned by the Corinthians from Iolkos so that sovereignty can be passed on to her (fr. 21 *EGEF*). Medeia arrived in Corinth together with Jason and, it seems, Argo and the entire crew of the Argonauts. Some account of the events in Kolchis and the Argonautic expedition may have been given to the Corinthians either in reported speech or by Medeia herself (fr. 22 *EGEF*).³⁰¹ Games were organized in the Isthmos in honor of Poseidon and the ship Argo was dedicated to him by Jason (fr. *23 *EGEF*).

Medeia and Jason ruled Corinth for some time. As soon as each of her children to Jason was born in Corinth, she took it to the temple of Hera and buried it there. She thought that Hera would make them immortal in recognition of Medeia's rejection of Zeus' sexual pass on her. When she realized that her efforts were hopeless and that Hera would not grant immortality to her children, and being discovered by Jason who had no sympathy with her pleas and left for Iolkos, she departed too leaving at her place Sisyphos, who became the new king of Corinth (fr. 24 *EGEF*). Eumelos must have devoted a fair part of his narrative to Sisyphos, a famous Corinthian king. We can only speculate about the range of mythical material associated with him that Eumelos decided to narrate. The fact that the episode of Neleus visiting Corinth (to take part in the first Isthmian Games in which he won at the chariot race),³⁰² where he died because of an illness, and that Sisyphos refused to show his tomb to his son Nestor were part of Eumelos' narrative indicates that the 'Sisyphos section' of the poem must have gone on at some length, since other stories pertaining to Sisyphos must have been narrated too. Sisyphos' own tomb, placed somewhere in the Isthmos, was also known to some Corinthians (fr. 25 *EGEF*). After his death, the sovereignty

was passed to his son Glaukos, who later on went to Lakedaimon in search of his lost horses. While there, he had an affair with Panteidyia, who later gave birth to Leda. When Glaukos left, Leda married Thestios, hence the tradition that Leda was the daughter of Thestios (fr. 26 *EGEF*). There are reasons to believe that three more fragments (incert. carm. 32–4 *EGEF*) come from the *Korinthiaka*. If this is so, then the epic's plot may have continued as follows: since Kastor and Polydeukes featured in the *Korinthiaka* as athletes in the first Isthmian Games (fr. *23 *EGEF*) and Eumelos (fr. incert. carm. 32 *EGEF*) narrated that Menelaos had a son, Xenodamos, from a Knossian nymph (obviously when he was in Crete for the burial of his maternal grandfather Katreus), it seems plausible that the *Korinthiaka* traced down Corinthian history to the time of the Trojan War and beyond. The line of Glaukos' son Bellerophon from Eurymede (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.3), who is known in connection to Ephyra as early as the *Iliad* (6.152–211), may have also been followed in the poem, given that Eumelos referred to Lykaon's daughter Kallisto, her son Arkas, and his sons from the nymph Chrysopeleia Elatos and Apheidas (fr. incert. carm. 33–4 *EGEF*). Apheidas' daughter Stheneboia, married to Proitos, was in love with Bellerophon. There is a possibility that Eumelos traced Corinthian history further on to the time of the Bacchiads. Pausanias (2.4.3) relates that Sisyphe's other son, Ornytion and his line ruled in Corinth for four generations (Thoas-Damophon-Propodas-Doridas and Hyanthidas), until the Dorians came with the fifth descendant of Herakles as their leader (Herakles-Antiochos-Phylas-Hippotes-Aletes), defeated the Corinthians and ruled Corinth for five generations down to the time of Bacchis, the ancestor of the Bacchiads to whose clan Eumelos belonged.³⁰³

Style of the Poem

Although the scanty remains of the *Korinthiaka* do not allow definite conclusions concerning its style, we may venture some considerations about the poem's narrative and scope.

The *Korinthiaka* must have covered a wide range of material pertaining to the mythical history of Corinth, from its foundation to the time of the Bacchiads. In what seems to be the first part of the poem, Eumelos must have presented all the events down to the advent of Medeia. Up to this point the narrative pace was quite fast,³⁰⁴ perhaps with some stress on a few events the poet considered worth exploiting, like e.g. the contest between Poseidon and the Sun for the possession of the city. The Medeia episode must have been developed at some length, since it offered an excellent opportunity for dramatic exploitation. The pace was now slow and focused. Then, Eumelos may have returned to his initial faster narrative pace, covering the rest of the mythical material from Sisyphe to Glaukos.

As for the rest of the poem, we are basically in the dark. Provided that the poet went on with Glaukos' line, he may have passed to material that is generally associated with the Trojan saga, extending his narrative so as to

reach Bellerophon. He may also, through Sisypheos' other son Ornytion and his line that ruled in Corinth for four generations, have continued with the coming of the Dorians and their rule over Corinth for five generations down to the time of Bacchis. My guess is that only few episodes of this 'second part' of the epic may have been narratively developed by Eumelos and that the narrative pace was again fast, leaving little room for a more demanding presentation.

With respect to poetic technique, Eumelos may have employed analeptic narrative in Medeia's reference to the events that took place in Kolchis, more or less in the manner of Odysseus extended narrative in the *Apologoi*, though the fact that she narrated these events to Idmon, who had taken part in the expedition, remains puzzling.³⁰⁵ If Idmon had reached Kolchis, as in the *Carmen Naupactium* (fr. 5 *EGEF*), then he would have known these events on his own. If, alternatively, he had been killed by a boar at Mariandynia (Ap. Rh. 2.815–34), then how could he be alive in Corinth? Perhaps Eumelos was following a different version. Although nowadays nobody seems to endorse an earlier explanation according to which this fragment came from Eumelos' *Nostoi* (since such a poem could hardly have been composed by Eumelos), the idea that Medeia was narrating these events to Idmon in the Underworld is not to be rejected without some consideration. If Eumelos was following the version we find in Apollonios Rhodios, i.e. that Idmon had died on the way to Kolchis, the scholiast's note that Medeia related these events to Idmon would have made perfect sense. We do not need to resort to another poem falsely attributed to Eumelos, only to a different scene. On the other hand, a much more economic scenario would exclude the Underworld scenery and keep only the idea of Medeia narrating the events to Idmon in Kolchis,³⁰⁶ who may have stayed in the Argo 'to ensure that no harm befell her'.³⁰⁷

Date

There are seven key elements for determining a *terminus post quem* for the date of the *Korinthiaka*:³⁰⁸ (a) the episode taking place in Kolchis; (b) the reference to Marathon as the father of Sikyon and Korinthus; (c) the foundation of the Isthmian Games; (d) Orpheus' κῑθάρα; (e) the boat race in which Argo wins (f) Theseus' ἐνόπλιον; and (f) the date of a lyric poet, whose name has been corrupted, in the same scholium on Apollonios Rhodios that gives the story of Glaukos and Leda.

(a) Since in the context of Aietes' self-exile and of the Medeia episode the city of Kolchis must have been mentioned time and again in the *Korinthiaka*, the creation by the Greeks of permanent settlements in Kolchis not earlier than the middle of the sixth century BC should be used as a *terminus post quem* for the *Korinthiaka*.³⁰⁹ This argument rests on the assumption that the Greeks began to place Aia in the area of Kolchis only after the foundation of the city of Kolchis. Against this background, we should assume that in the archaic epic of the *Argonautika*, which no doubt referred to the events in Aia

and should be dated much earlier than the middle of the sixth century BC, since it is known to the *Odyssey* (e.g. 12.70: Ἀργὼ πᾶσι μέλουσα), the placement of the events in Kolchis had not taken place.

(b) An affiliation between the city of Sikyon and another figure of early Athenian history, Erechtheus, is known from the ‘Hesiodic’ *Cat.* (fr. 224 M–W) and Asios of Samos (fr. 11 *EGEF*). In this context and against the backdrop of various historical events (the effort of Kleisthenes to reinforce the Ionian element in Sikyon, the alliance of Sikyon and Athens in the First Sacred War, the marriage of his daughter Agariste to the Athenian Megakles),³¹⁰ the *Korinthiaka* can be dated not earlier than the middle of the sixth century BC.

(c) Provided that (i) Favorinus’ scenario for the mythical foundation of the Isthmian Games can be traced back to the *Korinthiaka*, and that (ii) given the assumed suspension of the Games (first established in 582 BC) by the tyrant Kypselos³¹¹ that must be seen as an effort to put the blame on an unpopular tyrant and trace their history back to the city’s mythical origin, it is possible that the *Korinthiaka* must have been written after 582 BC.³¹²

(d) Although Orpheus begins to appear in Greek literature around the middle of the sixth century BC and Pherekydes relates that Philammon was the Argonauts’ musician (fr. 26 *EGM*), we should not haste to draw the conclusion that in Eumelos’ *Korinthiaka* Orpheus had substituted Philammon who acted as the musician of the Argonauts in an earlier epic *Argonautika*. In fact, Pherekydes’ information can hardly be traced all the way back to an epic *Argonautika* in the archaic period. He may well be drawing on Delphian lore, of the sort that must have influenced, at a much earlier date, the sculptor of the metope of the Sikyonian Monopteros at Delphi who presented Philammon, a Pythian victor,³¹³ next to chiton-dressed Orpheus holding a *kithara*.³¹⁴ If Kleisthenes, who was responsible for the establishment of his own Pythian Games at Sikyon,³¹⁵ aimed at harmonizing ‘the variant, even rivalrous traditions, and to visualize the notion of a continuity of prestige between the citharodic cultures nurtured at Delphi and Sikyon’,³¹⁶ then the depiction of the Dioskouroi flanking the two kitharodes on the same Argo metope of the Monopteros points to the particular role of both Orpheus and the Dioskouroi in Sikyonian kitharodic culture.³¹⁷ Seen from this angle, Orpheus’ kitharodic victory in Eumelos’ *Korinthiaka* may reflect his role in the early *Argonautika* tradition.³¹⁸

As for the inclusion of μουσικοὶ ἄγῶνες in the Isthmian Games, it is uncertain whether they formed part of these Games before the Hellenistic period. The arguments in favor of (i–ii) and against (a–d) this view are summarized below:

i. In a decree voted in the late 430s BC in Athens (*IG* I³ 131), permanent στήσις was granted in the Prytaneion to those individuals who had achieved a gymnastic or hippic victory in the four great Panhellenic Games at Olympia, Delphi, Isthmia, and Nemea. The lack of any mention,

in the surviving part of the inscription, to people who won musical contests has been taken as an indication that they did not form part of these Games in the fifth century.

- ii. The abundant evidence that we have with respect to the increase of musical contests at Isthmia and Nemea in the Hellenistic period suggests that kitharodes may have started performing there at that age. Nikokles of Tarentum in the early third century BC is recorded (*IG II/III*² 3779) as the first to have won a kitharodic contest at the Isthmia.
- a. With respect to *IG I*³ 131 and the permanent στήσις granted in the Prytaneion, could it be the case not that musical contests were not held at some³¹⁹ of these Games but that no ‘board’ was granted to musical victors in contrast to athletic ones?³²⁰ Another line of argument would have it that musical victors would have been mentioned in the lost section of the inscription that records the decree.³²¹
- b. As far as Nikokles of Tarentum is concerned (*IG II/III*² 3779), I do not know how much weight we should give to what seems a ‘self-aggrandizing’³²² claim or whether we are dealing with a ‘reorganization of preexisting Isthmian *mousikoi agōnes* that would allow Nikokles to claim he was the “first” winner (of a reformed contest)’,³²³ more or less in the manner of Phrynīs, who was equally the first citharode to win in the first Periklean reformed Panathenaia of probably 446 BC.³²⁴
- c. In the Plovdiv pelike dated around 430 BC by the Epimedes painter, a kitharode is depicted at the center with four-winged *Nikai* fluttering around him. The presence of these *Nikai* is typical for kitharodic contest scenes. Moreover, the Plovdiv pelike supplies us with a unique piece of evidence, i.e. the inscribed ‘tags’ of the 4 *Nikai*: ‘at Marathon’ (pointing to the Herakleia, a local Attic festal held at Marathon), Panathenaia, Isthmia, and Nemea. The victor Alkimachos must have been a kitharodic victor in all four Games, both local and Panhellenic, though one could argue that it was only in the reformed Periklean Panathenaia in which he had achieved a victory as a kitharode. The pelike could, in this light, refer cumulatively to his athletic and musical victories in different Games.³²⁵
- d. According to Plutarch (*Quaestiones convivales* 675b7–10), Aristomache from Erythrai dedicated to the Sikyonian Monopteros at Delphi a golden book for her double victory at the Isthmia with an epic poem.³²⁶ Although, this may seem to be a late fabrication,³²⁷ the details of this piece of information are puzzling. The idea of a double victory in epic poetry in the Isthmia and, especially, the association with the Sikyonian Monopteros at Delphi should not be easily dismissed as false.

The whole issue should be treated with caution. If the presence of Herakles, who had left the Argonauts on their way to Kolchis, shows (among other things) that Eumelos wanted to have an ‘all-star’ Argonautic team taking part in the Isthmian Games, then it is not clear whether he ‘introduced’ a musical contest because he needed an event in which

Orpheus would be the victor or if he took advantage of an established kitharodic contest in which the gifted singer par excellence would triumph. With the exception of the boat race (and perhaps the ἐνόπλιον), all the other events reported by Favorinus may have been part of the early Isthmia.

- e. The boat race in which Argo wins is undoubtedly an *ad hoc* invention, since there is no surviving evidence that the Isthmia ever included boat races.³²⁸
- f. The introduction of the race in armor (ἐνόπλιον or ὀπλιτοδρομία) in the Olympic Games in 520, ³²⁹ may be pointing to a date for the *Korinthiaka* in the late sixth century BC.³³⁰ Conversely, it is not unthinkable that a race in armor had been introduced in the Isthmia earlier than the Olympic Games.
- g. The seventh century date of a lyric poet, whose name has been corrupted, in the same scholium on Ap. Rh. 1.146–9a (p. 20.3–7 Wendel) that gives the story of Glaukos and Leda is significant:

Φερεκύδης δὲ ἐν τῇ β' ἐκ Λαοφόνης τῆς Πλευρῶνος Λήδαν καὶ Ἀλθαίαν Θεστίῳ γενέσθαι φησίν. ὅτι δὲ Γλαύκου ἐστὶ θυγάτηρ, καὶ Ἀλθαίας αἰνίττεται λέγων· “τοὺς τέκε θυγάτηρ Γλαύκῳ μάκαιρα”.

Pherekydes in Book 2 (fr. 9. *EGM*) says that Leda and Althaia were daughters of Laophone, daughter of Pleuron. That (Leda) is Glaukos' daughter +... implies when he says, [the Dioskouroi], whom the blessed daughter of Glaukos bore'.

Under the influence of Ἀλθαίαν, the poet's name offering the lyric adespoton τοὺς τέκε θυγάτηρ Γλαύκῳ μάκαιρα (*PMG* 1012) was corrupted. On the basis of the Doric or Aiolic genitive Γλαύκῳ, scholars have been divided as to its authorship between Alkman (Bergk, Diehl, Calame)³³¹ and Alkaios (Page, West). What is significant for our purpose is that the version, according to which Leda was Glaukos' daughter, was attested in a late seventh-century poet, operating outside Corinth. Since the arguments presented above point to a middle or late sixth-century date, then we have to assume that the *Korinthiaka* followed an earlier, preexisting tradition about Leda.³³² This line of thought is consonant with the idea of an Aiolic tradition of Argonautika that would have 'travelled', together with Thessalian colonists, from Thessaly to Lesbos.³³³ Alkaios may be drawing on such a tradition.

Commentary

Fr. 16

A 'historical' epic like the *Korinthiaka* must have dealt in its beginning with the naming of the region. One of the oldest names for part of what later became the Corinthian territory was Ephyra, a name with a rather wide distribution in various areas of Greece (Corinth, Elis, Thesprotia, Aitolia, Thessaly).³³⁴ The 'original' Ephyra with respect to the Bellerophon story was Aitolian or Thessalian Ephyra, with the latter placement being more likely due to Pelasgic Argos.³³⁵ Its appropriation in the *Korinthiaka* went hand-to-hand with an Aiolic mythological substratum involving Sisypheos (son of Aiolos [not the god]), Glaukos, and perhaps Bellerophon. It is not clear though, if this was the result of the influence of the *Iliad*. Since the opposite case, i.e. that the *Iliad* was using a Corinthian source, has to be ruled out, it is worth mentioning that an Aiolic origin of the Bellerophon story may explain why his father Glaukos is known as father of Leda in Alkaios (*PMG* 1012).³³⁶ Given that the *Korinthiaka* are rich in Aiolic features, we may postulate an Aiolic tradition from which both the *Iliad* and Eumelos are drawing, independently from one another.³³⁷

If, then, Eumelos appropriated this Aiolic Ephyra from an Aiolic source, we may ask the question whether he equally took from there the idea of making Ephyra the wife of Epimetheus and daughter of Okeanos and Tethys. By presenting Ephyra as one of the Okeanids, Eumelos could effectively make her match with the subsequent division of Corinthian territory into the Asopia (that was watered by the river Asopos) and the Ephyraia (that was

named after Asopos' wife Ephyra). This line of thought would be in accordance to the initial rivalry between the Sun and Poseidon for the Corinthian territory. Poseidon, as the god of the sea, would be somehow associated with an Okeanid (Ephyra), from whose marriage to Epimetheus and intercourse with Asopos, Antiope would be born, the Sun's wife. True, we have no piece of information referring to Ephyra as the wife of Asopos, but that is the most economical scenario: Ephyra would be married to Epimetheus but she would be impregnated by the river Asopos, being herself an Okeanid. Thus, Antiope would be the daughter of both Epimetheus and Asopos, more or less in the way Amphion and Zethos are the sons of both Zeus and Epopeus,³³⁸ who in Asios' version abducts Antiope.³³⁹ In this light, it can be explained why Asopos who was the 'owner' of the territory called Asopia 'allowed' the Sun to give it to his own son from Antiope, Aloeus. Thus, Aietes who would take Ephyraia would represent the maternal line that would be closer to the Sun, whereas Aloeus who would be given Asopia would, though the Sun's second son, represent his grandfather's (Asopos') line that was closer to Poseidon.³⁴⁰ In this way, '[t]he pairing of Asopos and Ephyra would make the perfect start to the dual Sikyonian-Corinthian genealogy'.³⁴¹

How did Eumelos get the idea of having a Thessalian Ephyra first inhabit Corinthian territory? The Thessalian connection is continued by Eumelos through his attempt to bring Jason together with Medeia from Iolkos to Corinth. Perhaps, the presence of an Ionian and an Aiolian strand in the Corinthian population is part of the explanation. It can hardly be a coincidence that the 'Eumelian' mythology of early Corinth mirrors the three distinct racial elements in the wider area of Corinth: Poseidon, Marathon, and Theseus belong to the Ionian strand, Sisyphos as a son of Aiolos, Jason, Medeia, and Neleus come from the Aiolian strand, while the cult of armed Aphrodite in the Acrocorinth (corresponding to the Phoenician goddess Astarte) as well as the myth of Melikertes (Phoenician Melkarth) point to the Phoenician element.³⁴²

Fr. *17

Despite the fact that no mention of Eumelos or the *Korinthiaka* is made by Favorinus, both his agreement with the version given by Pausanias (who undoubtedly draws his information from the *Κορινθία συγγραφή*, and the 'hidden' hexameter in τοῦ δ' ἦν πλεῖσται μὲν κεφαλαί, πλεῖσται δέ τε χεῖρες make the *Korinthiaka* the most likely candidate.³⁴³

This god with 'very many heads, and very many hands' is identified by Pausanias as Briareos, a sea-creature we have come across in the *Titanomachy* (fr. 3 *EGEF*) as an ally of the Titans. If this came from Eumelos, as is quite likely, then we have to account for Briareos' new role. Why would an ex-ally of the Titans function as an arbitrator between Poseidon and the Sun? For a thorough discussion of this issue, see my comments on *Tit.* fr. 3 (above). The only new element that must be added on the basis of Favorinus' text is that the

description of Briareos as a monster with many heads and arms as well as his designation as a τρίτος θεὸς πρεσβύτερος indicates that he had already acquired a status very different from that of an ally of the Titans, perhaps by shifting sides at some point during the Titanomachy. The dispute between two gods about the possession of a city is a typical theme of antiquarian myth, Poseidon's and Athena's contest for Athens being the best-known example.³⁴⁴ The possession of Corinth by two gods was a source of pride for the Corinthians, since it reflected the gods' special concern for this city, and must have been contrasted to other cities that belonged to a single god (Argos by Hera, Athens by Athena,³⁴⁵ Onchestos by Poseidon).³⁴⁶ If Pausanias (2.1.6) is right to note that the Athenians were the first (πρῶτοι) who related a story of divine contest for the possession of their city, then the basic difference of the Corinthian version becomes all the more important: there is no single victor in Corinth (Poseidon getting the Isthmos, the Sun the city heights). Since in both the Athenian and Corinthian myths about a city's patron deity there is an external arbitrator (Kekrops and Briareos respectively), we may postulate an explanation for the summoning of Briareos as a διαλλακτής, given that the neutrality of any arbitrator is an essential prerequisite for a fair and unbiased judgment. After all, the Athenian arbitrator Kekrops was the city's first king.

In the *Titanomachy* Briareos is a sea-creature, the son of Gaia and Pontos. His marine element associates him with Poseidon. Being crucial for the territory of Corinth,³⁴⁷ the sea or watery element was naturally linked to the mythology of the area. As observed above, this is consonant with Eumelos' promotion of the 'marine' pedigree of Ephyra,³⁴⁸ who is made the daughter of Okeanos and Tethys.³⁴⁹ On balance, Hyperion was one of the Titans, who abstained from the clash against the Olympians and was awarded the reign of the sky in the *Titanomachy*, subsequently becoming Helios, the Sun-god. Seen from this angle, Briareos must have looked like a suitable arbitrator between Poseidon and the Sun. The latter would naturally get possession of the city heights, due to the fact that his 'realm' is the sky.

We are in no position to say what form the contest between them would have taken. On the basis of typological elements, we may venture to suggest that each god would have put forward his own arguments for claiming the city. Barigazzi has drawn attention to a passage in Favorinus (*Korinth.* 12) suggesting that the Sun, as ἀρχηγέτης of Corinth, brought up from the sea a part of the land uniting the Megaris with the Peloponnese, Poseidon approving the process. The dispute and subsequent contest between Poseidon and the Sun reflects an attempt to explain the most emblematic geological and geographical feature of the region, i.e. the Isthmos. The opposition between 'water' and 'fire' is, of course, a theme that is widely attested in many different cultures. In Corinth, a mythical contest was invented to cater for it. The example of Rhodes, being born from the sea and having the Sun as its ἀρχηγέτης, is related to this issue.³⁵⁰

1–2 Although West's ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ... τότε δ' never appears in Homer, who often has ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ ... καὶ τότε δὴ, he is right to emend the impossible δ' of the manuscript tradition because ἀλλ' ὅτε δ' is not attested. West's correction is based on the fact that this kind of *synaliphe* is common after δὴ in Homer (Hom. *Il.* 1.340, 540; 2.225 etc).³⁵¹ According to Tzetzes (Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 174 [II 80.4–6 Scheer]), Aietes and Aloeus were presented by the majority of mythographers as the sons of the Sun and Perse.³⁵² We do not know who may have been these mythographers. Hekataios relates that Aietes and Kirke were children of the Sun and Perseis,³⁵³ but this does not mean that Aloeus was their offspring too. Conversely, in Eumelos Kirke may have been completely absent, since there was a second son, Aloeus, for whose sake a different mother had to be brought into the picture. Antiope was an effective substitution,³⁵⁴ especially since Eumelos had every reason to bring to the fore a 'Boiotian' element. After all, in Asios of Samos (fr. 1 *EGEF*), Antiope was the wife of Thessalian Epopeus (Paus. 2.6.4), who had taken her from Thebes on the way to Sikyon from Thessaly and taking hold of the kingdom after the death of Korax.

3 The Sun in the *Korinthiaka* is designated as Ὑπερίονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός, whereas he is identical to Hyperion in the *Titanomachy*. West³⁵⁵ explains this apparent contradiction as follows: 'this use of the formula [*sc.* Ὑπερίονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός] found also in the Homeric Hymns hardly nullifies the argument. It may be added that Phaethon's participation in the Isthmian Games may be a sign that the poet somewhere told the story of his drive in the solar chariot, with the horses that were introduced in the *Titanomachy*'. It may also be added that, since the formulas Ὑπερίονος ἀγλαὸς υἱός and Ὑπερίονος Ἡελίοιο (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 1.8) are metrically equivalent and are placed in verse-terminal position, the former may have been shaped to cater for cases in which the nominative had to be used. This formula is not employed in Hesiod's *Theogony*, where the Sun is indeed the son of the Titan Hyperion (371–4, 1011).³⁵⁶

4 Asopos was the 'owner' of part of the Corinthian territory at an earlier phase. Its peaceful transfer to Aloeus seems an effort to explain the advent of an Aiolid from Thessaly to Corinth, Aloeus being the son of the Aiolid Kanake and Poseidon. Aloeus' transfer brought with it both parts of his pedigree, his brother Epopeus³⁵⁷ (who became in Eumelos his son and heir) and his wife's brother Sisypheos (who became in Eumelos the heir of Medeia in Corinth), as well as his 'fluvial' associations as son of Poseidon (hence his allotment of the Asopos region). As for his mother Kanake, daughter of the god Asopos, she may have facilitated all this process, the more so since the Greeks thought that rivers continued their course underground and appeared again on the surface at another place. The Corinthian Asopos may thus be

regarded as the same with the Boiotian one, whose underground course linked Corinth and Boiotia. A case to note is Ibykos (fr. 322 *PMGF*). Strabo (6.2.4), the source of this fragment, reports that Ibykos claimed that the Sikyonian Asopos flows to the Peloponnese from Phrygia. This piece of information is backed up by Pausanias (2.5.3), who says that according to the Phliasians and Sikyonians, Sikyonian Asopos had as its source the river Maiandros in Phrygia, which followed an underground course, entered the sea at Miletos, and appeared on the surface in the Peloponnese.³⁵⁸

5–6 Taking Aietes out of the picture was necessary, since he was already established in Argonautic saga as king of Aia in Kolchis. Having to account for Aietes' departure Eumelos may have used the narrative device of an oracle telling him to found a city that would be named after him (Aia).³⁵⁹ In this way, Eumelos would have both sons of the Sun linked to Aiolic mythical traditions, Aloeus being an Aiolid per se, Aietes being 'dragged' to Aiolic epic traditions through his association with Argonautic myth.

As for Bounos, he was the son of Hermes and the nymph Alkidameia (Paus. 2.3.10). Eumelos used him as a makeshift that would cater for the departure of Aietes for Kolchis.³⁶⁰ The same observation applies to the nymph Alkidameia who is not mentioned by any other source. Bounos 'allowed' Eumelos to solve an important narrative problem: he was not a legal heir to Aietes' throne and, in this sense, no rival of Medeia. His selection by Eumelos may have aimed at an association with the local cult of Hera Bounaia ('Hera on the Hill'),³⁶¹ since Bounos had been credited with the foundation of her shrine.³⁶²

The way Pausanias' text (2.3.10) corresponds to the poetic fragment given by the Σ Pind. *O.* 13.74f (I 373.9–17 Drachmann) indicates, taking into account that the Periegete was drawing on a prose epitome or version of the *Korinthiaka*, that immediately after the cited verses Eumelos would have continued with Bounos' pedigree, being a son of Hermes and the nymph Alkidameia, and the way he was associated with Aietes. With respect to how Aietes turned to Bounos, we can only speculate. The fact that he was known as son of Hermes, a god connected to the earth,³⁶³ leaves open the possibility that Eumelos may have had the idea of substituting the 'earthly one' (= man of Aia = Aietes)³⁶⁴ with another figure with 'earthly' associations. The fact that Bounos was considered the founder of a cult of Hera in the area gave Eumelos the perfect opportunity to kill two birds with one stone.

Hera's future involvement in the plot (see below) by means of the episode of Aietes' daughter Medeia would thus be foregrounded by Bounos' association to Hera. Her central role in the Argonautic myth would, in this light, be effectively linked to the early history of Corinth.

8 Eumelos is, as far as we can tell from the surviving sources, the earliest author identifying Aia with Kolchis. He is followed by Pherekydes (fr. 100 *EGM*) and Herodotos (1.2.2, 7.62.1, 7.193.2, 7.197.3), with the former placing

the Golden Fleece on 'Aiaie island' in the river Phasis. Given (a) that the idea of the island comes from Homer who calls 'Aiaie island' Kirke's island, while its placement in Phasis is not attested in the Homeric epics, and (b) that the *Odyssey* is probably drawing here on an earlier *Argonautika*, Fowler has argued that Pherekydes has taken the idea of the localization of Aiaie in Phasis from Eumelos.³⁶⁵

Fr. 19

Since Bounos left no offspring, Epopeus took control of the land of the Ephyraians. This incident must have had a negative coloring, as it is obvious from Paus. 2.1.1. ³⁶⁶ Epopeus is absent from Homer and Hesiod. He is 'first' mentioned in Nestor's inset narrative in the *Cypria*, where he is said to have abducted Lykos' daughter Antiope, brought her to Sikyon that was sacked by Lykos who subsequently killed him.³⁶⁷ In Asios, Epopeus was the mortal husband of Antiope, who had from Zeus and Epopeus the twins Amphion and Zethos.³⁶⁸ In Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1.7.4), Epopeus is the son of Poseidon and Kanake, and the brother of Aloeus, Hopleus, Nireus, and Triops. He is married to the latter's daughter Iphimedeia, who begets to Poseidon Otos and Ephialtes. In another passage of Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.5.5), he is associated with the basic core of the story we find in the *Cypria* and Pausanias (2.6.4), the latter drawing on Asios. Being impregnated by Zeus and threatened by her father Nykteus because the father of the child was unknown, Antiope flees from Thebes and finds refuge in Sikyon where Epopeus marries her. Nykteus commits suicide but tells his brother Lykos to avenge Antiope and Epopeus. Lykos marches against Sikyon, takes the city and kills Epopeus, while Antiope who is taken prisoner gives birth to twin sons, Amphion and Zethos at Eleutherai in Boiotia. At a later stage Amphion and Zethos free their mother, kill Lykos and throw his wife Dirke into a spring that is then named after her. In Pausanias (2.6.4), Epopeus comes from Thessaly and takes control of Sikyon after the death of Korax who was childless. The rest of the version offered by Pausanias is more or less the same as the one given by the poet of the *Cypria* and Apollodoros, with some changes with respect to certain details (e.g. it is Nykteus and not Lykos who leads the expedition against Sikyon, Nykteus does not commit suicide but dies from his wound at the war etc.).

'Allein steht Eumelos' writes Wilisch,³⁶⁹ in the sense that Eumelos is the only authority who makes Epopeus³⁷⁰ leader of Corinth, son of Aloeus, and grandson of the Sun. Moreover, the motif of 'taking over a city or region because the previous king left no heir' is now adapted to the context of the 'makeshift' Bounos, from whom Epopeus takes control of the Ephyraia too.

Fr. 20

Eumelos was the only author who made Marathon son of Epopeus. Pausanias (2.6.5) who is our source relates that Asios made Sikyon the son of Metion,

son of Erechtheus, and that Hesiod made Sikyon son of Erechtheus, while in Ibykos he was son of Pelops.³⁷¹ It is anything but a coincidence that Sikyon is associated with Erechtheus and his family in the ‘Hesiodic’ *Catalogue* and in Asios, but not in Ibykos from the Dorian colony of Rhegion. The Athenian perspective of several elements in the *Catalogue* and the poetry of the Samian Asios fit a sixth-century context. For this reason I am sceptical with respect to the interpretation of the function of Marathon in Eumelos’ *Korinthiaka* via an Athenian filtering. Ibykos’ fostering of a Peloponnesian pedigree of Sikyon is an argument from silence with respect to this issue,³⁷² especially since Ibykos mentions Sikyon in a number of his poems and takes care to include even the name of a king of Sikyon³⁷³ that is not under Argive rule in contrast to the Homeric version.³⁷⁴

In fact, there seems to be a notional path followed in the Eumelian construction of early Corinthian history. This path links Thessaly to Boiotia and then Sikyon-Corinth. It may go back to an Aiolic/Thessalian group of settlers who moved from the north through Boiotia, this famous gateway to other regions, to the north-east of the Peloponnese. This kind of explanation would cater for an early population movement from Thessaly to the area of Corinth, the more so since the Aiolic/Thessalian stratum is well established there, as can be seen from multiple Aiolic figures (Sisyphos, Epopeus,³⁷⁵ Jason, Neleus).³⁷⁶

According to another line of interpretation, the link between Corinth and Marathon was the cult of the ancient goddess Hellotis who was later ‘absorbed’ by the cult of Athena. According to Σ Pind. *O.* 13.56a (I 367.19–21 Drachmann) and 13.56d (I 368.21–369.4 Drachmann), Athena was called Hellotia because she had a statue on the marsh (ἔλος) at Marathon. Others have argued that the name Hellotia for Athena should be explained because the Hellotis, one of Timandros’ daughters snatched (ἐλοῦσα) her younger sister Chryse, run to Athena’s temple, and threw her into the fire (*O.* 13.56b [I 367.21–368.2 Drachmann]) or because the goddess caught (*O.* 13.56c [I 368.3–20 Drachmann]) and harnessed Pegasos, Bellerophon’s winged horse. The first of these explanations makes sense only if it is interpreted within the context of a link between Sikyon and Athens that seems to be promoted in the 6th century BC.³⁷⁷ The ‘adoption’ of Marathon by Epopeus would thus be an attempt to strengthen such a link. The question though would be why a sixth-century Corinthian epic would be ‘interested’ in promoting this version, especially since such an association would have highlighted the Athenian element. In fact, the Athenians would, then, have a legitimate claim on Corinthian territory, since Sikyon and Korinthos were made Marathon’s sons. Moreover, as the Pindar scholia make clear, the association of the Hellotia with Athena’s statue at the marsh (ἔλος) of Marathon was *not* a Corinthian tradition. The Σ Pind. *O.* 13.56b–c (I 367.21–368.20 Drachmann) reflect Corinthian traditions, whereas it is Σ Pind. *O.* 13.56a (I 367.19–21 Drachmann) that fits an Athenian point of view. In fact, Σ Pind. *O.* 13.56a is

repeated in Σ Pind. *O.* 13.56d (I 368.21–369.4 Drachmann), in which the Corinthian version is emphatically opposed:

ἄλλως· ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὰ Ἑλλωτία ἄγεται τῇ Ἑλλωτίᾳ Ἀθηνᾶι. τυχεῖν δὲ αὐτὴν ταύτης τῆς προσσηγορίας Κορίνθιοι μὲν λέγουσιν ἐλοῦσαν καὶ χαλινώσασαν παρ' αὐτοῖς τὸν Πήγασον· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἔλους τοῦ περὶ τὸν Μαραθῶνα, ἐν ᾧ ἴδρυται· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ Ἑλλωτίδος παρθένου.

Marathon's departure from the region of Corinth and settling in Attica was the result of the lawlessness and violence of his father (φεύγοντα ἀνομίαν καὶ ὕβριν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐς τὰ παραθαλάσσια μετοικῆσαι τῆς Ἀττικῆς). It is a reasonable inference that Pausanias' phraseology points to the negative sentiment developed in Corinth (or at least in the Ephyræia), when Epopeus took hold of it after Bounos' death. Eumelos may have presented some facts testifying to Epopeus' lawlessness and violence. Here we can probably see a relic of Epopeus' negative mythical past, since he was a typical example of the aggressive abductor of a girl who was later punished together with his city. The use by Nestor in the *Cypria*³⁷⁸ of his tale as an example of what will happen to Paris and Helen shows that Epopeus had already acquired a typical motifematic armature. Eumelos may well have adapted this negative filtering to the context of his story. This time Epopeus did not take hold of a girl but of an entire territory. Antiope was replaced by Ephyræ.

Apart from Sikyon, Marathon had another son, Korinthos. Both figures are unknown to Homer, who employs these words only as the names of the city of Corinth (Hom. *Il.* 2.570; 13.664) and Sikyon (Hom. *Il.* 2.572; 23.299) respectively. Korinthos is not attested in Hesiodic poetry as well. Apart from Eumelos, Korinthos is known as the reputed founder of Corinth (Paus. 2.1.1) and in the context of the proverbial phrase Διὸς Κόρινθος (Pind. *N.* 7.105; Aristoph. *Ra.* 439, *Ekk.* 828; Pl. *Euthd.* 292E), which was used for persons 'repeating the same old thing over again'.³⁷⁹

Fr. 21

Although after Aietes' departure for Kolchis, the rule of the entire region, Asopia and Ephyræia, was taken over by Aloeus' line through Epopeus and his grandsons (Sikyon and Korinthos), Ephyræia was 'returned' to Aietes' line by means of the summoning of Medeia. This is a way of 'bringing' in the history of early Corinth the legend of the Argonauts. Medeia is placed at Iolkos, obviously after the expedition to Kolchis was over and Jason had been established as king in the time-old Thessalian realm of Pelias. Eumelos was, therefore, able to reinforce the Aiolic/ Thessalian element and its role in the shaping of the identity of early Corinth. Up to this point, the Aiolic/Thessalian strand had been represented by Aloeus and Epopeus. With the addition of Medeia and Jason, Eumelos aimed at achieving an impressive 'come-back' of Aietes' line in Thessalian guise. At the same time, the famous and well-established Argonautic legend was associated with the city of Corinth. That

the Corinthians summoned Medeia from Iolkos may imply some sort of tension between the Sikyonians-Asopians and the Corinthians-Ephyraians. This tension may have started with Epopeus' lawlessness and violence that had made his son Marathon flee to Attica.³⁸⁰ Things may have temporarily calmed down when the two parts of the entire Corinthian region were given to Marathon's two sons, Sikyon and Korinthos. After the latter's death, it was the time for the Ephyraians-Corinthians to ask for a ruler who would represent Aietes' line to whom this region had been given by the Sun in the first place.³⁸¹

Fr. 22

The fact that the seer Idmon had died before the Argonauts reached Kolchis had made scholars argue that this episode must have belonged to Eumelos' *Nostoi*,³⁸² postulating a scene in the Underworld where Medeia would have narrated the events in Kolchis to the dead Idmon. Now we know that Eumelos had composed no such poem.³⁸³ The role of Idmon in the *Korinthiaka* or, to put it more generally, the interpretation of this passage is another notorious puzzle of Eumelos' poetry. Due to the dearth of available material all suggested interpretations are highly speculative. I will, therefore, list them and offer only a few clues pertaining to their evaluation.

a. Huxley (1969, 67) considers the possibility that Eumelos' *Korinthiaka* may have contained a *nekyomanteia*, in which Medeia would have consulted Idmon. She had also informed him about what happened to the Argonauts after his death. Huxley entertains the possibility that such a scene would be in agreement with the *Odyssey*, an epic that bears multiple similarities with the early oral *Argonautika*.³⁸⁴

b. On the basis of the scholiast's reference to Aietes finding out from the messenger about how Jason fought against the earthborn creatures in Sophokles' *Kolchian Women*, we may postulate an analogous scene in Eumelos' *Korinthiaka*, in which Medeia narrated to Idmon, who must have reached Kolchis, how Jason defeated the *terrigeni* born from the dragon's teeth. If Idmon had remained on the Argo and did not form part of the few Argonauts who followed Jason to Aietes' palace, Medeia's narrative would have made sense. In this light, we could readily explain why the scholiast of Apollonios Rhodios decided to couple the two references attested in Eumelos and Sophokles. Next to the 'bristling' image that occurred in both Eumelos and Sophokles, it was the fact that it was reported by Medeia and the messenger respectively, which made the scholiast couple these two poets in the same scholium. In both cases one person (Medeia, messenger) informed another individual (Idmon, Aietes) about the same event, the details of which they did not know. Without being willing to press this point further, I would consider a legitimate possibility that in both cases Idmon and Aietes knew

about the actual event but did not know *whether and how Jason succeeded in overcoming this task*. Idmon was a seer and could very well, as is exactly the case with the *Carmen Naupactium* (fr. 7 *EGEF*), have advised Jason to undertake a specific task when in Aietes' palace, i.e. the yoking of Aietes' formidable bulls. Likewise, Aietes had himself asked Jason to sow the ploughland with the dragon's teeth, so he knew that Jason would have to fight the earthborn. The messenger's speech makes sense only if it aimed at informing Aietes about the result of Jason's fighting the *terrigeni*, which after all was an event that could not be presented on stage. If this line of thought is followed further, we would have to imagine Medeia telling Idmon about Jason's victory over the earthborn (and presumably all his other exploits in Kolchis) once they were aboard the Argo on their return journey to Iolkos. The scenario of Idmon being alive is further supported by the fact that it is the scholia to Apollonios Rhodios (Σ Ap. Rh. 3.523–4 [p. 234.13–16 Wendel]) that relate that in the *Carmen Naupactium* (fr. 5 *EGEF*) it was Idmon who stood up and urged Jason to yoke Aietes' fire-breathing bulls.³⁸⁵

c. Another, more speculative scenario, is based on the fact that, according to the *Korinthiaka* (fr. 21 *EGEF* [in Paus. 2.3.10]), it was the Corinthians who summoned Medeia from Iolkos to become queen of the Corinthian-Ephyraian region (τοὺς Κορινθίους Μήδειαν μεταπεμψαμένους ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ). Along these lines, we should postulate an embassy scene in which the Corinthians went to Iolkos to summon Medeia to Corinth. Would it be odd to argue that Idmon was in Eumelos' epic a Corinthian seer, acting as the head of the Corinthian embassy to Iolkos, who may have asked Medeia to come to Corinth according to some oracle that he had been aware of? After all, it has been suggested that Aietes may have left Corinth in the first place in view of another oracle telling him to found a colony in the Black Sea.³⁸⁶ Seen from this vantage point, the departure and return of Aietes' family line would be framed by two oracles, giving a divine filtering to this whole enterprise. If this hypothesis holds true, then it would be reasonable to postulate a scene (in Iolkos?), in which Medeia had told Idmon in retrospect about Jason and her own adventures in Kolchis. The fact that in Apollonios Rhodios Idmon is a member of the Argonautic crew is against this interpretation, but there is no certainty at all that he played a similar role in the *Korinthiaka*.³⁸⁷

d. According to a fourth scenario, the reading Ἰάσωνα (*sic*) of the *recensio Parisina* may not be completely irrational. Lines 3.1354–7a of the *Argonautika*, which are cited by Apollonios Rhodios' scholiast as being thematically depended on Eumelos, belong to the advice Medeia had given to Jason in 3.1052–62 that is reproduced in considerably more detail by the narrator in 3.1284–407 as part of Jason's contest.³⁸⁸ This is made explicit by Apollonios Rhodios in 3.1363–4, where it is overtly said that Jason recalled what Medeia had told him in advance ('but Jason recalled the advice of much-crafty Medeia').³⁸⁹ If, then, we adopt the reading Ἰάσωνα of the *recensio*

Parisina instead of the reading Ἰδμωνα, then we could postulate that the scholiast of Apollonios Rhodios was referring to the speech delivered by Medeia to Jason earlier in Book 3 of the *Argonautika*, but he quoted the lines expressed by the narrator that represent an elaboration of what Medeia herself had said. This would make sense, especially since it seems that what the scholiast means by saying that the lines ‘are taken from Eumelos’ is that Apollonios Rhodios is reproducing the content of Eumelos’ similar reference to this episode and not his phraseology.³⁹⁰ After all, if Apollonios Rhodios has been influenced with respect to part of the diction used in this passage from *Il.* 13.339–43, ³⁹¹ one cannot exclude the possibility that Eumelos, should he had employed part of the phraseology found in Apollonios Rhodios, may have also been influenced by the aforementioned Iliadic passage.³⁹²

Fr. *23

Although there is no specific assignment of this passage to Eumelos, Barigazzi³⁹³ is right to include it in the *Korinthiaka*. This is the same passage³⁹⁴ with the one referring to Briareos as a διαλλακτής (‘arbitrator’) in the dispute between Poseidon and the Sun. Favorinus relates that after the advent of the Argonauts to Corinth, the first Isthmian Games were celebrated. Being organized by both Poseidon and the Sun (καὶ γάρ τοι καὶ ἀγῶνα πρῶτον ἐνταυθοῖ τεθῆναί φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν δύο θεῶν), the Games were considered to be the third favor after the ‘birth’ of the Isthmos and the divine contest between the two gods.³⁹⁵ There was a variety of myths pertaining to the foundation of the Isthmian Games, according to which the ἀγωνοθέτης (‘president in the games’) was Poseidon, though it was thought that Μελικέρτης/Παλαίμων, i.e. the son of Ino/Leukothea and Greek equivalent of the Phoenician Melkart, was honored too.³⁹⁶ This was in accordance to the custom of celebrating all Panhellenic Games in honor of a dead hero: the Olympic Games were dedicated to Zeus but celebrated in honor of Pelops, who was thought to have been buried at Olympia; the Pythian Games were dedicated to Apollo, but celebrated in honor of Neoptolemos who was thought to have been buried at Delphi; likewise, the Nemean Games were dedicated to Zeus, but they were celebrated in honor of Opheltēs/Archemoros.³⁹⁷ In fact, it seems that there was a chronological sequence with respect to the association of the Isthmian Games *first* with Poseidon and *then* with Melikertes/Palaimon, in accordance to the desire of Sisyphos, son of Aiolos, who became king of Corinth.³⁹⁸

Since the contests described in Favorinus’ passage pertain to the foundation of the Isthmian Games that were celebrated in remembrance of the death of Melikertes/Palaimon, it makes sense to compare them with analogous lists of victors in other famous funeral games.³⁹⁹ The two main cases are, on the basis of literary and artistic record, the funeral games in honor of Patroklos and Pelias.⁴⁰⁰

The funeral games in honor of Patroklos in *Iliad* 23 have, according to a famous neoanalytical argument, been influenced by the respective funeral

games in honor of Achilles as presented in a now lost **Memnonis* epic, whose plot is more or less reflected in the second part of the post-Homeric *Aithiopsis* by Arktinos of Miletos.⁴⁰¹ The contests and respective victors in these two epics are presented in the following list:⁴⁰²

ILIAD	Victors	*MEMNONIS	Victors
chariot race	Diomedes	chariot-race	Eumelos
boxing	Epeios	footrace	Diomedes
wrestling	Aias/Odysseus (draw)	discus	Aias
running	Odysseus	archery	Teukros
fighting in armor	Aias/Diomedes (draw)		
discus	Polypoites		
archery	Meriones		
javelin	Agamemnon		

The funeral games in honor of Patroklos begin to be identified with specific artistic representations, by means of inscribed annotations, not earlier than the second quarter of the sixth century BC.⁴⁰³ Given that Patroklos is a figure neither so important as to deserve special attention nor related to any other but the Trojan myth, it becomes plausible that he owes his celebrity to the Homeric *Iliad* who must have achieved a high status as an epic poem during this period.

The same observation is applicable to the Games for Pelias, and, as we shall see, it is of prime importance with respect to the list of Argonauts taking part in the Isthmian Games in the *Korinthiaka*. Let us first look at the lists of victorious Argonauts (a) in the Isthmian Games (Eumelos) and (b) in the Games in honor of king Pelias according to Stesichoros (fr. 1–4 Finglass),⁴⁰⁴ Ibykos (S176 *PMGF*)⁴⁰⁵ Pausanias (Chest of Kypselos, 5.17.9–11),⁴⁰⁶ and Hyginus (*Fab.* 273):⁴⁰⁷

EUMELOS	STESICHOROS	IBYKOS	CHEST OF KYPSELOS	HYGINUS ¹¹
Kastor-stadion	Kastor/Polyd. chariot race	?-stadium	Eurhemos-chariot race (two horses)	Zetes-dolichodromos
Kalais-diaulos	?-boxing	Iolaos-chariot race	Admetos/Mopsos-boxing	Calais-diaulos
Oiphroneus-kibbaze	Menegros-sport	Pelous(?)-wrestling	Jaynos/Peleus-sword-sling	Cyrtos-sadum
Herakles-pammenachos	Amphiarzos-jumping		Eurybotas-discus	Polyzestes-boxing
Polydeukes-boxing			Iphiklos-footrace	Telamon-discus
Polydeus-wrestling			Iolaos-chariot race (four horses)	Peleus-wrestling
Telamon-discus				Heracles-pammenachos
Theseus-race in chariot				Melager-javelin
Phaethon-horse race				Cygnus-combat
Neleus-chariot (four-horse) race				Beleroophontes-horse race
Argo-boott race				Iolaus-chariot race
				Furytus-archery
				Cephalus-sling
				Olympus-ovis
				Linus-singing
				Eumelos-slinging accompanied by playing the aulos

There are two ways of looking at Eumelos' list: one in comparison to the catalogue of Argonauts taking part in the expedition according to Apollonios Rhodios' version, and another one with respect to the various versions of Games held in honor of Pelias that are closely associated with the Argonautic

saga.

Of the list found in Eumelos, only Phaethon and Neleus are not included in the list of Argonauts given by Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1.9.16). The same is the case with the addition of Theseus as far as Apollonios Rhodios' list of Argonauts (1.23–227) is concerned. Eumelos' choice to include Phaethon seems to be an effort to have a son of Helios in the expedition.⁴⁰⁹ The same goes for Neleus, who is Poseidon's son. In this context, it is interesting to note that in Nestor's speech in *Hom. Il.* 11.699–702 Augeias is presented as stealing the four racehorses together with their chariot that Neleus had sent to the games in Elis. Since Augeias the son of Helios belongs, according to Apollonios Rhodios, to the Argonautic crew, it may be tempting to see a connection with both Neleus who wins the four-horse chariot race and Phaethon, Helios' son, in Eumelos. In fact, the introduction of Augeias and his 'Hellenistic' presentation as son of Helios (in both Apollonios Rhodios and Apollodoros)⁴¹⁰ would make more sense, if in the oral **Argonautika* of the archaic period, no son of Helios had taken part in the expedition. Apollonios Rhodios may have decided to use Eumelos with respect to Phaethon, son of Helios, and Neleus, son of Poseidon, but nevertheless introduced some changes. He therefore replaced Phaethon by Augeias making him the son of the Sun, and Neleus by his son Periklymenos. In fact, the substitution of Phaethon by Augeias may have been the by-product of his decision to replace Neleus by Periklymenos, if he had in mind both the Iliadic connection of Neleus and Augeias by means of a *tethrippon* and Eumelos' reference both to Phaethon and Neleus, the latter winning the *tethrippon* contest in the Isthmian Games. It is, therefore, likely that Eumelos wanted to give also a 'Corinthian' coloring to the Argonautic expedition by including the sons of the two principal gods and founders of both Corinth and the Isthmian Games. After all, the participation of the two gods' sons and their respective victories in the Games would enhance even more the Corinthian filtering of this episode.

This is as far as one can go concerning the lists of Eumelos and Apollonios Rhodios. With respect to the rest of the list, we should turn our attention to the catalogue of Argonauts who were victorious in Pelias' Games organized by his son Akastos, another Argonaut, after his father's death in Iolkos.

In Eumelos and Hyginus, Kastor wins the stadium (straight race or sprint), whereas in Stesichoros (fr. 2 Finglass) Kastor and Polydeukes drive two-horse chariots. In Ibykos (fr. S176 *PMGF*) we do not know who is victorious in the stadium. In the Chest of Kypselos only one of them (Polydeukes) takes part in the two-horse chariot race. The Dioskouroi are associated with specific skills⁴¹¹ pertaining to the driving of horses or chariots (*Ap. Rh.* 1.146–7),⁴¹² but it is also the case that Kastor alone excels in horse-driving (*Ov. Fast.* 5.700)⁴¹³ or in the footrace (*Hyg. Fab.* 273.10;⁴¹⁴ *Paus.* 5.8.4 ⁴¹⁵) and Polydeukes in boxing (*Theocr.* 22.44–53; *Hyg.* 273.10;⁴¹⁶ *Paus.* 5.8.4;⁴¹⁷ *Ov.*

Fast. 5.700 418). In Stesichoros, Kastor and Polydeukes participate in the chariot race but we do not know who won. The same is the case with respect to the question of whether this was a two- or four-horse chariot race.⁴¹⁹

The Boreads, Kalais and Zetes, are expected to be victorious in different types of footrace, since they are known to have possessed (as sons of the North Wind) wings that allow them to fly at high speed (Philostr. *Gymn.* 3).⁴²⁰ Surprisingly only Kalais is mentioned in Favorinus' list as winning the *diaulos* (twice the distance of the stadium). This omission may well be due to Favorinus, not to Eumelos, since the Boreads (like the Dioskouroi) are always mentioned as a pair.⁴²¹ The same is the case in Hyginus with the addition of Zetes who wins in the long race (*dolichodromos*).⁴²² We do not hear of a footrace in the extant fragments of Stesichoros, whereas in the Chest of Kypselos it is Iphiklos who wins the running contest, with Euphemos probably as his defeated rival.⁴²³

Orpheus wins in the kithara in both Eumelos and Hyginus, but his place in the list varies.⁴²⁴ Whereas in the former he is mentioned after Kastor and Kalais, in the latter he is mentioned towards the end of the list, together with other legendary figures who win different musical contests (Olympos wins in the *aulos* contest, Linos in the solo singing, and Eumolpos in the song accompanying Olympos' *aulos*). There is no mention of musical contests in Stesichoros or in the Chest of Kypselos.⁴²⁵

Herakles wins in both Eumelos and Hyginus, as expected, the *pammachos* (probably the *pankration*, a combination of boxing, wrestling and kicking), since he was considered the mythical model for this type of contest (see his fight against Antaios in *I.* 4.52–7 ⁴²⁶ and the Labor against the Nemean lion).⁴²⁷ In Eumelos he participates together with many Argonauts in the games established by the Sun and Poseidon at Corinth. This event clearly took place when the Argonauts returned from Kolchis and left Medeia (and Jason) to rule Corinth. The *Korinthiaka* attributed special weight to Herakles who, in contrast to the other versions of the Argonautic story, had left the Argo and the Argonauts *before* they even arrived at Kolchis (Ap. Rh. 1.1283). The inclusion of Herakles in the list of Argonauts may reflect a different version (Diod. Sik. 4.53.2) of Argonautic saga in which the Argonauts sailed to the Isthmos and after dedicating the Argo there made, according to Herakles' proposal, a treaty of alliance. They subsequently started looking for a place in order to establish a festival and athletic contests. This place was Olympia. The passing of the Argonauts from the Isthmos has been adapted by Diodoros, so as to explain the origin of the Olympic Games and not the Isthmian, as is the case in Eumelos. But it may be that this was not Diodoros' invention, especially if the same context (including Herakles) had featured in Aischylos' satyr-play *Theoroi* or *Isthmiastai*.⁴²⁸ It would be interesting to know whether Aischylos' version was his *autoschediasma* or drew on an older tradition. By including Herakles in the list of Argonauts who participated in the games at the Isthmos, Eumelos aimed at promoting the high status of the recently

founded (582 BC) Isthmian Games. Herakles would, thus, be linked not only to Olympia but also to the Isthmos. It should also be noted that Herakles does not take part in the Games for Pelias in Stesichoros and on the Chest of Kypselos.

Polydeukes wins the boxing contest in both Eumelos (πυγμῆν Πολυδεύκης) and Hyginus (*Fab.* 273.10: *Pollux eiusdem [sc. Iovis] filius caestu*),⁴²⁹ but his placement in the list varies. In Eumelos he is not placed together with his brother Kastor, as is the case in Hyginus. In Stesichoros, Polydeukes is associated with the two-horse chariot race in which he participates together with his brother Kastor (fr. 2 Finglass), while in Pausanias he competes without Kastor in the chariot-race but is defeated by Euphemos (5.17.9).⁴³⁰

Peleus wins the wrestling context in both Eumelos (πάλην Πηλεΰς) and Hyginus (*Peleus eiusdem [sc. Aeaci filius] luctatione*),⁴³¹ and the same applies to his brother Telamon who wins the discus-throwing (δίσκον Τελαμών / *Telamon Aeaci filius disco*). The same is the case in Philostratos (*Gymn.* 3).⁴³² With respect to the order of their presentation, in Eumelos Peleus comes first and Telamon follows, while in Hyginus the order is reversed. These two heroes are regularly placed together, since they are brothers. There is no mention of Peleus or Telamon in Stesichoros' version. In Ibykos (fr. S176 PMGF) we do not know who is victorious in the wrestling context, but we know that Peleus was defeated. In the Chest of Kypselos, Peleus competes against Jason in the wrestling contest.

Theseus is not a member of the list of Argonauts taking part in the expedition in Apollonios Rhodios.⁴³³ The picture is different in Apollodoros⁴³⁴ and Statius,⁴³⁵ who include him in the Argonautic crew; Hyginus⁴³⁶ adds to the list of Argonauts Theseus' friend Peirithoos.⁴³⁷ Theseus does not feature in any version of Pelias' Games. In Eumelos he wins in the armed race (ἐνόπλιον Θησεύς) in the Games held at Corinth. The distance covered by the armed athlete is unknown, though most authors connect it to the *diaulos* (Aristoph. *Av.* 292 and Σ 292a–b [p. 53.1–5 Holwerda]; Paus. 2.11.8, 10.34.2).⁴³⁸ No similar contest is attested in Hyginus, in whose list Cygnus, son of Ares, is mentioned killing in combat his opponent Pilus, son of Diodotus, in combat (*Cygnus Martis filius armis occidit Pilum Diodoti filium*).⁴³⁹ The participation of Theseus in the Isthmian Games must be Eumelos' innovation. We are in no position to know for certain whether Theseus was a member of the Argonautic crew in an oral Argonautic epic of the archaic period. His inclusion (as a son of Aigeus) in the list of Argonauts offered by Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1.9.16.7–9) should be treated with caution. Eumelos was probably aiming at reinforcing the Athenian aspect of the *Korinthiaka* (see also the introduction of Marathon in early Corinthian history) and may have also exploited one version of Theseus' pedigree, according to which he was Poseidon's son (see e.g. Bacch. 17.33–6, 57–60).

The journey of the Argo to the Isthmos and its dedication to Poseidon is

attested in a variety of sources (Diod. Sik. 4.53.2; Aristeides *Oration* 46.29; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.27).⁴⁴⁰ In Diodoros, Jason is presented as travelling with the chieftains of the Argonauts to the Isthmos, where he performed a sacrifice to Poseidon and dedicated to him the Argo. In Aristeides, Corinth is praised for its heroes (like Sisypheos, Korinthos, and Bellerophon), for the invention of measuring and weighing, as well as for the building not of the simple trireme but of the Argo itself. This detail cannot be attributed to Eumelos.⁴⁴¹ It is obviously Aristeides' own invention. In Apollodoros, there is a brief reference to Jason's traveling to the Isthmos and dedication of the Argo to Poseidon.⁴⁴² Eumelos is the only source referring to Argo's victory in a boat race in the Isthmos. The dedication of the Argo *only* to Poseidon and not to the Sun as well is to be explained as the result of the Sun's disappearance from the celebration of the Isthmian Games. According to Paus. 2.4.6, Aphrodite replaced his cult in the Acrocorinth.⁴⁴³ Since Aphrodite is the Greek *hypostasis* of the Phoenician Astarte, it is no wonder that the displacement and substitution of the Sun may have been paralleled with the introduction of Melikertes/Palaemon (Phoenician Melkart). Favorinus is very clear on this issue: the Isthmian Games were founded by both Poseidon and the Sun but the former was the sole divinity presiding over the them (τιμὰς ἡνέγκατο μούνοιο).⁴⁴⁴

It is risky to argue about the order of the contests in Eumelos on the basis of Favorinus' list, and the same is the case with Hyginus' list of victors in the Games for Pelias.⁴⁴⁵ Be that as it may, it is advisable to note the differences between these authors and also try to see whether a common pattern of presentation is used.⁴⁴⁶

In both Favorinus/Eumelos and Hyginus, the lists follow a tripartite organization, with some minor changes:⁴⁴⁷ first come the running contests, then the contest involving physical contact or use of the hands (boxing, discus, wrestling, *pammachos*), and then follow contests involving horses (simple horse racing and chariot racing). In both Eumelos and Hyginus, a single contest involving the use of an armor (Theseus' race in the former, and armed combat in the latter) occupy the position after the physical contact contests. In Hyginus' list throwing contests (javelin, archery, sling) are placed after the physical-contact contests, but are interrupted by the horse-races. Contests involving music are placed in different positions. While the kithara contest follows the running contest in Favorinus/Eumelos, an entire series of musical contests comes at the end of Hyginus' list, including musicians, two of whom were not members of the Argonautic crew (Olympus and Eumolpus). This is clearly a later accretion to the standard list of victors in the Isthmian Games.

Within this almost similar pattern, both lists seem to follow a secondary classification principle, according to which standard pairs of victorious Argonauts win in the same contests and are placed in almost the same order: the Boreads (of which Kalais wins in the *diaulos* and Zetes in the

dolichodromos) and the Dioskouroi (Kastor wins in the stadium and Polydeukes in boxing) appear in chiasitic order (since Polydeukes had to be placed in the physical contact contests),⁴⁴⁸ while the brothers Peleus and Telamon (though they appear in reverse order in the two lists) follow (since they excel in physical contests) being placed after Polydeukes.

The obvious conclusion from such a comparison is that both lists draw on some common source. The other alternative, namely that Hyginus depends on some summary of Eumelos' work which he had augmented by new accretions, seems to me unlikely, since it would have been very odd if he was drawing on an author describing a *different event* (Eumelos' list referring to the Isthmian Games, Hyginus' list pertaining to the Games of Pelias). It is much more plausible that Eumelos' list represents a variant version of an older list describing the victors in the Games for Pelias, for which we have literary evidence as early as the archaic period.

The use of a Greek source by Hyginus can be clearly seen from several traces still recoverable in his text. Hyginus' formulation *Cygnus Martis filius armis occidit Pilum Diodoti filium* (273.11) may be drawing on some lost Greek poetic source that had something like the following one-and-a-half verse: Κύκνος δ' αὖ φίλον υἷα μεθ' ὅπλοις ἐξεσάριξεν / διογενοῦς ... οἶο.⁴⁴⁹ The readings *pammachum* (*Fab.* 273.5) and *pammacho* (*Fab.* 273.11) of F have been corrected to *pammachium* and *pammachio* respectively, but this is anything but necessary. Forms like παμμάχω (Pl. *Euthyd.* 271c), πάμμαχοι (Theocr. 24.114), παμμάχοις (Dio Chr. 8.19) are well attested. Barigazzi (1966b, 324 on §14) is right that in the light of Favorinus' πάμμαχον (like τέθριππον, τέτρωρον) and since τὸ πάμμαχον is also attested in other sources (e.g. εἰς τὸ πάμμαχον),⁴⁵⁰ we should keep in Hyg. *Fab.* 273.5 and 273.10 the manuscript readings *pammachum/pammacho* (F). If then, the readings *pammachum/pammacho* in Hyginus are not symptomatic, they are likely to point to a Greek source that has been used by this Roman mythographer.⁴⁵¹ The similarities we have analyzed above between the lists of Favorinus/Eumelos and Hyginus are now coupled by a definitive dictional correspondence. The phrase Κάστορα μὲν στάδιον, Κάλαϊν δὲ διαύλον in Favorinus/Eumelos that 'looks like a poetic fragment',⁴⁵² provided that the two proper names are in the nominative and one more foot be added (e.g. νίκᾳ μὲν Κάστωρ σταδίῳ, Κάλαϊς δὲ διαύλῳ), seems to have been inverted in Hyginus' text in which the names appear in the nominative and further modified by the mythographer's tendency to add each figure's pedigree (273.10: *Calais eiusdem filius diaulo, Castor Iovis filius stadio*).

Seen as a whole, Eumelos' account of the Isthmian Games seems to be based on an earlier account of the famous Games for Pelias. The participation of the Argonautic crew with some modifications, in order to cater for local Corinthian taste and lore, functions as the bridge between these two accounts. Given that in sixth-century literature and art the only two sets of games with a wide diffusion are those for Patroklos and Pelias, the former being circulated

under the authority of the Iliadic tradition, it is a fair assumption that the latter was treated either in an oral **Argonautika*⁴⁵³ and/ or an independent *Einzellied* on the Games for Pelias.⁴⁵⁴ Interest, artistic and poetic alike, may have been reinvigorated in the sixth century BC by means of the (re)foundation of Panhellenic festivals like the Pythia (582), the Isthmia (582), and the Nemea (573), in all of which athletic contests formed an integral part. Since the Olympia had begun only about 700 BC ‘to attract more than a local crowd’,⁴⁵⁵ the accumulated and chronologically compressed proliferation of other Panhellenic festivals must have increased the pressure for artistic depiction of authoritative mythical figures associated with athletic contests. Artists turned, naturally, to the funeral games for Patroklos and Pelias.⁴⁵⁶ Having said this, we should also bear in mind that detailed depictions of these two sets of funeral games were particularly common in Corinthian or ‘Corinthiniazing’ pottery. Eumelos’ choice to use the Games for Pelias as the backdrop against which he described the first Isthmian Games in the *Korinthiaka* may have been also influenced, but not triggered by, the high circulation of this theme in Corinthian pottery.⁴⁵⁷

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Medeia became queen of Corinth having Jason at her side as king. Since Eumelos’ rendering of Medeia had to be presented through a Corinthian filter aiming at erasing all negative aspects of her mythical armature, a different path had to be trodden with respect to her abominous matricide. At the same time, Eumelos had to cater for the fact that she was bound by the deep structure of her mythical agenda not to leave any children behind who would eventually rule Corinth. The Corinthian poet took advantage of a cult pertaining to the dead children,⁴⁵⁸ whose grave was placed at Hera’s sanctuary in Perachora,⁴⁵⁹ a peninsula across the bay from the city of Corinth.⁴⁶⁰ Some scholars have argued that these were the children of a local goddess also called Medeia, and that it was the coincidence of the name with Medeia, daughter of Aietes, that resulted in anchoring the Argonauts into this story, despite the fact that they had nothing to do with her local namesake.⁴⁶¹ This line of interpretation has been strongly contested by Graf,⁴⁶² Johnston,⁴⁶³ and Harrauer,⁴⁶⁴ who have presented as counter-arguments that (a) Medeia is a very specific name that almost defies etymological analysis, and (b) she is closely associated to the myth of the Argonauts from a very early period (see Hom. *Od.* 12.70: Ἀργὼ πᾶσι μέλουσα, παρ’ Αἰήταο πλέουσα).⁴⁶⁵

On the basis of the succinct argumentation of Johnston, the most probable explanation with respect to Medeia and the cult of Hera Akraia can be summarized as follows: in the early archaic period there was in the region of Corinth a cult of Hera Akraia pertaining to the protection of children from certain diseases that resulted in their high mortality rate throughout antiquity. It is likely that there also existed in Corinth a cult of a local goddess named Medeia, whose function was more or less the same with that of Hera Akraia.

When the goddess Medeia was displaced by Hera Akraia, she was degraded to a sort of demonic power who posed a threat to those protected by Hera Akraia. Medeia-the-demon was thought of being a mother who had lost her children, since her ‘opponent’ Hera Akraia was identified as the protectress of children while being nourished. The infanticide motif need not be the invention of any individual author but a development that evolved out of the ‘killing variant’ of this motif (another variant being that of the ‘immortalization’ of her children). Eumelos focused on the immortalization variant. By presenting Medeia trying to make her children immortal, he was exploiting beliefs belonging to the second phase in the evolution of the Medeia-Hera pair in Corinth. Having being displaced by the cult of Hera Akraia, Medeia had become the mother who loses her children because the goddess who had taken her place failed to save them. In this case, immortality is the ‘mythical translation’ of the effort spent on keeping young children alive and dealing with dangerous child-diseases. Eumelos did not opt for the ‘killing variant’ of this motif, since he had first conflated Corinthian Medeia with her Kolchian namesake, who was an integral member of the Argonautic saga. He, therefore, aimed at presenting this ‘new’ Medeia as not responsible for the death of her children. Pausanias’ text should be treated, especially at this point, with attention to detail, even if it is so elliptical. If trusted, then we have to assume that in Eumelos’ epic Medeia did not kill her children intentionally but accidentally by burying them in Hera’s shrine thinking that in this way she would make them immortal. Johnston⁴⁶⁶ suggests that what made Jason angry against Medeia and persuaded him to abandon her and leave Corinth immediately is not that he saw her killing their children, but that he caught her in the act of some ceremony of hiding the children which he mistook as dangerous and harmful. The parallels of Demeter’s hiding of Demophon in the fire that is misinterpreted by Metaneira and of Thetis’ similar act with Achilleus that is also misinterpreted by Peleus make this explanation plausible.⁴⁶⁷ Perhaps Pausanias’ κατακρύπτειν is hinting to the performance of a healing ceremony by Medeia. Radermacher has drawn attention to the use of the same verb in a similar context by Pausanias (3.20.5): ἐνταῦθα Ἡρακλέα Λακεδαιμόνιοι κρυφθῆναι φασιν ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τὸ τραῦμα ἰώμενον,⁴⁶⁸ in which it is clear that the hiding of the body under the earth is a healing process.⁴⁶⁹

It is in this context that Eumelos had presented Medeia trying to ‘bury’ her children in the shrine of Hera Akraia. But why did Medeia try to ‘bury’ her children? What had happened to them? It is at this point that Parmeniskos’ tale about Medeia’s children (in Σ in Eur. *Med.* 264 [II 159.16–160.1 Schwartz] = *FGrHist* 417.3) and a Pindaric scholium (*O.* 13.74g [I 373.17–374.3 Drachmann]) become particularly relevant to the context of the *Korinthiaka*. According to Parmeniskos, when Medeia became queen of Corinth, she was despised by the other Corinthian women for being a barbarian and an enchantress, with the result that her children, seven boys and

seven girls, were all killed by them in the shrine of Hera Akraia, where they tried to find refuge. Because of this act of sacrilege a plague befell the city and many Corinthians died. The oracle prophesied that, in order to cleanse the city from this pollution, the Corinthians need to select seven boys and seven girls and have them spent a whole year inside Hera's precinct, as well as offer sacrifices to appease the goddess' anger. On the other hand, the Pindaric scholium speaks of a λιμός ('famine') and not a λοιμός ('plague') from which Corinth was suffering. Moreover, whereas in the story related by Parmeniskos the plague results from an act of sacrilege, in the version offered by the Pindaric scholium the famine remains unexplained and precedes the burial of Medeia's children in Hera's shrine. In this version, Medeia saved Corinth from a famine by offering sacrifices to Demeter and the Lemnian nymphs.⁴⁷⁰ At that point Zeus fell in love with her, but Medeia resisted, in order to avoid Hera's anger. In recompense, Hera promised Medeia to make her children immortal. The scholium does not specify at all how and when Medeia's children died, it only says that after their death the Corinthians called them μιξοβάρβαροι ('half-barbarians'). Starting from the end, it is obvious that the version offered by the Pindaric scholium emerged after Eumelos and that only a part of it may depend on him. This is the most reasonable conclusion, since Medeia is presented, in contrast to Eumelos, as a barbarian and her children as half-barbarians. Hera's gratitude is probably a secondary invention, aiming at explaining why Medeia tried to make her children immortal. The only part of this scholium that may depend on Eumelos is what is not said explicitly, i.e. that Medeia brought her children to the shrine of Hera Akraia to make them immortal and that the children somehow died there. If we now turn our attention to Parmeniskos' version, we see that again only a part of it depends on Eumelos. As in the version offered by the Pindaric scholium, so here Medeia is presented as a barbarian (hated by Corinthian women), a feature that is against her Corinthian (Greek) pedigree attested in the *Korinthiaka*. On the other hand, the kernel of the story seems to be older than Eumelos,⁴⁷¹ since the result of the Corinthians' hatred over Medeia is the murder of her fourteen children in the precinct of Hera Akraia. This time the plague falling upon the city is neatly explained as a result of an act of sacrilege.

In light of the above, it has been argued that Eumelos had transferred the killing of the children from the Corinthians to Medeia, while at the same time he had changed the ἐκούσιος φόνος of the Corinthians into an ἀκούσιος φόνος by Medeia.⁴⁷² This view has been criticized, on the basis that there is nothing in our sources saying that 'Medea *killed* the children, even accidentally [...] the only reason given for the children's death is Hera's perfidy'.⁴⁷³ This is true, but at the same time Pausanias, who is our source for Eumelos' treatment of this episode, tells us nothing about Hera's disloyalty. In fact, he gives two reasons for Medeia's departure from Corinth (2.3.11): (a) her failure to immortalize her children (τέλος δὲ αὐτὴν τε μαθεῖν ὥς ἡμαρτήκοι τῆς ἐλπιδος), and (b) the fact that Jason caught her in the act of trying to

immortalize them (καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἰάσονος φωραθεῖσαν) by means of some procedure that he regarded as harmful for the children, subsequently deciding not to forgive her, hence his return to Iolkos. In addition, the audience of the *Korinthiaka* had to be told *why* Medeia decided to leave Corinth. Her departure makes sense only if her children had died and Jason had accused her that she was responsible, even accidentally, for this outcome. Whereas in an earlier tradition, the Corinthians had killed Medeia's children because of her barbaric origin and enchanting nature, in the *Korinthiaka* they had to be acquitted from this crime. At the same time, the murder could not be transferred to Medeia, since the reasons that provoked it in the older tradition were now eliminated: Medeia was Greek and she was also Corinthian. A local epic such as the *Korinthiaka* had to present a positive picture not only of the Corinthians as a community but also of a legendary Corinthian Medeia. Therefore, I am inclined to accept Harrauer's argument that Medeia's attempt to immortalize her children resulted, accidentally, to their death. Although Eumelos' story presupposes some sort of link between Medeia and Hera, this does not necessarily mean that it reflects Hera's gratitude because of Medeia's rejection of Zeus' love. Hera's support of the Argonauts and Jason may have sufficed,⁴⁷⁴ especially since in the *Korinthiaka* Medeia arrives at Corinth as a Greek queen together with the Argo and all the celebrated Argonauts.

The handing over of the rule of Corinth to Sisyphos brings the Medeia episode to an end. This association cannot be explained as the result of a love affair between them,⁴⁷⁵ but must be a later development.⁴⁷⁶ Sisyphos was a well-known figure of Corinthian lore. He was honored (Pind. *O.* 13.52), having a shrine on Acrocorinth (Diod. Sik. 20.103.2, Strabo 8.6.21) and a grave the exact location of which remained unknown, although Pausanias (2.2.2) places it close to Poseidon's sanctuary. Sisyphos was also regarded as the founder of the Isthmian Games⁴⁷⁷ in which Poseidon was the presiding god. His pedigree underlines his Aiolic ancestry. He was Jason's great-uncle (Jason's father Aison being his nephew).⁴⁷⁸ He is regularly called Σίσυφος Αιολίδης in a large variety of texts, the earliest of which is the *Iliad* (6.154).⁴⁷⁹ His Aiolic association has been interpreted as a by-product of the formula Σίσυφος αἰολομήτης ([Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 10.2 M–W),⁴⁸⁰ though it is puzzling that many different authors have made the same interpretation, unless we accept that the Homeric influence has been decisive. On the other hand, Sisyphos is connected to central and northern Greece. His link with Boiotia is stronger because, like his brother Salmoneus who is associated with both Thessaly and Elis,⁴⁸¹ he was probably linked with various places.⁴⁸² The 'Boiotian' associations of Sisyphos are seen in that Boiotian Ino and Melikertes, who are honored in the Isthmian Games, are his sister-in-law and his nephew respectively; the Boiotian towns of Haliartos and Koronos are named after his two grandsons, who were fathered by Thersandros (Paus. 9.34.7–8, Armen. fr. 7 *EGM*); the same applies to his other grandson, Proitos, whose grandson Lokros seems to be treated by Pherekydes (fr. 170a–c *EGM*) as the eponym of the Ozolian Lokrians,⁴⁸³ as well as to Phokos, another of Sisyphos' grandsons, after whom Phokis had been named (Paus. 9.24.3).⁴⁸⁴ At the same time, Minyas is also drawn to the Thessalian side by his being represented as the grandson of Sisyphos son of Aiolos, and is called an Aiolid because his mother Chrysogone was the daughter of Sisyphos' son Almos (Σ Ap. Rh. 3.1094–5 [p. 249.14–17 Wendel], cf. Paus. 9.36.4) or Olmos (Σ Hom. *Il.* 2.511c [I 296.51–5 Erbse]). Other Thessalian links attested for Minyas is that he is thought to be the son of Poseidon and Tritogeneia, another daughter of Aiolos (Σ Pind. *P.* 4.122 [II 115.24–116.4 Drachmann]), as well as son of Thessalos, who is fathered by Poseidon (Σ Pind. *O.* 14.5a [I 390.21–391.1 Drachmann]).⁴⁸⁵ In addition to these data, it should be taken into consideration that the Argonauts whose Thessalian connection is undisputed were thought to be Minyans (perhaps Stes. fr. 288 [Finglass]; Pind. *P.* 4.69, Hdt. 4.145.10–14). Given the link between Minyan and Aiolian genealogies, it is perhaps advisable to see Sisyphos in the same light too. In the words of Fowler (*EGM* II §5.5, p. 192):

This looks like a case of genealogies being erased in an oral environment because no longer socially relevant. The relationship with the Aiolidai is probably the key to what happened. The Minyans seem at one time to have

extended from south Thessaly to Lake Kopais, that is to say the heartland of the Aioliens; when the genealogy of Hellen was created in the early Archaic period, a process led by the Thessalians [...], the Minyans were perhaps already well on their way to being overtaken and simply absorbed, so that they found no independent place in the Hellenic tree, not even as a cadet branch springing from Deukalion.

If, then, the Minyans who initially occupied an area including the southern part of Thessaly and Boiotia were overtaken and absorbed by the Aioliens,⁴⁸⁶ it is a reasonable inference that the par excellence Thessalian/Aiolic saga of the Argonauts was linked to them, the Argonauts being called Minyans. If this theory holds true, then we have a functional analogy with respect to other Aiolian figures, like Sisyphos, who also has strong Boiotian connections, being Minyas' brother ([Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 10a.25–8 M–W).⁴⁸⁷ In the case of Eumelos' *Korinthiaka*, there would even be another reason for exploiting such a tradition: Medeia (and Jason, an Aiolid) would pass over the reign to another Aiolid, Sisyphos, who as brother of Minyas, would be thought of continuing in Corinth the Aiolian-Argonautic line. A local epic like the *Korinthiaka* would thus enhance Corinthian self-esteem by anchoring a key myth of archaic Greece to a Corinthian figure par excellence, Sisyphos.

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After the death of her children Medeia (as well as Jason) is taken out of the picture. The rule is now handed to Sisyphos, son of Aiolos, whose early connection to Ephyra (Hom. *Il.* 6.152, 210) must have been so strong that his involvement in the early history of Corinth was taken for granted. If the original Ephyra was in the area of the Pelasgic Argos in Thessaly,⁴⁸⁸ then we should see in Sisyphos' Aiolian origin one more trace of an Aiolian substratum permeating the early Corinthian history and reflected, to a certain extent, on the *Korinthiaka*.

We do not know how much of the typical lore surrounding this legendary figure featured in this epic. Pausanias informs us about Sisyphos refusing to show to Nestor visiting Corinth the place where his father Neleus was buried. Neleus is said to have died of an illness (νόσῳ τελευτῆσαι). Although no further details concerning this tale have come down to us, the family tree in which both Sisyphos and Neleus belong should have played some role. The link between the two is Tyro, the wife of Sisyphos' brother Kretheus and daughter of another of Sisyphos' brothers, Salmoneus. Tyro was impregnated by Poseidon to whom she bore the twins Neleus and Pelias. Since Jason and the Argonauts were brought into the plot of the *Korinthiaka*, some mention of Pelias must have also taken place. So, Neleus' pedigree had been mentioned in the poem at the point when the Argonauts were summoned together with Medeia from Iolkos to Corinth. Neleus took part in the Isthmian Games in which he had won the four-horse chariot race. If he had fallen sick after this

event, then everything would be in place.⁴⁸⁹ Although Pausanias' version, which refers only to Neleus' illness upon his arrival at Corinth, seems at odds with the previous explanation, this may be due to the fact that he mentioned only that part of his source (φασί) referring to the tombs of Sisyphos and Neleus. In any case, it is hard to see why he said Νηλέα ἀφικόμενον ἐς Κόρινθον, if Neleus had arrived together with the Argonauts for the Isthmian Games. Given that Pausanias had access to a prose version or summary of the *Korinthiaka*, the Κορινθία συγγραφή, the abovementioned paradox becomes starker.

We need to turn to Nestor, in order to deal with this vexing question. It was then, i.e. when Sisyphos became king, that Neleus fell sick and died. Some time later, his son Nestor came to Corinth in search of his father's grave, but he was met with Sisyphos' refusal to show it to him. Since Nestor alone of Neleus' children is brought into the picture, it is a reasonable guess that some reference would have been made to the loss of his other 11 brothers when Herakles attacked Pylos. If this line of thought is correct, then we may offer an alternative explanation for the presence of Neleus at Corinth, an explanation that would not be at odds with Pausanias' Νηλέα ἀφικόμενον ἐς Κόρινθον. After the celebration of the first Isthmian Games, the members of the Argonautic crew had parted and Neleus must have returned to his kingdom at Pylos. It is then possible that after narrating the Medeia tale that ended with the rule being passed to Sisyphos, Eumelos discussed the new Corinthian king's Aiolian stemma, in which Neleus featured too. In a brief digression he may have referred to the sack of Pylos by Herakles, the death of Neleus' 11 sons, with Nestor escaping death probably because he was at Gerenum.⁴⁹⁰ If in this version Neleus had escaped death too, he may have returned to Corinth, the one place where he had been favorably welcomed like all the rest of the Argonauts. Sisyphos offered hospitality to him.⁴⁹¹ At some point Neleus fell ill and died at Corinth. He was buried at the area of the Isthmos, a place sacred to his father Poseidon and recalling his triumphal performance in the first Isthmian Games. Nestor's arrival at a later stage in search of his father's tomb was met with Sisyphos' reluctance to reveal its exact location.

When Sisyphos died he too was buried at the Isthmos. There must have been a reason for the fact that both Neleus and Sisyphos had been buried at the same area. What other reason could there be than their connection to the Isthmian Games? Eumelos may have mentioned Sisyphos in the context of the foundation of the Games. Although Poseidon and the Sun were the presiding gods, though only the former was basically honored, the Games were also connected to Melikertes/ Palaimon, the son of Ino/Leukothea who plunged herself into the sea to escape from Hera's wrath. Sisyphos was the human founder of the Games (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.3.3).⁴⁹²

As far as the hidden tombs of both Neleus and Sisyphos are concerned, the secrecy surrounding them stems from the belief in polis talismans. The

specific place of burial of a mythical figure specifically associated with a given city had to remain concealed, since it would thus preserve the sacred power of the hero or heroine buried there. A typical example of this phenomenon is that of the Theban heroine Dirke whose grave outside the city walls is known only to the hipparch, who is commissioned with passing this secret knowledge to the next hipparch at night; he takes him to Dirke's grave, they perform sacrifices in which no fire is used, erase all traces of them, and part way without telling anyone what happened (Plut. *Gen. Socr.* 578b). Likewise, Oidipous tells Theseus not to reveal the secret of his grave to anyone, not even to his own (Oidipous') daughters, but choose towards the end of his life a single person to whom the secret should be revealed. He also tells Theseus what each secret-holder should do in the future with respect to the location of his grave (Soph. *Oid. Kol.* 1522–32). Another relevant case, this time reported by Pausanias (2.29.6–8), concerns the tomb of Aiaikos in Aigina. While visiting the island in the second century AD, Pausanias saw a square enclosure of white stone (περίβολος τετράγωνος λευκοῦ λίθου) inside of which there was the altar of Aiaikos, probably the greatest hero of Aigina. Pausanias was informed that there was a legend that should always remained concealed, according to which this low altar was the actual tomb of Aiaikos.⁴⁹³ What remains important is that this enclosure was closely related to the amazing power of Aiaikos. Wrought in relief at the entrance of the enclosure were the envoys sent from all Greece to ask for help because a drought (ἀρχμός) had afflicted the whole country. Aiaikos prayed to Zeus who granted his request. Soon after, rain started falling on the earth. Once more, we see that the concealment of the location of a grave is associated with the preservation of the power of the buried hero.

Since secrets pertaining to sacred tombs were only known to a king or key-person or a powerful priesthood, we may wonder at the reason(s) explaining the secrecy about Neleus' and Sisyphos' tombs in Corinth. In both cases, royalty is involved and to this extent the preservation and transmission of royal power and authority must have been the key issue.⁴⁹⁴ This is more obvious in the case of Sisyphos, who is king of Corinth. But why does this apply to Neleus? The main point is here *who* keeps the secret and *from whom* he keeps it. This aspect of the phenomenon is implicit in the very phraseology of Pausanias, who stresses that it was Sisyphos who knew the secret and refused to reveal it even to his son Nestor (Νηλέως μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ Νέστορι ἐπιδειχθῆναι τὸ μνήμα ὑπὸ τοῦ Σισύφου φησί). Sisyphos wanted for some reason to conceal the location of Neleus' tomb and not reveal it even to Nestor, the only one of his sons who had survived the sack of Pylos by Herakles and was, the sole heir to Neleus' kingdom. This would be understandable, if Sisyphos had some interest in Pylos. But since this is not the case, why did he refuse to reveal the secret to Nestor? Probably because he wanted to keep 'Neleus' in Corinth. In Soph. *OC* 1534–5, Oidipous tells Theseus that keeping secret the location of his grave will result in an

enormous increase of the power of Athens making it safe from any potential Theban danger. Is it possible that Sisyphos thought that the concealment of the location of Neleus' tomb would result in the protection of Corinth? As he had survived Herakles' attack, Neleus may have been thought to possess a special power that would be transmitted to the land in which his bones were kept. As a son of Poseidon, he represented the 'perfect' match with Corinth's favored god, Poseidon, whose special authority lay in the area of the Isthmos, i.e. in the very same place Neleus (and Sisyphos) were buried. If the location of the tomb was revealed to Nestor, the new king of Pylos, he would probably take his father's bones back to Pylos, thus depriving Corinth from the special power given by Neleus' tomb. After all, Nestor's otherwise unattested visit to Corinth may have been triggered by this reason, i.e. to bring back to Pylos his father's bones. If this explanation is valid, then we may see in a clearer light Eumelos' choice to replace Periklymenos, Neleus' son, as a member of the Argonautic crew by Neleus. Periklymenos died in the sack of Pylos, after changing forms and trying to defend the city against Herakles. As long as he was alive, the city would not fall, but, like Hector, after his death the defenders did not hold for long. Given his death at Pylos, Periklymenos could not be of use to Eumelos' Corinthian focus. Neleus, on the other hand, who had escaped death in Pylos, could become 'useful' to a Corinthian perspective and bring his undisputed authority as sole king of Pylos to 'bear' on the future of Corinth. It may be relevant that it is basically with Sisyphos that Corinth begins to be treated in the *Korinthiaka* as a single city, the distinction between the Asopia and Ephyraia starting to be downplayed.

As to the fact that Sisyphos' tomb remains virtually secret, with the exception of a few Corinthians, it seems that we are dealing with Eumelos' *autoschediasma*. Since there was no documentation about his grave and given that Eumelos wanted to erase the tradition of his visit and punishment in the Underworld, he may well have invented that kind of explanation with respect to the death of a famous Corinthian king.⁴⁹⁵

Fr. 26

After Sisyphos' death Eumelos must have turned his attention to the continuation of the Corinthian royal line. Sisyphos' son from Merope,⁴⁹⁶ one of the daughters of Atlas, was Glaukos, who succeeded Sisyphos in the kingship of Corinth.⁴⁹⁷ Like his father Sisyphos, he is also credited with the foundation of the Isthmian Games.⁴⁹⁸ His wife is Eurymede⁴⁹⁹ or Eurynome,⁵⁰⁰ from whom he has a son, the famous Bellerophon.⁵⁰¹

Glaukos, son of Sisyphos, is closely associated with the funeral games for Pelias in which he found a horrible death. Being defeated by Iolaos in the four-horse chariot race, he was subsequently thrown from his chariot⁵⁰² and eaten alive by his own mares,⁵⁰³ who had been angered at him either because of the water of a magic well from which Glaukos had watered them⁵⁰⁴ or by Aphrodite,⁵⁰⁵ who was maddened at him because he had prevented his mares

from breeding so as to make them run faster.⁵⁰⁶ Glaukos has no connection with Thessaly, as his father Sisyphos, but with Boiotia,⁵⁰⁷ in particular with Potniai. It is thought that the legend of Glaukos and his death by his horses was brought to Corinth from Euboian-Chalkidian colonists,⁵⁰⁸ and that what Eumelos tells us about his (Glaukos') journey to Sparta in search of his lost horses (τῶν ἵππων ἀπολομένων) represents a *korinthisch-lakedaimonischen Sagenkontamination*.⁵⁰⁹ His intercourse with Panteidyia (who not much later married Thestios)⁵¹⁰ aims, through the birth of Leda, to lay claim on the Dioskouroi as being of Corinthian blood.⁵¹¹ That the Dioskouroi are the 'end' to which Eumelos is heading can be seen from their participation in the Argonautic expedition and their victories in the Isthmian Games, the latter being described in detail in the *Korinthiaka*. It is also relevant that the Dioskouroi are often, especially in the context of Pelias' Games, associated with horses and chariot racing (in Stesichoros and in the Chest of Kypselos).⁵¹² The story with the lost horses mentioned by Eumelos ties well with Poseidon's special role in the *Korinthiaka*, since this god would be recognised (Hom. *Il.* 6.191: θεοῦ γόνον ἦν ἐόντα) as the biological father of Bellerophon, the legitimate father being Glaukos.⁵¹³ In other words, the Glaukos-Leda tale runs parallel to the Poseidon-Bellerophon story, with Thestios in the former occupying the place of Glaukos in the latter, i.e. as Leda's and Bellerophon's legitimate (but not biological) fathers respectively.⁵¹⁴

Europeia

The title of this epic is attested in two different spellings (–ία and –εια), the former being given by two sources (Σ (D) Hom. *Il.* 6.130 Z^s and Y^s [p. 262 van Thiel]: ὁ τὴν Εὐρωπίαν πεποιηκὼς Εὐμηλος; Clem. *Strom.* 1.164.3 [II 102 Stählin]: ὁ τὴν Εὐρωπίαν ποιήσας), the latter by one (Philod. *Peri eusebeias* B 7262 Obbink: ὁ δὲ [τὴν Εὐ]ρώπειαν γράψα[ς]). Its title is once designated by its main or initial character (Paus. 9.5.8: ὁ δὲ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐς Εὐρώπην ποιήσας). Hieronymus' Latin version of Eusebios' *Chronicle* offering the title *Europia* (Euseb. [Hieron.] *Chron. Ol.* 5.2: *Eumelos, poeta qui Bugoniam et Europiam ... composuit ... agnoscitur*)⁵¹⁵ is of no importance, since a Greek spelling either in –εια or in –ία could lie behind it.⁵¹⁶

The spelling discrepancies between ancient sources are continued in modern editions of Greek epic fragments: Bernabé (*PEG*) and West (*GEF*) read Εὐρωπία, while Davies (*EGF*) has Εὐρώπεια. There has been, at least in the 19th century, a lot of discussion with respect to the correct spelling of this title. Salmasius⁵¹⁷ and Scaliger⁵¹⁸ suggested that we read Εὐρώπεια, the former arguing that Εὐρώπεια is another spelling for the figure Εὐρώπη in the manner of Καλλιόπεια (Καλλιόπη), Ἐρύθεια (Ἐρύθη), Βερενίκεια (Βερενίκη) etc. Marckscheffel discussed the matter in detail trying to base his argument

on the analogy of forms like *Τηλεγονία*, *Λυκουργία*, *Εὐμολπία*, *Οἰδιποδία*, *Μελαμποδία* (whose stems end in a consonant) and forms like *Ὀδύσσεια*, *Διομήδεια*, *Ἡράκλεια* (whose stems end in the vowel ε).⁵¹⁹ But the situation is blurred because of the existence of forms like *Οἰδιπόδεια*, *Πελόπεια*, *Κυκλώπεια*, *Δολώνεια*. Perhaps the best solution, in light of Stesichoros' *Εὐρώπεια* is to opt for the spelling in -εια,⁵²⁰ which refers to the person Εὐρώπη (as *Ὀρέστεια* from Ὀρέστης), instead of the form in -ία, which may designate the continent.⁵²¹ The same line of thought lies behind Stephanos Byzantios' (ε 171 [II 184.1–2 Billerbeck and Zubler]) lemma <Εὐρώπη>: ἡ χώρα ἐκ τῆς Φοινίκος θυγατὶς ἢ τοῦ Ἀγήνορος. λέγεται καὶ Εὐρώπεια and Eustathios' Σ Dion. Perieg. 152 (*GGM* II, 245.6–9) ὥς Ὑψιπύλη Ὑψιπύλεια, Ἀπάμη Ἀπάμεια, Πηνελόπη Πηνελόπεια, Λαοδίκη Λαοδίκηα, ἐρήμη ἐρήμεια, κολώνη κολώνεια· οὕτω καὶ Εὐρώπη Εὐρώπεια. The form Εὐρώπεια in this sense is attested in [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 141.8 M–W (τανισφύρῳ Εὐρωπειῇ); Mosch. 2.7 (παρθένος Εὐρώπεια), while the form Εὐρωπία indicating the geographical meaning 'Europe' is attested in Soph. fr. 39 (*Captive Women*) *TrGF* 4 (καὶ νησιώτας καὶ μακρᾶς Εὐρωπίας), Eur. fr. 381 (*Theseus*) *TrGF* 5.1 (σχεδὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς κρασπέδοις Εὐρωπίας), Eur. *Ion* 1587 (Ἀσιάδος τε γῆς / Εὐρωπίας τε).⁵²² See also Davies-Finglass (2014) 356.

Sources

There are six different sources pertaining to the *Europeia*, citing one fragment each. These are: Philodemos' *Peri eusebeias*, the Σ in Apollonios Rhodios, Clement's *Stromateis*, Pausanias, the Σ (D) in the *Iliad*, and (perhaps)⁵²³ Tzetzes' Σ in Hesiod's *Works and Days*.

Authorship

Eumelos as the author of this epic is given by only two sources, Euseb. [Hieron.] *Chron. Ol.* 5.2 (*Eumelos, poeta qui Bugoniam et Europiam ... composuit ... agnoscitur*) and the Σ (D) Hom. *Il.* 6.130 ZsYs (p. 262 van Thiel: ὁ τὴν Εὐρωπίαν πεποιηκὼς Εὐμηλος). Five other sources either refer to 'the author of the *Europ(e)ia*' by employing the standard formula 'ὁ + title of the work (*Europ(e)ia*) + aorist or perfect participle of the verb 'write/make' (γράψας, ποιήσας) + present of the verb 'say/record' (φησὶν, ἱστορεῖ)' or mention Eumelos without any reference to a specific work (κατ' Εὐμηλον [Σ Ap. Rh. 2.946–54c], Εὐμηλος ὁ Κορίνθιος ... φησὶν ... [Tzetz. in Hes. *Works and Days* p. 23 Gaisford]).

Plot

The poem must have begun with the abduction of Europa. Zeus in the shape of a bull carried Europa from Phoenicia to Crete where he had intercourse with her (fr. 27 *EGEF*). Three sons were born to her and Zeus: Minos, Rhadamanthys, and Sarpedon. To what extent Eumelos had referred to their descendants we cannot possibly know. Europa's father Agenor sent his three

sons (Europa's three brothers) to look for her: Phoinix searched in Phoenicia, Kilix in Cilicia, while Kadmos with Telephassa (Europa's and Kadmos' mother) traveled to distant Thrace in search of her and settled there. Time passed and Europa could not be found. After the death of Telephassa, Kadmos visited the oracle at Delphi (fr. 28 *EGEF*) to inquire about Europa's whereabouts. The god told him to follow a cow until it collapsed by fatigue and to found a city in that place. Kadmos came upon a cow among Pelagon's herds and did as the oracle had commanded: he founded a city in Boiotia, where the cow collapsed. We do not know to what extent the various episodes concerning the killing of the dragon at a spring, the Spartoi, and Kadmos' forced labor so that Ares would be appeased featured in Eumelos' epic. At any rate, Kadmos' marriage to Harmonia must have been mentioned, at least in the context of its offspring: Autonoe, Ino, Semele, and Polydoros. Given the fact that the Lykourgos-Dionysos episode featured in the *Europeia* (fr. 29 *EGEF*), Eumelos must have devoted a part of his epic to Kadmos' and Harmonia's children.⁵²⁴ He must have referred to Dionysos who wandered all over the earth dancing and celebrating the rites he had been taught. Because of Hera's hatred against Dionysos, Lykourgos attempted to drive him out of Thrace with an ox-goad and attacked his nurses. In his fear, Dionysos plunged into the sea, where he was taken in by the Nereids Thetis and Eurynome, while Lykourgos was punished by Zeus who deprived him from his eyesight. After Kadmos' death, Polydoros became king of Thebes. He was succeeded by Labdakos, who was born to him by Nykteis, daughter of Nykteus. After Labdakos' death, the rule was passed to Lykos, brother of Nykteus, because Laios (Labdakos' son and legitimate heir to the throne) was not of age. It is in this context that Eumelos must have narrated the story of Amphion and Zethos born to Zeus from Antiope, another daughter of Nykteus. Being impregnated from Zeus, she escaped to Epopeus in Sikyon because her father was after her. When Nykteus found out that Antiope married Epopeus, he committed suicide. Before doing so he had commanded Lykos to punish Epopeus and Antiope. Lykos led an expedition against Sikyon and sacked the city. He subsequently killed Epopeus and took Antiope captive. While passing from the city of Eleutherai in Boiotia, she gave birth to the twins Amphion and Zethos and entrusted them to a shepherd who raised them on his own. When the twins grew up, they killed Lykos and set their mother free. They took over the city of Thebes and walled it, Zethos carrying the stones and Amphion playing the lyre, which he had learnt from its inventor, Hermes himself (fr. 30 *EGEF*). Amphion married Niobe and Zethos married Thebe. Since Thebe is an Asopid, sister of Sinope, it is at this place that Eumelos may have narrated Sinope's abduction by Apollo from Hyria and transfer to the Pontic region. A city was founded there after her name (fr. 31 *EGEF*). Given the fact that our source for this fragment are the scholia to Apollonios Rhodios and that Eumelos had referred to Sinope in the context of the Argonaut's journey, it is a reasonable inference that Eumelos would have

made a connection to the Argonauts.⁵²⁵ With respect to Eumelos' reference (fr. 36 incert. carm. *EGEF*) to the three Muses, daughters of Apollo, bearing river names (Κηφισώ, Ἀχελώϊς,⁵²⁶ and Βορυσθενίς), there are more than one possible scenarios concerning their placement in the epic's plot. An Argonautic connection seems to me less likely, given that this theme had been presented in detail in the *Korinthiaka*, the dating of which in the middle or late sixth century makes it an unlikely candidate for the inclusion of the fragment. Given the fragment's reference to Apollo, a link to the god's annual journey from the land of the Hyperboreans to Delphi cannot be excluded, though there are various other possible scenarios.⁵²⁷ This is as far as we can go given the paucity of the fragments available.

Style

It is almost impossible to discuss the style of a poem for which we possess so limited information. Still a few observations may be offered:

1. In the manner of the *Korinthiaka*, the *Europeia* must have covered a considerable span of time and space. The genealogical distance stretching from Agenor and Telephassa to Amphion and Zethos is large. Likewise, the abduction of Europa, her search by the sons of Agenor, and the abduction of Sinope by Apollo allowed Eumelos to stretch his narrative from Rhodes and Crete in the south Aegean to Thrace, Delphi, Boiotia, and then to the Pontic region.

2. In the *Europeia* Eumelos seems to have focused on stories of sexual affairs between Zeus and various mortal women: Europa, Semele, Antiope. Relevant to these tales is perhaps the episode of the abduction of Sinope by Apollo.

3. The *Europeia*, like the *Korinthiaka*, lacked a central character. Europa may have been, as the title of the poem indicates, a key figure in the beginning of the epic. Then, other stories prevailed at the center of which may have been other women, such as Kadmos' daughters (at least Semele), Antiope, and Sinope. It is a reasonable guess that these female characters functioned as linchpins holding together the various parts of the epic.

Date

Eren if fr. 36 incert. carm. *EGEF* (that mentions Borysthenis) does not belong to the *Europeia*, we still have some chronological indication for dating this epic, since the use of the name Sinope presupposes the Greek colonization of the Black Sea area. West cautiously draws the line between exploratory journeys, which must be very early (8th c. BC) and the foundation of Sinope, which must be dated to the late 7th c. BC. In this light and on the basis of archaeological evidence a date for the *Europeia* in the last third of the 7th c. BC seems a probable scenario, although this may be treated as a loose *terminus post quem*.⁵²⁸

Fr. 27

Philodemos' *Peri eusebeias* is a rich source for epic fragments. With respect to Eumelos he is the only source offering the spelling Εὐρώπεια (see above on 'Title'). He is explicitly referring to the episode of Europa's abduction by Zeus. The whole episode must have been presented in the context of a certain type of tale, according to which a god makes sexual advances on a mortal woman, is rejected by her, and subsequently abducts her. Eumelos must have continued with their offspring (Minos, Rhadamanthys, Sarpedon), though the length and detail of this section is unknown.⁵²⁹ In [Hesiod] (*Cat. fr.* 140–1 M–W)⁵³⁰, Zeus fell in love with Europa when he saw her and her friend plucking flowers in a meadow; after transforming himself into a bull breathing forth from his mouth the scent of saffron (ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος κρόκον ἔπνει), he deceived Europa and transferred her (διαπορθμεύσας) to Crete, where he mingled with her. Zeus gave her a Hephaistos-made golden necklace.⁵³¹ She had three sons from him: Minos, Rhadamanthys,⁵³² and Sarpedon.⁵³³ The same version was also employed by Bacchylides,⁵³⁴ Simonides,⁵³⁵ and Aischylos.⁵³⁶ Stesichoros' version bears striking similarities with that of Eumelos, since in both of them the themes of abduction and foundation of Thebes probably occurred.⁵³⁷ In Asios, Europa is the daughter of Phoinix and Perimede and sister of Astypalaia.⁵³⁸ The episode of Europa's abduction was widely employed in archaic art, which goes hand by hand with its use in archaic epic.⁵³⁹ In Moschos' *Europa*, Europa is seduced by the bull's appearance and smell and is carried away over the sea in a colorful description of nature's acknowledgment of Zeus' majestic grandeur.⁵⁴⁰ According to Apollodoros' (*Bibl.* 3.2.3) version, or at least what the corrupt text allows us to infer,⁵⁴¹ Europa was deceived by Zeus, who transformed himself into a tame bull breathing forth the scent of roses and convinced her to climb on his back and travel with him from Phoenicia to Crete. This is also the case in Hyginus (*Fab.* 178.1) drawing on the same version, though there is nothing in the phraseology employed that would specifically indicate abduction.⁵⁴²

The way Philodemos has phrased his text leaves some questions open. We do not know whether in Eumelos Zeus tricked Europa by breathing forth the scent of saffron or roses, nor can we be certain that he gave her the golden necklace presented to him by Hephaistos in the first place, when they arrived at Crete. If no actual rape was involved, which is what we should expect, then Zeus must have somehow persuaded Europa to have intercourse with him, once they arrived at Crete. 'Bribing' her with a gift effectively solves this problem.⁵⁴³

Fr. 28

The context of this citation is a discussion by Clement of the cult of statues

and images. He argues that in earlier times when statues were more ‘primitive’ and less refined, the Greeks used to set up pillars and treat them as images of the gods by decorating and worshipping them. He adduces as proof of this phenomenon three lines from the *Phoronis* (fr. 4 *EGEF*),⁵⁴⁴ in which it is said that Kallithoe, the priestess of Hera at Argos, decorated the pillar of the goddess with wreaths and tassels. As a second case reinforcing his point, Clement continues with two lines from the *Europeia* pertaining to the statue of Apollo at Delphi that initially was nothing more than a pillar from which a tithe and first-fruits were hang up.

Since Clement explicitly tells us that these verses come from the *Europeia*, we have to think of a possible context involving the temple of Delphi and someone receiving an oracle. A fitting answer is Kadmos’ visit to Delphi, while searching for his sister Europa. We know that this incident occurred in Stesichoros’ *Europeia* (fr. 96 Finglass),⁵⁴⁵ and it may well be the case that Eumelos had followed a similar course in the deployment of his plot.⁵⁴⁶ This story, known to us in some detail from Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.4.1–5) specifically connects the oracle given to Kadmos with the foundation of Thebes. This plotline explains effectively the role of Amphion in Eumelos’ *Europeia*,⁵⁴⁷ since he is directly involved in the building of the city walls. A notable, albeit minor, difference between the versions of Stesichoros and Apollodoros is that while in the former it is Athena who sows the dragon’s teeth from which the Spartoi will be born, in the latter it is Kadmos who takes up the task following the advice of Athena (*Bibl.* 3.4.4: καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ὑποθεμένη τοὺς ὀδόντας αὐτοῦ [*sc.* τοῦ δράκοντος] σπείρει).⁵⁴⁸ Before drawing any conclusions with respect to this feature in the *Europeia*, let us see what the mythographers did with this episode:

Ag./Derk. fr. 6 *EGM* (in Σ [MTAB] Eur. *Phoin.* 7 [I 248.14–16 Schwartz]): Kadmos was married to Harmonia, the daughter of Drakon, son of Ares.

Pherek. fr. 22a *EGM* (in Σ Ap. Rh. 3.1177–87b [pp. 251.15–252.2 Wendel]), 88 *EGM* (in Σ [MTAB] Eur. *Phoin.* 662 [I 318.1–2 Schwartz]): Ares gives half of the dragon’s teeth to Athena and half to Aietes. Kadmos, who has previously killed the dragon by sword (fr. **88 *EGM*), sows the teeth given to him by Athena. It is from these teeth that many armed men are born. He throws stones among them. Thinking that they are hit by each other, they fight and are all killed, with the exception of five (Oudaïos, Chthonios, Echion, Pelor, Hyperenor), whom Kadmos makes citizens of Thebes (fr. 22a *EGM* and Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.2).

Hellan. fr. 1 *EGM* (in Σ Ap. Rh. 3.1177–87b [p. 251.7–10 Wendel]), 51a *EGM* (in Σ [D] Hom. *Il.* 2.494 Z^s(c) [pp. 103–4 van Thiel]), 96 *EGM* (in Σ [MTAB] Eur. *Phoin.* 662 [I 317.25–318.1 Schwartz]): On Athena’s advice, Kadmos sows the dragon’s teeth (fr. 1, 51a *EGM*) whom he had killed by stone (fr. 96 *EGM*). Ares’ anger is appeased by Zeus who marries Kadmos to Harmonia, the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite. Kadmos has to serve Ares for

some time in recompense.⁵⁴⁹

In both Hellanikos⁵⁵⁰ and Pherekydes the dragon's teeth were sown by Kadmos on Athena's advice. This detail may have also featured in Eumelos. It would create a further link between the *Korinthiaka* and the *Europeia*, since in the former epic Eumelos had dealt with Jason's sowing in Kolchis, as part of his Labors, the dragon teeth given by Athena to Aietes (*Kor.* fr. 22 *EGEF*).⁵⁵¹ It would, furthermore, create an analogy between Kadmos and Jason, both in search of something very valuable to them, both helped by gifted women (Athena and Medeia respectively), and both triumphant over the 'Sown Men' (Σπαρτοί) by means of the same trick (throwing stones among them and making them kill each other).⁵⁵²

The use of the first person (κρεμάσαιμεν) indicates that the extant two verses come from a speech, the plural that the speaker is the leader of a group of people, and the ὄφρα clause that the reason of their coming to Apollo's temple at Delphi is to dedicate a tithe and first offerings to the god. Since Kadmos visited Delphi to inquire about Europa,⁵⁵³ it is a reasonable inference that he is also the speaker of the two verses quoted by Clement. I do not see any particular reason to assume that Apollodoros' version, according to which Kadmos went to Delphi from Thrace where he had buried his mother Telephassa, may have featured in the *Europeia*. Kadmos' link with the northern part of the Aegean and Thrace cannot precede the 5th century BC. The hero Thasos (who accompanied Kadmos and Telephassa to Thrace)⁵⁵⁴ is not mentioned before the 5th century BC and his genealogy is very fluid.⁵⁵⁵ A vexing question concerns the identity of the group of people accompanying Kadmos. Were they Phoenicians who had followed him from home in his search of Europa? The matter becomes further perplexed by the fact that Kadmos' case falls within the category of episodes in which an individual, who is brutally cut from his community, searches for a new legal and religious status that the oracle will finally provide for him.⁵⁵⁶ This type of story works better for someone who acts alone. The puzzle remains.

The dedication of a tithe and the first-fruits to Apollo has caused some interpretive problems,⁵⁵⁷ but passages like Eur. *Phoin.* 202–7, Strab. 6.1.6, and Plut. *Thes.* 16.2 show that such offerings were employed in a similar context. In foundation-legends, citizens were dedicated to Apollo at Delphi and then migrated to colonies from there.⁵⁵⁸ In cases like these, the regular vocabulary used is similar to the one employed by Eumelos, as δεκατευθέντας (Strab. 6.1.6) and ἀκροθίνια (Eur. *Phoin.* 203) indicate. On the other hand, the use of κρεμάσαιμεν makes it clear that the tithe and first-fruits in Eumelos are material offerings.

The language and meter of the passage are perfectly compatible with archaic epic diction (notice the typical epic feature of the genitive singular in –οιο [ύψηλοῖο]). There are, though, some notable elements:

a. δεκάτη meaning 'tithe' and ἀκροθίνια ('first-fruits') are not attested in Homer and Hesiod.

b. ἀκροθίνια with short α is the only case in Eumelos that *muta cum liquida* does not make position (cf. in the same verse τῇ κρεμάσαιμεν).

Fr. 29

This fragment is placed at the very beginning of the *Europeia* in both *PEG* and *EGF*. The same is the case with *GEF* (with the only difference that it is rightly preceded by the citation by Philodemos on Europa's abduction by Zeus). All three editors (Bernabé [*PEG*], Davies [*EGF*], and West [*GEF*]) base this placement on the fact that the episode between Lykourgos and Dionysos occurs in Thrace, i.e. the place where Kadmos and Telephassa first arrived from Phoenicia in their search for Europa.⁵⁵⁹ Such placement seems problematic for the following reasons:

1. If the *Europeia* went on with the death of Telephassa and Kadmos' foundation of Thebes after consulting the Delphic oracle, then we are faced with a *non sequitur*. For the birth of Dionysos by Zeus and Semele occurs after the foundation of Thebes, Athena's offering of the city's rule to Kadmos, his marriage with Harmonia (daughter of Ares and Aphrodite), and his having from her four daughters (Autonoe, Ino, Semele, Agave) and one son (Polydoros).⁵⁶⁰ By placing this fragment *before* Kadmos' visit to the Delphic oracle (Clem. *Strom.* 1.164.3), modern editors assume that the Lykourgos episode in which Dionysos is the protagonist occurred *before* the poem narrated the god's birth.⁵⁶¹ What could have been the context of such an episode, if it occurred before Dionysos' birth, is hard to guess. To assume that Eumelos would have, say, the Thracians (who offered hospitality to Kadmos and Telephassa) proleptically narrate this tale to their Phoenician guests is unlikely, as I am about to explain.

2. The Lykourgos-Dionysos episode is one, but not the only, element of the *historia* included in the D-scholium in Hom. *Il.* 6.130 (p. 262 van Thiel). We are told about a whole set of activities of Dionysos *before* the focus is brought to the god's Thracian adventure: he is purified by Rheia in Phrygia, he learns how to perform the rites, and *travels all over the earth dancing with his followers*. It is at this point that he arrives in Thrace, where the episode with Lykourgos takes place. The structure of this *historia* makes it probable that Eumelos narrated Dionysos' birth and some of his earlier exploits before turning his attention to the Lykourgos tale. This could not have happened if this story had been narrated in advance, i.e. *before* Dionysos' birth.⁵⁶²

3. Dionysos was of key importance for Boiotia, and as such considerable attention must have been given to him by Eumelos in the *Europeia*.⁵⁶³ The reference to Phrygia, a place the Greeks knew well through Midas and Gordion, is to be expected in early epic. Eumelos must have dealt with the birth and early adventures of this god at some length.⁵⁶⁴

In the light of the above arguments, I would opt for a different placement of this fragment, i.e. immediately after fr. 28 *EGEF* pertaining to Kadmos' visit to the Delphic oracle.

The earliest account of the Lykourgos-Dionysos episode (Hom. *Il.* 6.130–40) is found in the context of the encounter between Glaukos and Diomedes (Hom. *Il.* 6.152–211). The prominence of Dionysos in this tale is noteworthy, especially for Homer, given that the god is only mentioned a few times *en passant*.⁵⁶⁵ The context within which this story is narrated by Glaukos has, in its beginning, a 'Corinthian' flavor, since Glaukos tells Diomedes about Sisyphos from Ephyra and his pedigree. We cannot know the source the *Iliad* used for this tale, but some connection with an early Corinthian epic tradition seems probable.⁵⁶⁶ In the case of Eumelos this becomes all the more important, since Dionysos was the divine patron of the Bacchiads, whose 'oldest' ancestor Bacchis (from whom they have got their name) was considered Dionysos' son.⁵⁶⁷ The detail about Eurynome shows that the scholium does not depend *only* on the *Iliad*,⁵⁶⁸ in which Dionysos is received solely by Thetis (6.136).

The version offered by Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.5.1) bears striking verbal similarities with the D-scholium but diverges in some crucial points with respect to the end of the episode.

D-Scholium (Z^s)

Διόνυσος υἱὸς Διὸς καὶ Σεμέλης ἐν
Κυβέλοις
τῆς Φρυγίας ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥέας τυχῶν
καθαρσίων καὶ
διδαχθεὶς τὰς τελετὰς λαβὼν τε πᾶσαν

παρὰ τῆς θεοῦ τὴν διασκευήν,

ἀνὰ τὴν γῆν πᾶσαν ἐφέρετο

Bibliotheke

Διόνυσος ... εἰς Κύβηλα τῆς Φρυγίας

ἀφικνεῖται, κάκεῖ καθαρθεὶς ὑπὸ Ῥέας καὶ

τὰς τελετὰς ἐκμαθὼν, καὶ λαβὼν παρ'
ἐκείνης

τὴν στολήν, [ἐπὶ Ἰνδοῦς]⁵⁶⁹ διὰ τῆς
Θράικης

ἠπεῖγετο. Λυκοῦργος δὲ παῖς Δρύαντος ...
πρῶτος ὕβρισας ἐξέβαλεν αὐτόν. καὶ
Διόνυσος μὲν εἰς θάλασσαν πρὸς Θέτιν
τὴν Νηρέως κατέφυγε

As far as differences are concerned, the *Bibliotheke* follows a version according to which Dionysos' nurses and Satyrs who accompanied them were held captive by Lykourgos. This time it was not Zeus who inflicted punishment on Lykourgos but Dionysos himself. He first set free his nurses and then turned Lykourgos mad, with the result that he hit with an ax and killed his own son Dryas, because he thought that he was chopping a vine sacred to Dionysos. After dismembering his son's corpse, Lykourgos regained his senses. Subsequently, Dionysos prophesied to the Edonoi, in whose land Lykourgos lived, that they had to put Lykourgos to death if they wanted to make their soil fertile again. After hearing this, the Edonoi brought Lykourgos to Mt. Pangaion, and tied him there. Lykourgos was killed by his own horses.

The reference to the Satyrs, the miraculous release of Dionysos' nurses

and the tragic irony of Lykourgos killing his own son without knowing what he is doing, all these elements point to tragedy. Aischylos' *Lykourgeia*, including *Edonoi*, *Bassarai* (or *Bassarides*), *Neaniskoi*, and the satyr-play *Lykourgos* are by far the best candidates.⁵⁷⁰ On the other hand, Dionysos' flight into the sea is narrated by Eumelos and alluded to in Hom. *Il.* 6.135–40.
571

Fr. 30

Theban myth revolves around four major stories: (1) Herakles, (2) the twins Amphion and Zethos, (3) Kadmos and his descendants, and (4) the family of the Labdakids.⁵⁷² Stories (2) and (3) presenting the paradox of the two foundations of Thebes reflected different perspectives, since Kadmos was 'Theban', while Amphion and Zethos were considered Boiotian.⁵⁷³ Poets and mythographers reacted differently with respect to this problem. Some of them highlighted one of the two foundations (by either not referring to the other or by downplaying it), while others tried to reconcile them by stressing that Kadmos founded Thebes, whereas Amphion and Zethos built its walls.⁵⁷⁴

Homer (*Od.* 11.260–5) omits Kadmos⁵⁷⁵ and refers solely to the episode of the building of the Theban walls by Amphion and Zethos but without mention of Amphion's lyre, an incident that Aristarchos considered to be an invention of the *neoterói*.⁵⁷⁶ It was definitely attested in 'Hesiod' (*Cat.* fr. 182 M–W),⁵⁷⁷ Eumelos (*Eur.* fr. 30 *EGEF*), and Pherekydes (fr. 41a–d *EGM*).⁵⁷⁸ The mythographer's version must have contained at least two startling details: first that Amphion's lyre is not a gift of Hermes⁵⁷⁹ but of the Muses (the same story being told by Armenidas, fr. **2 *EGM*),⁵⁸⁰ and second that the foundation of Thebes by Amphion and Zethos may have preceded the arrival of Kadmos, who re-founded the city that had been destroyed and depopulated by Eurymachos,⁵⁸¹ king of the Phlegyai.⁵⁸² This second feature (as far as the precedence of the twins over Kadmos is concerned) seems to be implied in the *Odyssey* too (11.263).⁵⁸³ Euripides had also referred, through a prediction at the end of the *Antiope* (fr. 223.90–7 *TrGF* 5.1) to Amphion's lyre that would bring stones to the builders of the walls, but he had equally emphasized the role of Kadmos as founder of Thebes in the *Phoinissai* (e.g. 5, 216, 638). In the same play, it is Amphion's phorminx that have contributed to the building of the Theban walls and tower respectively (823–4), while in the *Hypsipyle* (fr. 752f.32–3 *TrGF* 5.2), it is simply Amphion's box-lyre (*kithara*). In Apollonios Rhodios (1.735–41) Amphion is making the stones move with his golden phorminx, while Zethos is carrying them on his shoulders. It has been suggested that '[t]he change in tradition might have arisen from the strong emphasis on Kadmos as founder in various sources, repeatedly in Euripides' *Phoinissai* for instance, and by the Inachid stemma from Argos, which puts Kadmos at a much earlier stage in mythical history'.⁵⁸⁴ In Dioskourides (*FGrHist* 594 F 12), Amphion gets his lyre from Apollo. Diodoros (19.53.5), Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.5.4–5), and Pausanias (9.5.3–5) tried to reconcile the two

foundations by making Kadmos predate Amphion and Zethos.⁵⁸⁵

In this context, it is worth discussing if and why Eumelos opted for Kadmos' precedence over the twins.

First, although Kadmos is not mentioned explicitly in the extant fragments of Eumelos' *Europeia*, there is hardly any doubt that he featured in the context of the Europa story. The fact that Eumelos also treated Dionysos' episode with Lykourgos is strong indication that the Corinthian poet did not simply deal with Kadmos but also with one of his descendants (his daughter Semele). This is an essential point for our problem.

That said, we come to the question of the co-existence in the same epic of the episodes of Kadmos and Europa on the one hand, and Amphion and Zethos on the other. Earlier⁵⁸⁶ and recent⁵⁸⁷ treatments of this matter have come to the conclusion that the two episodes, belonging to the core of two separate foundation myths for the city of Thebes, did not depend on each other but constituted parallel versions that had their own life from an early date, 'not hierarchized chronologically or genealogically at all, representing two distinct and independent narratives of the single *act* of the city's foundation'.⁵⁸⁸ Scholars adopting this viewpoint claimed that it was not until the mythographers dealt with these matters that the two foundation myths were combined in the same narrative, which in its turn led to various manoeuvres of events and characters. Along these lines, Pherekydes placed the foundation of Thebes by Amphion and Zethos before that by Kadmos, while Diodoros, Apollodoros, and Pausanias organized their narrative by reversing the order.⁵⁸⁹ Poets such as Homer either omitted one of the two episodes (Kadmos) or invented different ways for dealing with the double foundation of Thebes. Aischylos' version in the *Septem* (526–8), which seems like a 'translation' of the chronological sequence into geographical contingency,⁵⁹⁰ i.e. of a theme pertaining to time into a theme pertaining to space,⁵⁹¹ is the best example of this tendency.

This approach leaves Eumelos out of the picture; for in the *Europeia* there can be no doubt about the co-existence of these two foundations myths. In this light, the following questions arise: what did the Corinthian poet do? How did he handle these two episodes? Chronologically or spatially? This is a difficult and unanswerable question, given the material we possess. What can be said, though, we less speculation is that with respect to the epic's plot the Kadmos episode is much more likely to have preceded the story of Amphion and Zethos. Kadmos' precedence over the twins⁵⁹² was probably necessitated by the main topic of the *Europeia*, the abduction of Europa by Zeus and the search for her by Kadmos, a theme that was dealt in considerable detail. Another essential feature of this foundation myth, which in the case of a Corinthian poet like Eumelos made it especially attractive for his epic, was its Phoenician coloring.⁵⁹³ We have seen that in the case of the *Korinthiaka* Eumelos was able to blend features representing the three cultural strata of early Corinthian history: the Ionian, the Phoenician, and the Thessalian.⁵⁹⁴

Seen from this vantage point, Eumelos could also do the same in the case of the *Europeia*. The Phoenician element represented by Kadmos would be combined with a Sikyonian-Boiotian perspective through the stories of Epopeus-Antiope and Amphion and Zethos. In fact, Eumelos may well be our first source combining the two foundation myths in the same narrative. He may have been interested in their chronological sequence, since this would comply with the logic of antiquarian epic. This does not mean that other factors did not play their role. The emphasis on Boiotia was certainly a key issue. If the story of Amphion and Zethos as narrated by Eumelos included Antiope and thus brought into the narrative the Sikyonian Epopeus, who had featured in the *Korinthiaka* as king of both Asopia (Sikyon) and Ephyraia (Corinth),⁵⁹⁵ then the Boiotian connection would be further strengthened.⁵⁹⁶

Fr. 31

There is considerable divergence between modern editions of Greek epic fragments with respect to the poem this fragment comes from. In both *PEG* and *EGF* it is placed in the *Korinthiaka* (fr. 10 and 7 respectively, whereas in *GEF* in the *Europeia* (fr. 29). The first two editors (Bernabé and Davies) have based their argument on the fact that Sinope is situated at the Pontic region, and as such it points to the Argonautic expedition and Kolchis, all of which were no doubt mentioned in the *Korinthiaka*.⁵⁹⁷ West (*GEF*) argues in favor of the *Europeia* on the basis of the fact that ‘the scholiast on Apollonius who cites Eumelos mentions that Sinope was abducted by Apollo from Hyria in Boiotia, [which] makes her parallel to the Antiope who was abducted from Hyria by Epopeus, the mother of Amphion and Zethus’.⁵⁹⁸ This is a strong point, since a further link would be revealed between the two Eumelian poems, i.e. their Black Sea interest. On the other hand, it has to be admitted that if Sinope’s abduction belonged to the *Korinthiaka* then the two poems would have shared an interest ‘in Asopides abducted from Hyria’.⁵⁹⁹ In order to decide on this issue, since both solutions end up in revealing different sorts of links between the *Korinthiaka* and the *Europeia*, we should focus more on the placement of the fragment within the plot of each of the two epics.

Sinope is an Asopid. As such, she must have featured in one of the two epics at a point in which Eumelos would have focused on the daughters of Asopos. Bowra has argued in favor of the *Korinthiaka* ‘in which he [Eumelos] seems to have told stories of origins and to have said something about the Argonautic expedition to Pontus and about Aeetes, Medea, and Jason’.⁶⁰⁰ Bowra plausible suggests that in Eumelos, who may have been the source of Korinna’s conception of the Asopides,⁶⁰¹ Aigina, Kerkyra, and Thebe may have also featured. If so, Aigina, Thebe and Plataia were given to Zeus, Kerkyra, Salamis, and Chalkis to Poseidon, Sinope and Thespia to Apollo, and Tanagra to Hermes.⁶⁰² This is certainly possible, but the problem is the placement of this episode in the *Korinthiaka*. Bernabé’s (*PEG*) opting for the very end of the *Korinthiaka* is questionable. Further problems are caused by

the fact that he does not cite the part of the Apollonios Rhodios scholium designating Apollo as the god who abducted Sinope from Hyria and transported her to the Pontic region. He seems to think that there was only a catalogue of the Asopides in Eumelos. Davies (*EGF*) places this fragment after the one pertaining to Sisyphos and Neleus and before the one referring to Glaukos and Panteidyia. This is an improvement from Bernabé, though I cannot see how it would fit the narrative unfolding of the epic. Since Davies seems to include the abduction episode, he is faced with the problem of the absence of any link at this point of the plot either with Apollo or with Sinope or with Hyria (where the abduction takes place).

On the contrary there is a hint about the inclusion of this fragment in the *Europeia*.⁶⁰³ A good narrative point for the insertion of this episode would have been the mention of the city of Hyria in Boiotia.⁶⁰⁴ It was from there that Antiope, mother of Amphion and Zethos had been abducted, and it was from there too that Apollo abducted the Asopid Sinope. Perhaps it is not a coincidence that Eumelos has Amphion be instructed by Hermes in the use of the lyre and not Apollo, since he is ‘searching’ for a pretext to introduce another god (Apollo will be strongly represented) in the episode of the distribution of the Asopides.⁶⁰⁵ Eumelos was constantly ‘looking’ for this sort of association, as shown by the importance of the river Asopos in his epics. This would have presented him with a good opportunity to refer to the daughters of Asopos, among whom Sinope’s abduction by Apollo from Hyria and transfer to the Pontic region must have also featured. This interpretive line is consonant with the content of a dubious fragment,⁶⁰⁶ according to which Eumelos said that there are three Muses, Kephiso, Achelois,⁶⁰⁷ and Borysthenis, all daughters of Apollo. If the abduction of Sinope was used by Eumelos as a ‘bridge’ that would have allowed him to ‘cross-over’ to the Pontic region, he may have done so at this narrative point. The abduction of Sinope by Apollo from Hyria and her transfer to the Black Sea would thus be linked to the list of his three daughter-Muses,⁶⁰⁸ whose exotic names underline exactly this, i.e. the link between Boiotia and the Black Sea. Thus, the pair Hyria-Sinope would match the pair Boiotian river Kephisos⁶⁰⁹ – Borysthenes.⁶¹⁰

There is also covert evidence for the Sinope – Borysthenes co-existence. According to Strabo (2.1.16),⁶¹¹

ὅπου οὖν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐν Βοσπόρῳ συγκριτέον τὰ ἐν τοῖς διαριθμηθεῖσι τόποις, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τοῖς ἐν Ἀμισῷ καὶ Σινώπῃ (καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνων εὐκρατοτέρους ἂν εἴποι τις), σχολῇ γ’ ἂν παραβάλλοιντο τοῖς κατὰ Βορυσθένην καὶ τοῖς ἐσχάτοις Κελτοῖς· μόλις γὰρ ἂν ταυτοκλινεῖς εἶεν τοῖς κατ’ Ἀμισὸν καὶ Σινώπην καὶ Βυζάντιον καὶ Μασσαλίαν, οἱ τοῦ Βορυσθένους καὶ τῶν Κελτῶν ὁμολόγηνται νοτιώτεροι σταδίοις τρισχλίοις καὶ ἑπτακοσίοις.

Since, therefore, the climatic conditions in the Asiatic regions that I have enumerated are not to be compared even with those at the Bosporos, no, not even with those at Amisos and Sinope (which places one would call milder in climate than the regions at the

Bosporos), those Asiatic regions could hardly be thrown on the same parallel with those about Borysthenes and with the country of the northernmost Celts. In fact, the Asiatic regions could hardly be in the same latitude as the regions about Amisos, Sinope, Byzantium, and Massilia, which are conceded to be thirty-seven hundred stadia farther south than the Borysthenes and the Celts.⁶¹²

This passage by Strabo shows that Borysthenes and Sinope belonged to two areas that demarcated their different climatic conditions through their being placed at distinct geographical latitudes. Perhaps they had also been the topic of discussion in the context of the different conditions of living pertaining to the northern and southern part of the Bosporos. Would it be too much to suggest that they also formed part of a much earlier, ‘mythical’ *imaginaire*, demarcated by the activity of Apollo, who had fathered Borysthenis and abducted Sinope?

The use of geographical limits for claims of human achievement, expression of values,⁶¹³ and reshaping of a city’s mythical past was widely employed in Greece since the archaic period.⁶¹⁴ With respect to the fragment at hand, Bacchylides offers an excellent example. In his ninth epinician, he connects the Phliasian (Sikyonian) Asopos with distant regions stretching from the south (Nile) to the north (Thermodon), habitat of the Amazons (9.39–44).⁶¹⁵ This is effectuated by reference to the settling of the Asopides by the gods in distant lands. In Bacchylides’ mind and as far as Thermodon is concerned, there can hardly be another candidate among the Asopides than Sinope. The same association between the river Thermodon as dwelling place of the Amazons and the Asopid Sinope (abducted this time by Zeus) is attested in Dionysios Periegetes (*Orbis descriptio* 773–7). By joining Phliasian Asopos with such famous, big rivers as the Nile and Thermodon,⁶¹⁶ Bacchylides increased its fame⁶¹⁷ and, by extension, the status of the city it was associated with (Phlious).⁶¹⁸

Fragmenta incerti carminis

Fr. 32

Eumelos had already⁶¹⁹ referred to Glaukos’ illegitimate daughter Leda whose mother was Panteidyia, the wife of Thestios. This Corinthian link with the Spartan royal line must have been continued further. Tyndareos married Leda from whom he had various children. Apollodoros refers to Klytaimestra who was married to Agamemnon, Timandra who was married to Echemos, Phylonoe whom Artemis made immortal, Helen, and the Dioskouroi. Even if there is no mention of Leda’s offspring in the extant fragments of Eumelos, it is very likely that it was Kastor and Polydeukes whom Eumelos wanted to present as of Corinthian origin through Glaukos. After all, these twins had featured in the Argonautic crew and Eumelos had presented them excelling in the first Isthmian Games.⁶²⁰

But reference to Menelaos’ offspring from a Knossian nymph would have required much more than a simple catalogue of some of Leda’s children. Eumelos must have referred to Menelaos’ journey to Crete for the funeral of his maternal grandfather Katreus.⁶²¹ According to Apollod. *Epit.* 3.3, ⁶²² this event took place when Paris visited Sparta and took advantage of Menelaos’ absence to convince Helen to follow him to Troy.⁶²³ Katreus was one of Minos’ sons, whose daughter Aerope had married either Pleisthenes (*Bibl.* 3.2.2) or Atreus (*Epit.* 2.10), from whom she had Agamemnon and Menelaos. Two of his other children, Althaimenes and Apemosyne, had fled to Rhodos, in order to avoid fulfilling the oracle according to which Althaimenes was destined to kill his own father. In his old age, Katreus traveled to Rhodos in order to hand his kingdom to Althaimenes, but was killed accidentally in a hunt by him (*Bibl.* 3.2.3). We need to assume that Katreus’ body was brought back from Rhodos to Crete to be buried there.⁶²⁴

The author of the *Bibliothēke* offers a *Zitatennest* and lists various offspring of Menelaos with his different concubines:⁶²⁵

Helen	Hermione	source not indicated (Homer, ⁶²⁶ ‘Hesiod’ ⁶²⁷)
Helen or slave	Nikostratos	sources not indicated (‘Hesiod’, ⁶²⁸ Kinaithon, ⁶²⁹ ἔνιοι, Lysimachos, ⁶³⁰ ? ⁶³¹)
Pieris	Megapenthes	source not indicated ⁶³²
Tereis	Megapenthes	Akousilaos ⁶³³
Knossian nymph	Xenodamos	Eumelos

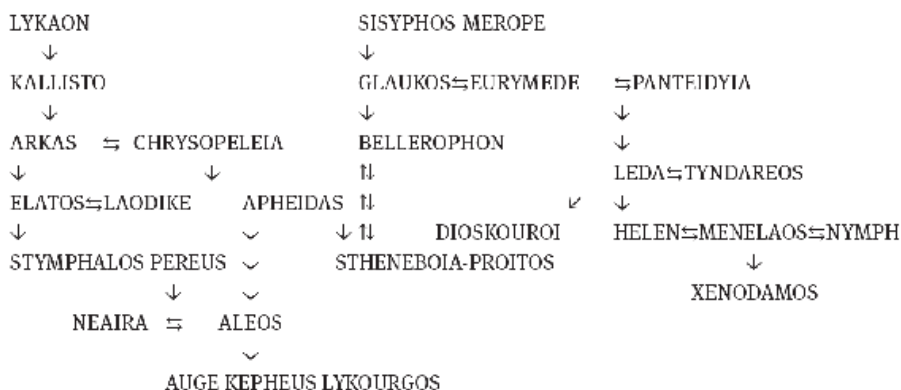
Names can be of considerable help in this case. Nikostratos may well be the invention of a poet of the Cycle, who wanted to change the name of Megapenthes attested in the *Odyssey* (4.11) but retain the idea that Menelaos had a son from a slave.⁶³⁴ On the other hand, Kinaithon’s Lakedaimonian

perspective had led him to eliminate the slave as Menelaos' concubine and instead refer to a Nikostratos as the legitimate son of Helen and Menelaos. The name Nikostratos (νικάω + στρατός) has been taken as indicating that this son was born after the end of the war.⁶³⁵ Megapenthes (μέγα + πένθος) is another *nomen loquens*, since it refers to the grief and suffering caused at Menelaos' home during Helen's absence in Troy.⁶³⁶ Likewise, the name Xenodamos (ξένος + δᾶμος) points to his being a 'foreigner' and illegitimate son (his mother remains nameless).

Whereas Bernabé (fr. 9 *PEG*) and Davies⁶³⁷ (fr. 9 *EGF*) had placed this fragment in the *Korinthiaka*, West (2002, 127) opted for the *Europeia*, arguing that after fr. 26 *GEF* '[t]he poem must then have recorded the birth of her [Europa's] sons Minos, Rhadamanthys and Sarpedon, and perhaps some of their descendants'. In this case '[t]he poet may ... have followed the line Minos-Katreus-Aerope-the Atreidai' (127). There is really no way of deciding for sure whether this fragment belongs to the *Korinthiaka* or the *Europeia*. In cases like this, the final decision is a matter of balance. The *Korinthiaka* seem a more likely candidate for the following reasons: since Eumelos has followed Glaukos' offspring down to the Dioskouroi whose role he wanted to emphasize, it would have been unlikely not to digress on Helen and her story. By forging a Corinthian-Spartan link, he probably aimed at dealing effectively with the annoying absence of Corinth from the other major Panhellenic expedition, the Trojan War. Having stressed the importance of Corinth for the Argonautic expedition, he may have attempted at doing the same with the Trojan one. This time he had to rely on another city's participation in the Trojan War. The Spartan connection through Leda and the Dioskouroi was what he was aiming at. In this context, a brief reference to Menelaos' absence in Crete during Paris' visit to Sparta could be expected. Conversely, it is not clear to me how a digression on Menelaos' offspring would function in the *Europeia*. Recording the birth of Europa's and Zeus' sons is one thing, going all the way down to the Atreidai and the illegitimate offspring of one of them (Menelaos) is another. There is enormous distance covering Minos and Menelaos, but it is only a shortcut from Helen and the Dioskouroi in the *Korinthiaka*. Although the Dioskouroi take part in the Argonautic expedition, the story of Glaukos impregnating Panteidyia, the birth of Leda, her marriage to Tyndareos, and the birth of the twins do not need to have been narrated before Sisyphos became king of Corinth. Eumelos' 'blatant disregard for chronology'⁶³⁸ allows him, among other things,⁶³⁹ to have Sisyphos (grandfather of Leda) receive a visit in Corinth from his great-great-nephew Nestor or to have the Dioskouroi come to Corinth before the reign of Sisyphos. The Panteidyia episode and the entire digression down to the birth of the Dioskouroi, Helen, and Menelaos must have occurred in Eumelos after Sisyphos' reign but *before* the 'Arkadian' digression;⁶⁴⁰ for once the Arkadian stemma is completed, Eumelos must immediately proceed with the story of Bellerophon and Stheneboia.

Fr. 33

The placement of this fragment in the *Korinthiaka* is based on the hypothesis that the story of Glaukos' son (from Eurymede) Bellerophon,⁶⁴¹ who is known in connection to Ephyra as early as the *Iliad* (6.152–5, 210) and may have also been developed in the poem, can be connected to Stheneboia, daughter of Apheidas,⁶⁴² who is the great-grandson of Lykaon and grandson of Kallisto.⁶⁴³ This may have happened in an analeptic digression concerning the pedigree of Stheneboia, wife of Proitos who, as the motif of Potiphar's wife has it, fell in love with Glaukos' son Bellerophon (*Il.* 6.168–211). The following stemma explains the situation effectively:⁶⁴⁴



This and the following two fragments come from the same section of Apollodoros' *Bibliothēke* or, to be more accurate, the first two belong to the Arkadian stemma, while the third is placed in the ensuing Atlantid section. Close proximity⁶⁴⁵ in the placement of these references (*Bibl.* 3.8.2, 3.9.1, 3.11.1) indicates, according to van der Valk,⁶⁴⁶ that when the author of this compendium treated particular topics for which he thought that Eumelos would be useful to him, he kept on consulting him for some time. Once he had exhausted these topics, he refrained from using Eumelos again. This approach seems off the mark. For Apollodoros is likely to be drawing on Eumelos even in passages in which he does not refer to him by name.⁶⁴⁷ The explanation of this unequivocal treatment of a source, here Eumelos, by the author of the *Bibliothēke* has to be examined with respect to the question of the direct or indirect access he himself had to the material he was using and the context in which the citation was placed. The appearance of Eumelos' name in the *Bibliothēke* has to do with its incorporation in whole nests of citations, *Zitatenneste*, that Apollodoros had access to.

Bibl. 3.8.2–5: Εὐμηλος δὲ καὶ τινες ἕτεροι λέγουσι Λυκάωνι καὶ θυγατέρα Καλλιστὸν γενέσθαι· <ἄλλοι δὲ οὐ φασιν αὐτὴν τοῦτου γενέσθαι>⁶⁴⁸ Ἡσίοδος μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν μίαν εἶναι τῶν νυμφῶν λέγει, Ἄσιος δὲ Νυκτέως, Φερεκύδης δὲ Κητέως, αὕτη σύνθηρος Ἀρτέμιδος οὔσα, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκείνῃ στολὴν φοροῦσα, ὥμοσεν αὐτῇ μέναι παρθένος. Ζεὺς δὲ ἔρασθεις ἀκούσῃ συνευνάζεται, εἰκασθεὶς, ὥς μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, Ἀρτέμιδι, ὥς δὲ ἔνιοι, Ἀπόλλωνι. βουλόμενος δὲ Ἦραν λαθεῖν εἰς ἄρκτον μετεμόρφωσεν αὐτήν. Ἦρα

δὲ ἐπεισεν Ἄρτεμιν ὡς ἄγριον θηρίον κατατοξεῦσαι. εἰσι δὲ οἱ λέγοντες ὡς Ἄρτεμις αὐτὴν κατετόξευσεν ὅτι τὴν παρθενίαν οὐκ ἐφύλαξεν. ἀπολομένης δὲ Καλλιστοῦς Ζεὺς τὸ βρέφος ἀρπάσας ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ δίδωσιν ἀνατρέφειν Μαίαι, προσαγορεύσας Ἀρκάδα· τὴν δὲ Καλλιστῶ καταστερίσας ἐκάλεσεν ἄρκτον.

Eumelos and some others say that Lykaon also had a daughter, Kallisto; <but others deny that she was his daughter>. Hesiod says that she was one of the nymphs, Asios says she was Nykteus' daughter, and Pherekydes that she was Keteus'. She was Artemis' hunting companion, even adopting the same style of dress as her, and swore to her that she would remain a virgin. But Zeus fell in love with her, and, although she was unwilling, he shared her bed after making himself look like Artemis, according to some, but like Apollo, according to others. Desiring to hide this from Hera, Zeus transformed Kallisto into a bear. But Hera convinced Artemis to shoot her down like a wild beast. But there are those who say that Artemis shot her down because she did not preserve her virginity. When Kallisto died, Zeus snatched her infant and gave him to Maia in Arkadia to raise, giving him the name Arkas. As for Kallisto, he turned her into a constellation and called it the Bear.⁶⁴⁹

The attribution of a mythical version to Eumelos is expanded by the phrase 'and some others' (καὶ τινες ἕτεροι) without further specification of the identity of these other authors. Then follow the versions by Hesiod, Asios, and Pherekydes. According to [Hesiod] (*Cat.* fr. 163 M–W), Kallisto was a nymph, while her father was Nykteus in Asios (fr. 9 *EGEF*), and Keteus in Pherekydes (fr. 157 *EGM*). This leads us to the conclusion that none of these three authors are included in the list of authors meant by the phrase καὶ τινες ἕτεροι, who are added to Eumelos. Who were these other authors? Since the Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 480–1 (II 172.10–174.23 Scheer) are so heavily based on Apollodoros⁶⁵⁰ that there is even verbatim repetition of the text of the *Bibliothēke*, we may supply some details from there. According to the Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 480 (II 172.10–173.6 Scheer), one of these καὶ τινες ἕτεροι is Charon of Lampsakos (*FGrHist* 262 F 12b). Other possible candidates must be mythographers who have dealt with Arkadian mythology, but given the paucity of information available, any guess is highly conjectural. In any case, one could think of Hekataios who treated in his *Genealogies* (*Γενεολογίαι*) material pertaining to Arkadian myth (fr. 6 *EGM*), Hellanikos who wrote *On Arkadia* (fr. 37 *EGM*), and Staphylos, who wrote a local history of Arkadia (*FGrHist* 269 F 3).⁶⁵¹ Other historians who dealt with Arkadian history, such as Ariaithos and Istros, must be excluded, for the former told of Megisto, daughter of Keteus (*FGrHist* 316 F 2), while the latter made Arkas' parents Arkas and Themisto (*FGrHist* 334 F 75).⁶⁵²

Why were these authors not mentioned? The most probable answer is that Apollodoros decided to classify his material by *version* and not by *author*. A second observation will help us clarify this further. Hesiod, Asios, and Pherekydes are mentioned in chronological order. It may be that the same principle was followed by the author of our compendium with respect to the first version, i.e. that Lykaon had many sons and a daughter, Kallisto. Given the dating of Eumelos, it made sense for Apollodoros to mention him first in

his list. His abstaining from giving the names of other authors following the same version was, therefore, based on his decision to classify his material with respect to this topic on the basis of *version* and not of *author*. This line of thought makes it possible that Apollodoros is not using all these sources from the original but via some earlier handbook, which dealt with the various relevant myths and enumerated sources and authors. The *Bibliothēke* may have been an abridged version of a longer mythological compendium, which no longer survives. If our compendium was destined for school use, then we could explain not only its tendency for decency (that led to the removal or amelioration of obscene passages)⁶⁵³ but also its systematic suppression of naming its sources⁶⁵⁴ that often appear under citation rubrics such as ὡς/καθάπερ ἔνιοι, ἕτεροι, ἄλλοι λέγουσι etc.

Thus, the version according to which Lykaon had a daughter named Kallisto was given by a variety of sources among which was Eumelos.⁶⁵⁵ In addition, all these sources must have referred to the fact that Lykaon was the father of many sons, perhaps with some emphasis on his being the father of a single daughter. This is what the expression καὶ θυγατέρα lets us infer.

To what extent the story of Kallisto was narrated in Eumelos' version is hard to tell.⁶⁵⁶ Although the most 'natural' place for such a catasterism story would be a poet or author working in the catasterismographic tradition,⁶⁵⁷ all three tales featuring after the death of Lykaon's sons have to do with a child (Kallisto-Arkas, Telephos, Atalanta) abandoned in the wild or entrusted to someone who lives in the mountains. Since all these stories fit not only a typical pattern but also the mountainous Arkadian landscape, they may have been taken from a common source. The myths of Kallisto and Atalanta share a number of common elements (both are members of Artemis' entourage, they are both opposed to men and the *oikos*, they cherish a form of wild freedom etc.).⁶⁵⁸ The version of Kallisto's tale as told by Apollodoros belongs to a group of versions (together with the Σ (D) Hom. *Il.* 18.487 [p. 500.1–9 van Thiel]⁶⁵⁹ = Kallimachos fr. 632 Pf., and Paus. 8.3.6–7) sharing a number of common elements and probably drawing on some unknown mythographical source like 'the Mythographus Homericus or the hypothetical "Hellenistic handbook"'.⁶⁶⁰ The version attested in Apollodoros is a muddle, containing elements found in all three available variants of the catasterismographic tradition ('Eratosth.' *Katast.*)⁶⁶¹ and Kallimachos, while the detail pertaining to her metamorphosis into a bear by Zeus is not attested in any other text.⁶⁶² This last element may have been due to the influence of the similar story of Io,⁶⁶³ whom Zeus had changed into a cow to save her from Hera's anger, and may have been introduced in the *Bibliothēke* by its author, whose tendency to exclude obscene details, like Hera's abominable change of Kallisto into an animal, is well known.⁶⁶⁴ If this interpretation holds true, then some of the authors hidden in the rubric καὶ τινες ἕτεροι may be the same with those relating Kallisto's catasterismographic mythical version.⁶⁶⁵

The next generation in the Arkadian stemma is offered by Eumelos through the reference to the nymph Chrysopeleia, who was married to Kallisto's son Arkas. Their offspring were two sons: Elatos and Apheidas. In Apollodoros' account Chrysopeleia as Arkas' wife is juxtaposed to other versions featuring Leaneira, daughter of Amyklos and Metaneira,⁶⁶⁶ daughter of Krokon, in the same role. With respect to Leaneira, the author of the *Bibliothèque* may be drawing on the same source employed by Σ Eur. Or. 1646 (I 238.1–2 Schwartz), according to which Arkas and Leaneira fathered three sons: Elatos, Apheidas and Azan. These same three sons are the offspring of Arkas and another nymph named Erato in Pausanias (8.4.2).⁶⁶⁷ According to the Periegete (8.4.1), when Arkas, son of Kallisto, became king of Arkadia, he introduced the cultivation of crops, which he learned from Triptolemos. This brings us closer to Krokon and Eleusis, the more so since in Pheneos in Arkadia there was a sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter.⁶⁶⁸ But Pausanias does not make any reference to Metaneira and opts for the nymph Erato as wife of Arkas with Azan, Apheidas, and Elatos as their children. Since the same three sons are mentioned as the children of Arkas and Leaneira, daughter of Amyklos, by Σ Eur. Or. 1646 (I 238.1–2 Schwartz), it becomes clear that the source they are drawing on, as well as Pausanias, offers the fuller version with the three sons. In fact, this may also have been Eumelos' version, with Chrysopeleia in the place of Pausanias' Erato. A close comparison between the text of Apollodoros and Pausanias explains what might have happened. The author of the *Bibliothèque* has omitted one son, Azan, because his line was continued only for one generation, through his son Kleitor (Paus. 8.4.7), who left no descendants. Pausanias' version is fuller than that of Apollodoros both vertically and horizontally: the Periegete mentions five sons by Elatos (Aipytos, Pereus, Kyllen, Ischys, Stymphelos⁶⁶⁹), whereas Apollodoros refers only to two of them (Stymphalos and Pereus), and Apollodoros goes on with fewer generations than Pausanias.

The story of Erato/Chrysopeleia, a Hamadryad nymph, survives in different versions. Let us begin by the Σ Lyk. Alex. that are partly drawing on both Apollonios Rhodios⁶⁷⁰ and Apollodoros,⁶⁷¹ whom they mention by name.

Σ Lyk. Alex. 480 (p. 93.14-19 Leone):	Σ Lyk. Alex. 480 (II 172.20-32 Scheer):
<ἐκγόνων> δὲ	<ἐκγόνων δρυός>·
<δρυός>· ἐπεὶ Ἀρκὰς	Ἀρκὰς ὁ Διὸς ἡ
	Ἀπόλλωνος παῖς καὶ
	Καλλιστοῦς τῆς
	Λυκάονος θυγατρὸς
	ὥς φησι Χάρων ὁ
	Λαμψακηνὸς
	κυνηγῶν ἐνέτυχέ τι

[καὶ] φθαρήναι, τῆς
δρυός,

τῶν Ἀμαδρυάδων
νυμφῶν κινδυνεύουσι
καταφθαρήναι τῆς
δρυὸς
ἐν ᾗ ἦν γεγονυῖα ἡ
νύμφη, ὃ δὲ Ἀρκὰς
τὸν ποταμὸν ἡ δὲ
νύμφη

ὑπὸ χειμάρρου
ποταμοῦ
διαφθαρείσης.
ἀνέτρεψε καὶ τὴν γῆν
χώματι ὠχύρωσεν.
Χρυσοπέλεια τὴν
κλῆσιν κατ' Εὐμηλον

συνελθοῦσα αὐτῷ
ἔτεκεν Ἑλατον καὶ
Ἀμφιδάμαντα, ἐξ ὧν
εἰσιν οἱ Ἀρκάδες

ὥς φησιν
Ἀπολλώνιος <ἀλλ'
ὄγε πατρὸς ἐοῖο
τίνεσκεν ἀμοιβήν > (B
475) seqq. vv. 476 – 8
– <μύθωι > .

<of those descending
from the oak>:
since Arkas

<of those descending
from the oak>:
Arkas, the son by Zeus or
Apollo and by Kallisto,
daughter of Lykaon,
according to Charon of
Lampsakos,
while hunting, came across
one of the Hamadryad
nymphs, who was running
the risk

of being destroyed, because
the oak,

of being destroyed, because
the oak
in which the nymph was
living, was destroyed by a
winter-flowing river. Arkas
changed the course of the
river and fortified the soil
with a dyke. And the nymph

called Chrysopeleia
according to Eumelos,

after having intercourse with
him gave birth to Elatos and
Amphidamas, from whom
stem the Arkadians

according to Apollonios in a
myth <but he was paying

Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 481 (II 174.16–20 Scheer):

Καλλίστῳ γάρ, ὡς ληροῦσιν (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.2), ἡ Λυκάωνος θυγάτηρ, σύνθηρος ἦν Ἀρτέμιδι, ἣ Ζεὺς εἰκασθεὶς Ἀρτέμιδι συνεμίγη, ἄρκτον δὲ ταύτην ποιεῖ διὰ τὸ λαθεῖν τὴν Ἥραν, ἐξ ἧς ὁ Ἀρκὰς ἐγεννήθη. ἐκ ταύτης δὲ τῆς σειρᾶς κατάγεται ὁ Ἀγαπήνωρ.

Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 481 (II 174.20–3 Scheer):

<Νυκτίμου κρεανόμου>· οὗτος λήρος· οὐ γὰρ τὸν Νύκτιμον ἐκρεανόμησαν, ἀλλ' ἕτερον ἐπιχώριον παῖδα, ὧς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος (*Bibl.* 3.8.1) καὶ ἕτεροι.

For Kallisto, as they nonsensically say, the daughter of Lykaon, was hunting together with Artemis, whose shape Zeus took and had intercourse with her (*sc.* Kallisto). And he turned her into a bear in order to escape Hera's notice. It was from Kallisto that Arkas was born, and it is from this line that Agapenor descends.

<of the distributors of the flesh of Nyktimos>: this is nonsense; for they did not distribute the flesh of Nyktimos but another local child, according to Apollodoros and others.

Since (a) the story about the Hamadryad nymph cited by Tzetzes (Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 480 [II 172.20–32 Scheer]) is different from that in Apollonios Rhodios (2.475–83),⁶⁷² and (b) given that it appears in the same context with Tzetzes' reference to Charon of Lampsakos, it may well come from him. But one of the versions of the same story (grouped under Σ Ap. Rh. 2.476–83a [pp. 166.4–167.2 Wendel]) explicitly drawing on Charon mentioned a certain Rhoikos in the place of Arkas.

Σ Ap. Rh. 2.476–83a (p. 166.4–17 Wendel):

<Ἀμαδρυάδος νύμφης>· Ἀμαδρυάδας νύμφας Μνησίμαχος (*FHG* IV 453) φησι διὰ τὸ ἅμα ταῖς δρυσι γεννᾶσθαι· ἢ ἐπεὶ δοκοῦσιν ἅμα ταῖς δρυσι φθεῖρεσθαι, νύμφαι Ἀμαδρυάδες λέγονται. Χάρων δὲ ὁ Λαμψακηνὸς (*FGrHist* 262 F 12) ἱστορεῖ, ὡς ἄρα Ῥοῖκος, θεασάμενος δρῶν ὅσον οὐπω μέλλουσιν ἐπὶ γῆς καταφέρεισθαι, προσέταξε τοῖς παισὶν ὑποστηρίξαι ταύτην. ἡ δὲ μέλλουσα συμφθεῖρεσθαι τῇ δρυὶ νύμφη ἐπιστᾶσα τῷ Ῥοῖκῳ χάριν μὲν ἔφασκεν εἰδέναι ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας, ἐπέτρεπεν δὲ αἰτήσασθαι ὃ τι βούλοιο. ὡς δὲ ἐκεῖνος ἡξίου συγγενέσθαι αὐτῇ, ὑπέσχετο δοῦναι τοῦτο· φυλάξασθαι μέντοι γε ἑτέρας γυναικὸς ὁμιλίαν παρηγγεῖλεν, ἔσσεσθαι δὲ μετὰ αὐτῶν ἄγγελον μέλισσαν, καὶ ποτε πεσσεύοντος αὐτοῦ παρίπτατο ἡ μέλισσα· πικρότερον δὲ <τι> ἀποφθεγζάμενος εἰς ὀργὴν ἔτρπε τὴν νύμφην, ὥστε πηρωθῆναι αὐτόν. καὶ Πίνδαρος (fr. 165 + 252 S–M) δὲ φησι, περὶ νυμφῶν ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον· ‘ἰσοδένδρου τέκμαρ αἰῶνος λαχοῦσα’.⁶⁷³

<Of a Hamadryad nymph>: Mnesimachos⁶⁷⁴ says that the Hamadryad nymphs were named thus because they were born together with oak trees or because they think that they perish together with the oak trees. Charon of Lampsakos tells the story that Rhoikos, after seeing that an oak tree was about to fall on the ground, ordered his children to sustain it. After standing next to Rhoikos, the nymph who was to perish together with the oak tree started telling him that she was in his debt about her salvation, and allowed him to ask from her whatever he wished. When he asked to have intercourse with her, she promised to do so, but she advised him to be alert for what another woman would tell him and that a bee would be a messenger between them. While playing dice, the bee flew above and away from him. After replying to her bitterly, he made the nymph angry, with the result that he lost his eyesight. And Pindar says, when he talks about nymphs: ‘having been allotted a term equal to the

This Rhoikos is attested two more times in the same context, in the scholia to Theokritos 3.13c (pp. 120.15–121.7 Wendel) and in Gybertus Longolius’ Latin translation⁶⁷⁵ of Plutarch’s *Quaestiones Naturales* 36 in which a Pindaric fragment (165 + 252 S–M) is quoted that may well have belonged to the poet’s account of Rhoikos.⁶⁷⁶

Σ Theokr. 3.13c (pp. 120.12–121.5 Wendel): ‘Ροϊκός τις Κνίδιος τὸ γένος ἐν Νίνῳ τῇ Ἀσσυρίῳν ἰδὼν δένδρον εὐφυὲς κεκλιμένον, ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου πίπτειν μέλλον, κάμαξιν ἐνστορίζας ἐπὶ πλεόν μένειν ἐποίησεν. ἡ δὲ Νύμφη θεασαμένη χάριν αὐτῷ ὠμολόγησεν· ἡλικιώτις γὰρ ἔφη εἶναι τοῦ φυτοῦ. καὶ ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόν, ὅ τι ἂν ἐθέλῃ, αἰτεῖν. ὁ δὲ τὴν συνουσίαν αὐτῆς ἡτήσατο. ἡ δὲ ἔφη αὐτῷ, ὅτι τὸν καιρὸν τῆς μίξεως ἀφικνουμένη σοι μέλισσα προερεῖ.

A certain Rhoikos, a Knidian by birth, after seeing in Ninus (the city) of the Assyrians, a wellgrown tree sagging and about to fall because of its age, he made it stay longer after supporting it with vine-poles. Upon seeing this, the Nymph acknowledged that she is in his debt; for she said that she has the same age with the tree and urged him to ask from her whatever he wishes. He asked to have intercourse with her. She told him that a bee would come and tell him in advance about the time of their mingling.

Plut. *Quae. Nat.* 36 (p. 28 *Mor.* V 3 Hubert, Pohlenz, Drexler):

Et Pindarus: ‘Parvula favorum fabricatrix, quae Rhoecum pupugisti aculeo, domans illius perfidiam’.

And Pindar (says): ‘Tiny comb-builder, who planted your sting in Rhoikos, bringing low his perfidy’.⁶⁷⁷

Given all the ancient evidence, it is highly unlikely that the tale of the Hamadryad nymph featured in Eumelos.⁶⁷⁸ Tzetzes used Eumelos only via the sole piece of information he found in Apollodoros, i.e. that Arkas mingled with the nymph Chrysopeleia and had two sons, Elatos and Amphidamas (a slight change from Apollodoros’ Apheidas). For the story of the nymph, he used Charon of Lampsakos and Apollonios Rhodios. Although Charon had a certain Rhoikos in the place of Arkas, Tzetzes opted for the eponymous hero of the Arkadians, since his comments pertained to a section of Lykophron’s *Alexandra* devoted to myths of Arkadian origins. Tzetzes must have also changed or elaborated certain secondary features of the story, like the one pertaining to the snow-swollen stream threatening to sweep away the Hamadryad’s oak.

Fr. 35

Clement cites epic authors quite frequently and is considered a fairly reliable source of early Greek epic. Homer, being the most popular poet, is the source for 243 passages, 143 from the *Iliad* and 100 from the *Odyssey*.⁶⁷⁹ Eumelos is mentioned 5 times, thrice by name (1.131.8, 6.11.1, 6.26.7) and twice as the author of the *Titanomachy* (*Strom.* 1.73.3) and the *Europeia* (*Strom.* 1.164.3). Of the three times Eumelos is mentioned by name, the reference is twice

(1.131.8, 6.26.7) deprived of a fragment, amounting only to information about his *floruit* and type of work. The third time (6.11.1) a verse is cited that is compared to the beginning of an elegy by Solon. The Solonian verse⁶⁸⁰ is also given by Krates 359.1 *SH* and Stobaios 3.9.23 as the first line of a long elegy. By analogy, Clement's quotation of a verse by Eumelos within the framework of a comparison concerning the imitation of this line by Solon, whose adaptation of Eumelos' verse is guaranteed by other sources, makes Clement reliable as a source.

Contextual evidence points to the same direction. The passage at hand comes from a section of the *Stromateis*, in which Clement attempts to show that the Greek poets steal from one another. This section falls within Clement's general attempt to show that Greek thought is subordinate to Jewish thought and that the Greeks in general have appropriated many Jewish ideas. To this end he has devoted a section of Book 6 of his *Stromateis* to the presentation of multiple examples, according to which when the Greeks do not 'steal' from the Jews, they 'steal' from each other. The origins of his long catalogue of Greek poetic (mainly) passages displaying cases of direct imitation of one Greek poet by another must be sought in the Hellenistic period, when Jews began to write in Greek verse. Apart from eponymous works, such as Ezekiel's *Exagoge* and Philo's epic verses, some pseudonymous compositions were circulated, in which Jews reworked authentic fragments of Greek poetry that they adapted to their own purposes by imitating classical models. These pseudonymous fragments together with genuine passages from Greek poets were assembled in collections that circulated as anthologies. Their purpose was not the survival of Greek literature, but the promotion of an apologetic approach in view of which Greek culture owed a lot to Jewish thought or that the two of them were in harmony. Such anthologies may have been the source of Clement's passage in Book 6 of the *Stromateis*.⁶⁸¹

The context within which the citation is placed is that pertaining to the 'borrowing' of an expression or phraseology between two or three poets (and rarely prose authors). Within the 'template' just described, Clement may well be doing two things: first, he tells us that Solon adapted a line of Eumelos to an elegy of his,⁶⁸² and second, that Solon placed this adapted line at the very beginning of his elegy in the like of Eumelos. With respect to the placement of this verse at the beginning of one of Eumelos' works, we have to admit that Clement's phrasing is not clear. What he actually says is that Solon imitated Eumelos' line and that Solon placed it at the beginning of an elegiac poem he composed. A lot depends on the function of this verse. If it is an invocation to the Muses,⁶⁸³ Eumelos may have started one of his epics (the *Titanomachy* or the *Korinthiaka*)⁶⁸⁴ with the line given by Clement. If it is not, then it is more likely that this verse comes from the *Titanomachy*, since it would be at home in a genealogy.⁶⁸⁵ A key point that strongly suggests this possibility is the use of a numeral (ἐννέα). Numbers are unlikely to appear in invocations,⁶⁸⁶ in fact

the Muses are never referred to by their number in an invocation within an archaic epic poem.⁶⁸⁷ The opposite is the case in genealogies, when the offspring of persons X+Z are mentioned by name.⁶⁸⁸ I would guess that what must have followed this line in Eumelos' epic must have been something like ἐξεγένοντο in verse-initial position. Soon after, their names must have also been mentioned. A list with the following examples from Hesiodic poetry clarifies the above suggestion:

Invocation:

1. χαίρετε, τέκνα Διὸς, δότε δ' ἡμερόεσσαν ἀοιδὴν (Hes. *Th.* 104)
2. ταῦτά μοι ἔσπετε Μοῦσαι Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι, / ἐξ ἀρχῆς, καὶ εἶπαθ' ὅτι πρῶτον γένετ' αὐτῶν (Hes. *Th.* 114–15)
3. νῦν δὲ θεάων φῶλον ἀείσατε, ἡδυέπειαι / Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο (Hes. *Th.* 965–6)
4. νῦν δὲ γυναικῶν φῶλον ἀείσατε, ἡδυέπειαι / Μοῦσαι Ὀλυμπιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο (Hes. *Th.* 1021–2 = [Hes.] *Cat.* 1–2)
5. Μοῦσαι Πιερίηθεν ἀοιδῆισι κλείουσαι, δεῦτε, Δί' ἐννέπετε, σφέτερον πατέρ' ὑμνεῖουσαι (Hes. *Op.* 1–2)

Genealogy:

1. ταῦτ' ἄρα Μοῦσαι ἄειδον Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι, / ἐννέα θυγατέρες μεγάλου Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖαι (Hes. *Th.* 75–6)
2. ἄλλοι δ' αὖ Γαίης τε καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἐξεγένοντο / τρεῖς παῖδες μεγάλοι <τε> καὶ ὄβριμοι, οὐκ ὀνομαστοί (Hes. *Th.* 147–8)
3. αὗται μὲν Νηρηῆος ἀμύμονος ἐξεγένοντο / κοῦραι πεντήκοντα, ἀμύμονα ἔργα εἰδυῖαι (Hes. *Th.* 263–4)
4. αὗται ἄρ' Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος ἐξεγένοντο / πρεσβύταται κοῦραι· πολλαί γε μὲν εἰσι καὶ ἄλλαι / τρεῖς γὰρ χίλιαί εἰσι τανίσφυροι Ὠκεανῖναι, / αἱ ῥα πολυσπερές γαῖαν καὶ βένθεα λίμνης / πάντη ὁμῶς ἐφέπουσι, θεάων ἀγλαὰ τέκνα (Hes. *Th.* 362–6)
5. Μνημοσύνης δ' ἐξαυτίς ἐράσσατο καλλικόμοιο, / ἐξ ἧς οἱ Μοῦσαι χρυσάμπυκες ἐξεγένοντο / ἐννέα, τῆσιν ἄδον θαλῖαι καὶ τέρψις ἀοιδῆς (Hes. *Th.* 915–7)

A few comments with respect to the authenticity of this verse are under way. Wilisch⁶⁸⁹ argued that this line was a standard verse for the opening of an epic poem (in the manner of Hom. *Il.* 2.484, 11.218, and Hes. *Th.* 114 or of *Th.* 25, 52, 966, 1022 with a slight change), that it was used as a formula by rhapsodes and verse-improvisers (*sic*) and that it was inorganically placed at the very beginning of an epic circulating under Eumelos' name. Wilisch was sceptical about the placement of this fragment in the epic proem of the *Europeia* and left open the possibility that it may have come from another work where the nine Muses would have been mentioned not in an *epiklesis* but in a narrative section.

Clement's quotation of a Eumelian verse featuring nine Muses is at odds

with the *Europeia* fragment,⁶⁹⁰ in which there are three Muses, daughters of Apollo. Since this prose fragment (incert. carm. 36 *EGEF*) contains three unusual names for the Muses, the less usual number three for them, and the completely uncommon (Eumelos being the only source of this version) parentage by Apollo, it can hardly be forged.⁶⁹¹ In this light, fr. 35 *EGEF* must belong to another Eumelian poem. Neither the different numbering of the Muses nor Clement's non-designation of the work the citation belongs to (cf. ὁ τὴν Τιτανομαχίαν γράψας, ὁ τὴν Εὐρωπίαν ποιήσας) should be used as indications of forgery. Eumelos may have referred to two separate groups of Muses in two different works of his (the *Titanomachy* and the *Europeia*), in the manner of Alkman⁶⁹² and Mimnermos⁶⁹³ who distinguished between the older Muses, daughters of Ouranos and Gaia, and the younger ones, daughters of Zeus. Another relevant example is that of Mousaios, in whose works were reported two births of the Muses, the older ones being born under Kronos, the younger ones under Zeus.⁶⁹⁴ With respect to the citation policy of Clement, the use of the poet's name instead of a title-based citation reference of the type ὁ τὴν Τιτανομαχίαν γράψας or ὁ τὴν Εὐρωπίαν ποιήσας is context-determined. The same kind of policy is followed in a fair number of citations in the list he offers in *Strom.* 6.5.3–14.8. His aim is here to juxtapose authors, not works. Quoting them by their names is, therefore, crucial.

Fr. 36

The reference to the Muses is often associated with an epic proem, where a single (e.g. *Iliad* and *Odyssey*) or collective (e.g. *Theogony*, *Works and Days*, *Catalogue of Women*) invocation is to be expected.⁶⁹⁵ On the other hand, the numbering of the Muses is never employed in an invocation within the framework of an archaic epic proem. A genealogy is much more likely to have been the right context. A closer look, though, at the context of the citation may be helpful:

έννέα εἰσὶν αἱ Μοῦσαι, ὅτι τετράγωνος καὶ στερεὸς ὁ έννέα ἐστὶν ἀριθμός. τοιαῦται δὲ καὶ αἱ γνώσεις, διότι ὁ έννέα πολλάκις πολλά ἐστὶν ... ἀλλ' Εὐμηλος μὲν ὁ Κορίνθιος (fr. incert. carm. 36 *EGEF*) τρεῖς φησιν εἶναι Μούσας θυγατέρας Ἀπόλλωνος· Κηφισοῦν, Ἀπολλωνίδα, Βορυσθενίδα. Ἄρατος δὲ ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν Ἀστρικῶν (fr. 87 *SH*) τέσσαρας λέγει, Διὸς {τοῦ Αἰθέρος} καὶ Πλουσίας νύμφης· Ἀρχήν, Μελέτην, Θελξινόην καὶ Αἰοιδήν. τινὲς δὲ πέντε αὐτὰς εἶναι φασὶ καὶ ὀνόματα ἔχειν τῶν πέντε αἰσθήσεων. Ἐπίχαρμος δὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἥρας γάμῳ (fr. 39 *PCG*) ἐπτὰ λέγει θυγατέρας Πιέρου καὶ Πιμπληΐδος νύμφης· Νειλοῦν, Τριτώνην, Ἀσωποῦν, Ἐπταπόρην, Ἀχελωΐδα, Τιτόπλουν καὶ Ῥοδίαν. παρὰ δὲ Ἡσιόδῳ ἐν Θεογονίᾳ (915–17) έννέα λέγεται εἶναι. Κλειώ, Θάλεια, Εὐτέρπη, Τερψιχόρη, Ἐρατώ, Πολύμνια, Μελπομένη, Οὐρανία καὶ Καλλιόπη. καὶ αἱ μὲν τρεῖς εὔρον τοὺς μουσικοὺς τρεῖς τόνους.

7 Πιμπίλιδος An. Ox. | Τριτόνην codd. : -νίδα Kaibel | Ἑπαπόρην (= An. Ox.) sive -πόλην codd. : Ἑπάποριν Kaibel ||

8 Τιτόπλου (= An. Ox.) sive Τιτόπ- codd. : Πακτωλοῦν Hermann : Ἐνιποῦν Lobeck : Ἀλιακμοῦν Maass : Τιτωποῦν Bergk : Τιτωνοῦν Kaibel

The Muses are nine because the number nine is squared and solid. Such are its meanings, since nine is often many things ... But Eumelos of Corinth says that there are three Muses, daughters of Apollo: Kephiso, Apollonis, Borysthenis. Aratos in Book 5 of the *Astronomica* says they are four, daughters of Zeus {the Aither} and the nymph Plousia: Arche, Melete, Thelxinoe, and Aoide. Some claim that they are five and that they have the names of the five senses. Epicharmos says that they are seven in number, daughters of Pieros and the nymph Pimpleias: Neilo, Tritone, Asopo, Heptapore, Achelois, Titoplous, and Rhodia. And in Hesiod in the *Theogony* they are nine: Kleio, Thaleia, Euterpe, Terpsichore, Erato, Polymnia, Melpomene, Ourania and Kalliope. And three of them (sc. the Muses) invented the three musical tones.

Tzetzes' scholium⁶⁹⁶ on Hes. *Op.* 1 overtly confirms the thesis presented above: neither the number nor the names of the Muses are attested in an invocation to them within an archaic epic proem.⁶⁹⁷ Even the examples quoted by Tzetzes from Epicharmos and Aratos abide by the same rule.⁶⁹⁸

If then, the three Muses, daughters of Apollo, were not mentioned in the proem, in what part of the *Europeia* would they have featured?⁶⁹⁹ One scenario is, in my view, the context provided by fr. 31 *EGEF*, in which we are told that in the *Europeia* the Asopid Sinope was abducted by Apollo and transferred to the Pontos. In this light, it is possible that Eumelos may have dealt in some detail with the Asopides. If this was the case, then the reference to Sinope's abduction by Apollo would have offered Eumelos a good opportunity to talk about Apollo's presence in the northern and southern part of the Black Sea region (Borysthenes-Sinope respectively), while the Hyria-Kephisos pair would have functioned as the starting point of this reference, since both the city and the river are placed in Boiotia. It is perhaps to be noted that we possess solid evidence that Borysthenis and Sinope did appear together at least in one passage (Strabo 2.1.16)⁷⁰⁰ discussing climate in connection to geographical location.

Another alternative would have been that the Muses, as daughters of Apollo the god of music, would have been related to festivities and merry-making. Such a context may have been provided by a banquet or wedding in which Apollo would have been invited. In an epic featuring the tale of Europa, the famous wedding of Harmonia in which all the gods were invited seems to offer the necessary framework for the inclusion of such a scene. This scenario gains some further plausibility on the basis of the fact that, within the framework of the entire scholium of Tzetzes, the reference to Eumelos' three Apolline Muses is coupled with the reference to Epicharmos' seven Muses in the wedding of Hebe, in which the daughters of Pieros and the nymph Pimplias were invited. The comparison with Epicharmos may be quite crucial with respect to this problem, the more so since the awkward names used both

for Epicharmos' seven and Eumelos' three Muses must have attracted the attention of some author interested in divine names and their etymologies. This author may well have been Apollodoros the Athenian, who treated such matters in his work *Peri theon*. In fact, we have at least one other example from this Apollodoros in which he compares the versions offered by Epicharmos (fr. 229 PCG) and the poet of the *Meropis* with respect to the provenance of the name *Pallas* (Παλλάς) for the goddess Athena (*P. Köln* III 126 [= *P. Colon.* inv. 5604]).⁷⁰¹ As for the etymology of Μούσας that Epicharmos or 'Epicharmos'⁷⁰² employed (in Serv. ad *Aen.* 1.8: *has Musas Siculus Epicharmus non multas, sed ὁμονοούσας dicit*), it seems to be a play on Hes. *Th.* 60 where the nine Muses are described as ὁμόφρονες. It is, therefore, possible that Tzetzes' scholium ultimately goes back to Apollodoros' work, as Maass has suggested.⁷⁰³

There is also a third scenario proposed by Hermann almost two centuries ago.⁷⁰⁴ Like Maass, Hermann highlighted the fact that among the ancient authors mentioned in Tzetzes' scholium with respect to the names and number of the Muses only Epicharmos' and Eumelos' Muses used river names. But before we turn to this issue, it is imperative to discuss Hermann's emendation of the manuscript reading Ἀπολλωνίδα on the grounds that (a) of the three Muses only the name Apollonis is not based on a river and can hardly point to a specific entity, and (b) it is nonsensical to say that 'Apollo had three daughters (the Muses) whose names were Kephiso, daughter of Apollo, and Borysthenis'. Hermann suggested that we should read Ἀχελωίδα, an emendation that caters effectively for both problems connected to the transmitted reading Ἀπολλωνίδα.⁷⁰⁵ There is a lot to support Hermann's emendation. It is quite possible that we have a corruption that has been caused by the combination of two elements 'a mechanical error, arising from the literal similarity of two words, and a mental error, the writer's thought staying to some word suggested by the context'.⁷⁰⁶ In this case, corruption would be due not only to similarity of the two words, but also to the name Apollo in the vicinity. That Ἀχελωίδα could well feature in such a context is rendered extremely probable by the fact that it is mentioned, again in the accusative, in Epicharmos' list of seven Muses that follows a couple of lines below. To keep things straight, though, we must say that it is on the same grounds that West, without excluding Hermann's emendation, has suggested Ἀσωπίδα that is also mentioned in the accusative in the list of Epicharmos' Muses.⁷⁰⁷ This time, though, the transmitted form is not Ἀσωπίδα but the Ionic type Ἀσωποῦν.⁷⁰⁸

We can now return to the core of Hermann's suggestion pertaining to the poetic function of Eumelos' reference to the three Muses, daughters of Apollo, under the names of Kephiso, Achelois, and Borysthenis. Let us begin with Achelois and its exact meaning and role within the context of such a reference. The following passage by Pausanias (10.8.9–10) is of utmost importance to this issue:

Πανύασσις δὲ ὁ Πολυάρχου πεποιηκὼς ἐς Ἡρακλέα ἔπη θυγατέρα Ἀχελώϊου τὴν

*Παρνησσὸν νιφόεντα θοοῖς διὰ ποσσι περήσας
ἴκετο Κασταλῆς Ἀχελωΐδος ἄμβροτον ὕδωρ.*

ἤκουσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλο τοιόνδε, τὸ ὕδωρ τῇ Κασταλίᾳ ποταμοῦ δῶρον εἶναι τοῦ Κηφισοῦ. τοῦτο ἐποίησε καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἐν προοιμίῳ τῷ ἐς Ἀπόλλωνα· βεβαιοῦνται δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα οἱ Λιλαίεις,⁷¹⁰ οἱ ἐς τοῦ Κηφισοῦ τὴν πηγὴν πέμματα ἐπιχώρια καὶ ἄλλα ὅποσα νομίζουσιν ἀφιάσιν ἐν τισιν εἰρημέναις <ἡμέραις>, καὶ αὐθις ἐν τῇ Κασταλίᾳ φασὶν αὐτὰ ἀναφαίνεσθαι.

Panyassis, the son of Polyarchos, who has composed epic verses on Herakles says that Kastalia is the daughter of Acheloios; for he says with respect to Herakles:

*Having crossed on his swift feet snowy Parnassos
he reached the ambrosial water of Kastalia, daughter of Acheloios.*

I have heard another account, that the water was a gift to Kastalia by the river Kephisos. This version has been told by Alkaios (fr. 307c Voigt) in the proem of his poem to Apollo. The Lilaian confirm it strongly, who on certain specific days throw cakes made in this region and other things they ordained by use, and they say that these things show up again in Kastalia.

Panyassis' couplet from his *Herakleia* makes the spring Kastalia in Delphi a daughter of the Acheloios.⁷¹¹ This piece of information becomes all the more fascinating, if we consider the possibility that Panyassis⁷¹² shares 'with many other fifth-century authors the idea that all springs derive from Acheloios'.⁷¹³ There is also another account with respect to the spring Kastalia that is not restricted to a local source, since it is also attested in Alkaios.⁷¹⁴ This means that it goes back to a period preceding the composition of the *Europeia*, and, therefore, possibly known to Eumelos. According to this version, the Phokian/Boiotian Kephisos is associated with Apollo, since the river has given to the spring Kastalia its water as a gift. The fact that Kastalia and Kephisos are singled out as rejoicing for the return of Apollo from the land of the Hyperboreans⁷¹⁵ indicates that the river Kephisos and the spring Kastalia may have constituted a pair of interrelated watery elements representing one part of Apollo's annual 'life cycle'. This line of thought ties in with Eumelos' naming not only of the first Muse as Kephiso and the second as Achelois but also with the third Muse as Borysthenis. Multiple cultural and political links between the neighboring regions of Phokis and Boiotia have no doubt facilitated this kind of connection. Mount Parnassos and the river Kephisos constitute two landmarks around which the Greeks created an entire nexus of associations pertaining to the relevant geographical areas. As for the northern location of the river Borysthenes, we can postulate that it must have delineated the god's winter sojourn.

Whether the Kephisos related to the Kastalia spring is the Boiotian or the Phokian Kephisos (Eumelos may have thought that it is the Sikyonian one flowing under the Corinthian Gulf and resurfacing in Phokis),⁷¹⁶ the conclusion is unmistakable: there was a link between one Kephisos and the

spring Kastalia, which is –of course- closely associated with Delphi⁷¹⁷ and Apollo's oracle.⁷¹⁸ In this light, the name *Achelois* may be pointing to the spring Kastalia, with *Acheloios* meaning 'water', as in Panyassis.⁷¹⁹ If Hermann's analysis is adopted, then a possible explanation for Eumelos' selection of river names for the three Muses as daughters of Apollo can be suggested. Both Epicharmos' and Eumelos' lists of Muses were accommodated to the genres of comedy and epic respectively, and both Muses' names and parentage were in agreement with the poem's plotline. All said and done, the last scenario renders it possible that the three Muses, daughters of Apollo in Eumelos' *Europeia*, were associated with the watery element and may have been linked to their father's annual life-cycle.⁷²⁰

Fragmentum sine ascriptione fortasse ad Titanomachiam pertinens

Fr. *37

This strip of 21 hexameters in fragmentary condition is dated to the 1st/2nd c. AD. The papyrus is of unknown provenance and was bought by J. Rendel Harris in Egypt and first transcribed and published by Powell in 1936 (*The Rendel Harris Papyri of Woodbrooke College*).

The main argument in support of the view that this fragment comes from an epic poem dated to the archaic period was the observation of Maas that the formula νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς ('cloud-gatherer Zeus', l. 2), reported by Snell⁷²¹ in his review of Powell, was not used by any post-Hesiodic poet. This accurate observation is basically true, although D'Alessio has rightly drawn attention to Nonn. *Dion.* 8.270, where the same expression is employed.⁷²² Still, as D'Alessio himself says, Maas' observation is a strong indication that these lines go back to a poem of the archaic period, since νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς is almost exclusively archaic. Other suggestions have their limitations. Snell's supplement of Τιτῆνα μέγιστον (l. 3) seems, at first sight, to point to an early Titanomachy (so Maas, Snell, and Körte),⁷²³ mainly on the basis of Τιτῆνα,⁷²⁴ since there are other possibilities, equally plausible, for μέγιστον.⁷²⁵

The main problem with the attribution of this fragment to Eumelos' *Titanomachy* is the reference to Phoibos (l. 6). Zeus seems to be pleased (l. 5: [ἔχαιρ] ε μέγα φρεσὶ[ν ἦισιν) that Phoibos Apollo will be on his side (l. 6: [ἐπαμύ]ντορα Φοῖβον).⁷²⁶ If we take into account ll. 2–3 (] Τιτῆνα μέ[γιστον /]βαλέοντι ἐο[ικώς), then it becomes clear that the context seems to have been that of the actual battle between the Olympians and the Titans, or, to be more precise, the phase just before the actual clash. But how is this possible, since Apollo does not take part in the Titanomachy as he was not yet born? Given this stalemate, there is another possibility worth presenting. D'Alessio has recently⁷²⁷ drawn attention to the use of the participle βαλέοντι as in Hom. *Od.* 11.608 (ἄει βαλέοντι ἐοικώς) in the context of Odysseus' reference to Herakles in the Underworld. Since the use of the verb βάλλω may suggest someone ready to use his bow, D'Alessio believes that some form like τιτηνάμενος in the preceding line cannot be excluded.⁷²⁸ In the light of these observations and taking into account that (a) βαλέοντι ἐοικώς may have designated someone ready to stretch his bow and (b) that this person cannot be Zeus (he never has a bow),⁷²⁹ it is tempting to suggest a reference either to Herakles or Apollo.⁷³⁰ In either case, the fragment would fit well in an early version of the Gigantomachy⁷³¹ or in Eumelos' *Titanomachy*, provided that it contained a Gigantomachy as argued by some scholars.⁷³² Seen from this angle, Hera's⁷³³ or Zeus' speech (l. 7: π[ροσέφη) could have been addressed to all the gods (l. 14: πάντες) and Herakles summoned for the battle against the Giants.

The matter is hard to decide, especially since most of the observations and suggestions presented above are based on an extremely fragmentary papyrus.⁷³⁴

Kinaithon

Text, Critical Apparatus, and Translation

Testimonia

Test. 1 Plut. *De Pyth. orac.* 407b (III 53.23–6 Paton-Pohlenz–Sieveking)

Ὀνομάκριτοι δ' ἐκεῖνοι καὶ Πρόδικοι καὶ Κιναιθῶνες ὅσῃν αἰτίαν ἠνέγκαντο <ἐπὶ> τῶν χρησμῶν, ὥς τραγωιδίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὄγκον οὐδὲν δεομένοις προσθέντες, ἐῷ λέγειν.

1 Πρόδικοι καὶ Κιναιθῶνες Botzon : προδόται καὶ κινέσωνες codd. | ἐπὶ post ἠνέγκαντο add. Reiske : ἀνῆνέγκαντο Babbitt ||

2 οὐδὲν codd. : οὐθὲν Schröder

With respect to the blame that people like Onomakritos, Prodikos, and Kinaithon have incurred concerning oracles by adding unneeded drama and bombast to them, I pass over it.

Test. 2 Euseb. (Hieron.) *Chron.* Ol. 4.2 = 763 BC (p. 87^B 12–13 Helm)

Cinaethon Lacedaemonius poeta, qui Telegoniam scripsit agnoscitur.

1 *Telegoniam* codd.: *Genealogias* Scaliger : *Genealogiam* Leutsch : *Theogoniam* Heeren Kinaithon the Lakedaimonian poet, who wrote the *Telegony*,⁷³⁵ is recognized.

Test. 3 /G 14.1292 ii 11 = *Tabula Iliaca K [Borgiae]* (p. 61 Sadurska)

τ]ὴν Οἰδιπόδειαν τὴν ὑπὸ Κιναιθῶνος τοῦ [Λακεδαιμονίου λεγομένην πεποιῆσθαι παραλιπόν]τες, ἐπῶν οὐσαν Ἔχ' ὑποθήσομεν Θηβαΐδα [

1–2 [Λακεδαιμονίου – παραλιπόν]τες suppl. Wilamowitz

... passing over the *Oidipodeia* that is said to have been composed by Kinaithon the Lakedaimonian in 6.600 verses, we will put down the *Thebais*.

Test. 4^A Σ Eur. *Tro.* 822 (II 365.7–9 Schwartz)

ἀκολουθήσας τῷ τὴν Μικρὰν Ἰλιάδα πεποιηκότι, ὃν οἱ μὲν Θεστορίδην Φωκ<αι>-έα φασίν, οἱ δὲ Κιναιθῶνα Λακεδαιμόνιον, ὥς Ἑλλάνικος (fr. **202C *EGM*, Hellan. gramm. fr. *6 Montanari), οἱ δὲ Διόδωρον Ἐρυθραῖον.

1 Φωκ<αι>-έα Schwartz : Φωκέα A ||

2 Ἑλλάνικος Hermann : μελάνικος A

Having followed the author of the *Ilias parva*, whom some say was Thestorides the Phokian, others Kinaithon the Lakedaemonian, as Hellanikos

says, and others Diodoros of Erythrai.

Test. 4^B Tzetzes *Ex. II.* (p. 67.17–20 Papathomopoulos)

καὶ γὰρ Λέσχης Πυρραῖος Κιναίθων τέ τις Λακεδαιμόνιος καὶ ὁ Ἐρυθραῖος Διόδωρος Τριφιόδωρός τε καὶ Κόιντος ὁ Σμυρναῖος καὶ ἕτεροι Ἰλιάδας συγγεγραφήκεσαν.

1 ὁ post Λέσχης supplevit Papathomopoulos |

2 Τριφιόδωρος Papathomopoulos : Τρυφ- CVL

For Lesches of Pyrrha too and a Kinaithon of Lakedaimon and Diodoros of Erythrai and Triphiodoros and Quintus Smyrnaeus and others have written *Iliads*.

Fragmenta

Γενεαλογίαι (?)

Fr. 1 Paus. 8.53.5 (II 334.20–2 Rocha-Pereira) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

Κιναίθων δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησεν <ὥς> Ῥαδάμανθους μὲν Φαίστου, Φαῖστος δὲ εἶη Τάλω, Τάλων δὲ εἶναι Κρητὸς παῖδα.

1 ὥς suppl. Musurus | Φαίστου et Φαῖστος Malten : Ἥφαίστου et Ἥφαιστος codd.

Kinaithon in his verses made Rhadamanthys the son of Phaistos, Phaistos the son of Talos, and Talos the son of Kres.

Fr. 2 Paus. 2.3.9 (I 115.8–11 Rocha-Pereira) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

Κιναίθων δὲ ὁ Λακεδαιμόνιος, ἐγενεαλόγησε γὰρ καὶ οὗτος ἔπεσι, Μήδειον καὶ θυγατέρα Ἐριῶπιν Ἰάσονι εἶπεν ἐκ Μηδείας γενέσθαι πέρα δὲ ἐς τοὺς παῖδας οὐδὲ τούτῳ πεποιημένα ἐστίν.

2 πέρα Calderini : πέρας β

Kinaithon the Lakedaimonian, for he too wrote genealogies in epic verse, said that Jason had Medeios and a daughter Eriopis by Medeia; there is nothing further composed by him about the children.

Fr. 3 Σ (ABD) Hom. II. 3.175 (praecedit Porphyrii Quaest. Hom. fr. : vid.

Ἑλένης τε καὶ Μενελάου ἱστορεῖ Ἀρίαιθος (*FGrHist* 316 F 6) παῖδα Μαραφίον, ἀφ' οὗ τὸ τῶν Μαραφίων γένος ἐν Πέρσαις· ὥς δὲ Κιναιθῶν, Νικόστρατον.

Ariaitchos records that the son of Helen and Menelaos was Maraphios, from whom came the race of the Maraphioi of Persia. According to Kinaithon, their son was Nikostratos.

Fr. 4 Paus. 2.18.6 (I 148.11–14 Rocha-Pereira) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

Ὀρέστου δὲ ἀποθανόντος ἔσχε Τισαμενὸς τὴν ἀρχήν, Ἑρμιόνης τῆς Μενελάου καὶ Ὀρέστου παῖς. τὸν δὲ Ὀρέστου νόθον Πενθίλον Κιναιθῶν ἔγραψεν <ἐν> τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἑριγόνην τὴν Αἰγίσθου τεκεῖν.

2 ἐν suppl. R^{sv} Pa Vb

After the death of Orestes, Tisamenos held the rule, the son of Hermione daughter of Menelaos, and Orestes. Kinaithon wrote in his verses that Orestes' bastard son Penthilos was born to Erigone, daughter of Aigisthos.

Fr. 5 Paus. 4.2.1 (I 273.16–20 Rocha-Pereira) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

πυθέσθαι δὲ σπουδῇ πάνυ ἐθελήσας, οἵτινες παῖδες Πολυκάονι ἐγένοντο ἐκ Μεσσήνης, ἐπελεξάμην τάς τε Ἑοίας καλουμένας ([Hes.] *ME* fr. 251b M–W) καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια (fr. 11 *EGEF*), πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅποσα Κιναιθῶν καὶ Ἄσιος (fr. 12 *EGEF*) ἐγενεαλόγησαν. οὐ μὴν ἔς γε ταῦτα ἦν σφισιν οὐδὲν πεποιημένον.

1 σπουδῇ Valck. : που δὴ β ||

3 τὰ νῦν πάκτια β : τὰ ναυπάκτια R^{mg}Pa^{mg}VaVb ||

4 ἐγενεαλόγησαν V : -εν FP | οὐ μὴν - πεποιημένον om. V

As I was extremely eager to find out what children were born to Polykaon from Messene, I read both the so-called *Ehoiai* and the *Carmen Naupactium* and in addition to them all the genealogies by Kinaithon and Asios. But with respect to this point they had mentioned nothing.

—

Kinaithon

Commentary

1 Life

Kinaithon of Lakedaimon is a shadowy figure. His dating by Eusebios in the middle of the 8th c. BC (*Chron.* Ol. 4.2 = 763 BC) is characterized by the tendency of ancient chronographers to push back the dates for early epic poets. A similar principle of dating has been applied to Eumelos. Welcker's⁷³⁶ identification of Kinaithon with the Chian rhapsode Kynaithos is not accepted by anyone after Marckscheffel's⁷³⁷ convincing rebuttal.

2 Works

Despite the fact that various works have been attributed to Kinaithon, only one of them, the *Γενεαλογία/Γενεηλογία* ('*Genealogies*'), can be assigned with safety to him. Some sources assign to Kinaithon a number of Cyclic epics, such as the *Oidipodeia*,⁷³⁸ the *Ilias parva*, and the *Telegony*, while the scholia to Apollonios Rhodios twice treat him as the author of a *Herakleia*. West has drawn attention to the 'puzzling randomness' of the three Cyclic titles.⁷³⁹

With respect to the *Oidipodeia*, the *Ilias parva*, and the *Telegony*, one is tempted to explain it as a result of the fact that material included in Kinaithon's genealogical epic and pertaining to Oidipous and the Trojan legend could have led to the false attribution to him of independent epic poems with well-known titles that dealt with the same material. In other words, just because there was an *Oidipodeia*, an *Ilias parva*, and a *Telegony* and Kinaithon treated parts of the Oidipous and Trojan myths in his *Genealogies*, it was at some point thought that he had written the *Oidipodeia*, the *Ilias parva*, and the *Telegony*. This explanation is not impossible, but has its drawbacks.

As far as the *Oidipodeia* is concerned, the information given by Tabula Iliaca 10K (Borgia) refers to the number of verses (6600) of this epic poem. Such a specific designation of authorship and size of an epic is hard to consider a forgery or a mistake. If, then Kinaithon, had written an *Oidipodeia*, this can hardly have been different from the Cyclic one.⁷⁴⁰ In any case, the matter shall remain open. Despite the Theban background in the royal house of the Aigeidai,⁷⁴¹ we do not know whether the legend of Oedipous and his descendants featured in Kinaithon. There is no reason to entertain the scenario according to which Kinaithon traced a Kadmean genealogy down to Theras (son of Autesion, son of Teisamenos,⁷⁴² son of Thersander, son of

Polyneikes), who was involved in the colonization of the small Cycladic island of Kalliste, which was subsequently named after him (Thera).⁷⁴³ Counter-arguments against this attribution are the authorless references to this epic by both Pausanias (9.5.11: ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας, ἃ Οἰδιποδία ὀνομάζουσιν) and Σ in Eur. *Phoin.* 1760 (I 414.31 Schwartz: οἱ τὴν Οἰδιποδίαν γράφοντες).⁷⁴⁴ In the case of the *Ilias parva*, there are two testimonies ascribing it to Kinaithon: (a) Σ Eur. *Tro.* 822 (II 365.7–9 Schwartz) [= test. 4^A *EGEF*]; and (b) Tzetzes' *Ex. Il.* (p. 45.10 Hermann) [= test. 4^B *EGEF*]. Both the Euripides scholiast and Tzetzes share almost the same information concerning the poet of the *Ilias parva*.⁷⁴⁵ Given that Diodoros of Erythrai (who is mentioned by both sources) is not attested in any other ancient source and other similarities considered, it is likely that Tzetzes and/ or his source are/is drawing on Σ Eur. *Tro.* 822 [II 365.7–9 Schwartz].⁷⁴⁶ Tzetzes' list adds Triphiodoros and Quintus Smyrnaeus, which shows that he is simply referring to poems in epic verse narrating parts of the Trojan saga. As for Hellanikos being the source of the attribution of the *Ilias parva* to Kinaithon (Σ Eur. *Tro.* 822 [II 365.8–9 Schwartz]), he is certainly the mythographer⁷⁴⁷ and not the less known Hellenistic grammarian,⁷⁴⁸ who doubted about Homer's authorship of the *Odyssey*. Overall, the attribution of the *Ilias parva* to Kinaithon has little value. Proklos' ascription to Lesches of Pyrrha or Mytilene is no more trustworthy than the alternatives.⁷⁴⁹ In fact, Weil⁷⁵⁰ has plausibly suggested (in the light of Tzetzes' mention of Lesches of Pyrrha along Kinaithon the Lakedaimonian)⁷⁵¹ that the phrase <οἱ δὲ Λέσχην Λέσβιον> may have been dropped in Σ Eur. *Tro.* 822 [II 365.7–9 Schwartz] cited above. West improved this suggestion by changing Λέσβιον to Πυρραῖον and arguing that the absence of Lesches from Hellanikos' list, as given by the Euripides scholiast, and the attribution of the *Ilias parva* to the Lakedaimonian Kinaithon instead of Hellanikos' fellow Lesbian Lesches are two oddities that may have occurred because a reference to Lesches may have been dropped.⁷⁵²

As for the attribution of the *Telegony* to Kinaithon, our sole source is Euseb. (Hieron.) *Chron.* Ol. 4.2 (test. 2 *EGEF*). All modern editors (see Kinaeth. T2 *PEG* = *EGF* T p. 92 = *GEF* p. 250) seem to accept Scaliger's correction *Genealogias*. This is because Pausanias, who is our chief source of information for Kinaithon, twice (2.3.9, 4.2.1) employs the verb γενεαλογεῖν (ἐγενεαλόγησε, ἐγενεαλόγησαν) to describe Kinaithon's work. The fact that various works dealing with genealogical material were called *Genealogies* (especially mythographic ones) makes it likely that Pausanias may be thus designating the actual title of Kinaithon's epic. Paleographically, the change from ΓΕΝΕΑΛΟΓΙΑΣ/N to ΘΛΑΕΓΟΝΙΑΝ is not impossible, though Rzach calls it 'unacceptable'.⁷⁵³ A different argument has been put forward by those scholars who do not approve of Scaliger's correction and want to cater for the 'annoying' *Telegoniam* of Eusebios' text (via Hieronymus). They have, therefore, argued that there was another *Telegony* of Spartan provenance

(whether Kinaithon was its author or not) and that Eugammon of Kyrene had found the figure of Arkesilaos already mentioned in the older poem.⁷⁵⁴ This interpretation seems odd. The ascription of a *Telegony* to Kinaithon is just an error for *Genealogia(i)* and has no value whatsoever. In addition, there is no reason at all to suppose that the work contained anything relevant to the foundation of Thera or Kyrene.⁷⁵⁵

With respect to two fragments of a *Herakleia*, one of which is ascribed to Kinaithon by the manuscript tradition of Σ Ap. Rh. 1.1355/57c (p. 122.15–17 Wendel), while the other to Konon (Σ Ap. Rh. 1.1165c [p. 105.9–12 Wendel]), it is better to follow both Bernhardt⁷⁵⁶ and Seeliger,⁷⁵⁷ who are against Keil's correction (adopted by Türk) of the manuscript reading Κόνων into Κιναιθών in Σ Ap. Rh. 1.1165c (p. 105.9 Wendel), on the basis of the ascription of a *Herakleia* to Kinaithon by Σ Ap. Rh. 1.1355/57c (p. 122.17 Wendel).⁷⁵⁸

Genealogies (?)

Title and Authorship

The title *Genealogies* (Γενεαλογίαι) is never attested for an epic poem by Kinaithon. It is based on two passages by Pausanias (2.3.9, 4.2.1), who uses the verb γενεαλογεῖν (ἐγενεαλόγησε, ἐγενεαλόγησαν) to designate Kinaithon's work. It is also supported by a correction made by Scaliger of the word *Telegoniam* (changed into *Genealogias*) in Euseb. (Hieron.) *Chron.* Ol. 4.2 (*Cinaethon Lacedaemonius poeta, qui Telegoniam scripsit agnoscitur*). Although the title *Genealogies* is quite common for various genealogical works, we cannot be certain that Pausanias' use of the verb γενεαλογεῖν to refer to Kinaithon's work reflects the poem's actual title.⁷⁵⁹ A similar case is that of Hekataios' genealogical work, with respect to which we cannot tell whether the author himself used the title *Genealogies*.

Sources

As far as the testimonies are concerned, Plutarch (*De Pyth. orac.* 407b) is our only source with respect to the style of Kinaithon's work.⁷⁶⁰ Concerning his poems, our information comes from Eusebios (*Chron.* Ol. 4.2 via Hieronymus' latin translation), the Tabula Iliaca 10K [Borgia] (*IG* 14.1292 ii 11), the Σ Eur. *Tro.* 822 (II 365.7–9 Schwartz), and Tzetzes (*Ex. Il.* p. 45.10 Hermann). Pausanias is the main source for Kinaithon's fragments, offering 4 in a total of 5 (fr. 1–2, 4–5 *EGEF*). Another fragment is cited by Σ (D) Hom. *Il.* 3.175/Z^s [p. 145 van Thiel].

Plot

It is impossible to reconstruct the content of the *Genealogies*, in light of the few fragments available. The only thing we can say with a fair degree of certainty is that it must have covered a considerable amount of material, given

that with the exception of fragments 3–4, there is no common theme. Cretan genealogy, the Argonauts and their pedigree, and Trojan material must have had their share within the thematic framework of this epic.

Style

According to Plutarch (*De Pyth. orac.* 407b), certain poets such as Onomakritos, Prodikos, and Kinaithon were blamed because they presented oracles in a context of unnecessary pomp and drama (ὥς τραγωιδίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὄγκον οὐδὲν δεομένοις προσθέντες). Onomakritos is known for having collected Mousaios' poetry (*Τελευταί, Χρησμοί, Ὀρφικὰ ἔπη*).⁷⁶¹ According to Herodotos,⁷⁶² Peisistratos' son Hipparchos exiled Onomakritos on the accusation that he had added a forged oracle to Mousaios' original collection. It is not safe at all to make any judgment on the basis of Botzon's emendation of the manuscript reading *προδῶται καὶ κινέσωνες* into *Πρόδικοι καὶ Κιναιθῶνες*.⁷⁶³ Schröder thinks that since we have no other information associating Prodikos and Kinaithon with oracles, it is better to put the manuscript reading between *crucēs* and treat it as a *locus desperatus*.⁷⁶⁴ If Botzon's emendation is adopted,⁷⁶⁵ then we may postulate that oracles featured in both Prodikos' *Minyas*, in which a *katabasis* must have been included,⁷⁶⁶ as well as in Kinaithon's work. If so, Plutarch's negative statement pertaining to the pompous tone and dramatic coloring of oracles indicates at least two things: first, that Kinaithon's poetry was not greatly appreciated in the imperial period, and second, that it must have dealt with more than simple genealogies.

Date

It is virtually impossible to say anything about the poem's date apart from the fact that it must have belonged to the archaic period. Eusebios' dating to 763 BC is speculative and no value should be given to it.

Commentary

Fr. 1

The manuscript tradition of Pausanias' text offers unanimously the readings Ἥφαιστου and Ἥφαιστος. Malten has argued in favor of the forms Φαῖστου and Φαῖστος. According to this reasoning, Hephaistos who has no connection with Crete is taken out of the picture and his place is given to Phaistos, thus making Talos father of Phaistos, the eponym of one of the oldest cities of Crete.⁷⁶⁷ In this way, Minos would have exercised his control on the northern part of the island, whereas Phaistos over the southern part. Malten's correction has been adopted by West in his edition, but not by Bernabé and Davies who both follow the manuscript readings Ἥφαιστου and Ἥφαιστος. The same is the case with the Teubner editor of Pausanias (Rocha-Pereira), who is also

following the manuscript reading. In light of this important dissension, I will first examine the reading of the *paradosis* and then Malten's emendation.

1. Pausanias, who is the source of fr. 1, uses in other parts of his work the name Phaistos to designate a son by Herakles (2.6.6 and 2.10.1). This should not cause a problem, since the Periegete is referring to the same person, only with different lineage according to different sources.

2. Crete is indeed associated with the fabrication of metals, but the Idaian Daktyls who are known as the inventors of iron by the artful skills of Hephaistos (*Phoronis* fr. 2.1–2 *EGEF*) are located on the Phrygian, not the Cretan Ida.⁷⁶⁸ The Daktyls do not bring Hephaistos into the picture.⁷⁶⁹

3. According to Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1.9.26), Talos was presented by some authors as 'of the bronze race' and by others as a creation of Hephaistos given to Minos. This simply excludes the possibility that Talos was Hephaistos' father.

4. A further argument against the manuscript reading pertains to the difficulty of accepting that Kinaithon made the god Hephaistos the son of mortal Talos, whose father was the mortal Kres. I cannot think of any other example of a male god belonging to the Olympian pantheon who is presented in any tradition, literary or artistic of the archaic period, as the son of a mortal man.

Turning to Malten's emendation, the substitution of the less common name (Φαῖστος) by the more familiar god's name (Ἥφαιστος) is easy enough because of their remarkable aural and visual similarity. It may, but not need, have been further facilitated if there was a form of the verb εἶναι between Ῥαδάμανθυς μὲν and Φαίστου, e.g. Ῥαδάμανθυς μὲν εἶη Φαίστου (ΕΙΗΦΑΙΣΤΟΥ) or if a copyist's eye repeated the form εἶη as he was copying the text, given that it is mentioned a few words later and is, in any rate, notionally present through the syntax.

All in all, I have decided to adopt Malten's suggestion since it is an effective way of correcting the manuscript reading that is clearly wrong.

Fr. 2

Medeios⁷⁷⁰ is also mentioned by Hesiod (*Th.* 1000–2) as the son of Jason and Medeia,⁷⁷¹ being raised by the Centaur Cheiron in the mountains. Of Eriopis as daughter of Jason and Medeia there is no mention by any other source.⁷⁷² Pausanias' clear indication that this is all the information that can be found with respect to Medeia's children in the genealogical work of Kinaithon does not leave any place for Mermeros or Pheres who are also known from other sources as their children.⁷⁷³

Medeios is of special interest, the more so since he could be employed with respect to the relative chronology of both Hesiod's *Theogony* and

Kinaithon, where the name is attested. If the name is linked to the Medes who became widely known in the late seventh century BC after defeating the Assyrians, then the end of the *Theogony* becomes even more suspect.⁷⁷⁴ But there are good reasons in favor of a different explanation altogether:⁷⁷⁵

a. Since Medeios occurs in Linear B (*Me-de-i-jo*),⁷⁷⁶ then there is good reason that the homophony is coincidental.⁷⁷⁷

b. Since Perses is Hekate's father in Hesiod (*Th.* 411)⁷⁷⁸ and Aietes' father is the Sun, Usener has argued that, 'the pairing of the Sun and Perse(is) makes good mythological sense, given Hekate's association with the moon (Usener, *Götternamen* 11)'.⁷⁷⁹ This argument seems tenuous, especially since Hekate's lunar associations are not very early.

c. Historical prominence is not a necessary prerequisite for historical knowledge. Both Medes and Persians were known to the Greeks before they became key players in the ancient world. Geographical proximity may explain more than we are ready to admit.⁷⁸⁰

No solid choronological argument can be based on the use of the name Medeios for one of Medeia's children. What can be said with a fair degree of plausibility is that this fragment, when taken together with the previous one, suggests a link to Argonautic material that Kinaithon may have employed in his genealogical epic.

Fr. 3

Nikostratos is designated as the son of Menelaos and Helen by the following sources:

a. [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 175 M–W (= Σ Soph. *El.* 539a [p. 186 Xenis]):

ἦ τέκεθ' Ἑρμιόνην δουρικλειτῶι Μενελάωι
ὀπλότατον δ' ἔτεκεν Νικόστρατον ὄζον Ἄρηος.

1 δουρικλειτῶι corr. Wunder : δουρικλυτῶι LqVG : δορικλητῶι M

b. Lysimachos *FGrHist* 382 F 12 (= Σ Eur. *Andr.* 898 [II 305.23–306.1 Schwartz]): Λυσίμαχος καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς ἱστοροῦσιν γενέσθαι ἐξ Ἑλένης καὶ Νικόστρατον. ὁ δὲ τὰς Κυπριακὰς ἱστορίας συντάξας Πλεισθένην φησί, μεθ' οὗ εἰς Κύπρον ἀφῆχθαι καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς τεχθέντα Ἀλεξάνδρῳ Ἄγανον.

c. Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.11.1):⁷⁸¹

Μενέλαος μὲν οὖν ἐξ Ἑλένης Ἑρμιόνην ἐγέννησε καὶ κατὰ τινας Νικόστρατον, ἐκ δούλης <δὲ> Πιερίδος, γένος Αἰτωλίδος, ἣ καθάπερ Ἀκουσίλαός φησι Τηρηίδος,

Μεγαπένθη, ἐκ Κνωσσίας δὲ νύμφης κατὰ Εὐμηλον Ξενόδαμον.

d. Σ (EHM^aTVY) Hom. *Od.* 4.12e1 (II 183.5–8 Pontani):

Ἑλένηι δὲ θεοὶ γόνον οὐκέτ' ἔφαινον· πιθανῶς, ἵνα ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἀκμάσῃ, ἥ ἵνα ἐξ

Ἀλεξάνδρου παῖδα μὴ σχῇ. οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι Ἑλένης μὲν καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου Κόρυθον ἦ

Ἴελενον, ἐκ δὲ Μενελάου Νικόστρατον γενεαλογοῦσιν.

e. Σ (H) Hom. *Od.* 4.12e2 (II 183.9–10 Pontani):

Ἑλένηι - ἔφαινον] οἱ νεώτεροι ὑπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου γενέσθαι αὐτῇ Κόρυθον ἢ Ἴελενον,

ἐκ δὲ Μενελάου Νικόστρατον.

It is now clear that Kinaithon is among the anonymous authors (κατὰ τινας) who, according to the author of the *Bibliothèque*, designate Nikostratos as the son of Menelaos and Helen. The name Nikostratos may have been invented by a Cyclic poet aiming at changing the name of Megapenthes given by the *Odyssey* (4.11) without shifting from the notion of presenting Menelaos as having a son from a slave woman.⁷⁸² Kinaithon seems to have followed the Cyclic version by keeping the name Nikostratos for the son of Menelaos but eliminated both the slave- and the extra-marriage element from Menelaos' sexual activity, thus making Nikostratos his legitimate son by Helen.⁷⁸³ We are not in a position to decide whether the legitimate Nikostratos was Kinaithon's innovation, since he is also mentioned in 'Hesiod' (*Cat. fr.* 175 M–W) and we cannot tell which poet was the earlier. Kinaithon's motive may have been to promote a Spartan point of view, the more so since Nikostratos (and Aithiolas) were honored in Lakonia, which means that they had to be legitimate sons of Menelaos by Helen and not by a slave.⁷⁸⁴ The name Νικόστρατος (νικάω + στρατός) may indicate that this son was born after the end of the war,⁷⁸⁵ as the name Μεγαπένθης (μέγα + πένθος) designates that he was born after Helen's abduction.⁷⁸⁶

Fr. 4

Given the close relation between Teisamenos and early Spartan history,⁷⁸⁷ there is a good possibility that he was also mentioned in Kinaithon's *Genealogies*. Being the son of Orestes and Hermione,⁷⁸⁸ Teisamenos had acquired a special status in Spartan thought and it would have been suprising if his authority had not been reflected in the work of a Lakedaimonian epic poet of the archaic period like Kinaithon. Since he was the son of Orestes and the grandson of Agamemnon, Teisamenos testified (through the side of his mother Hermione) to the claim made by Spartan aristocrats of the archaic period that they were affiliated with Menelaos' bloodline.⁷⁸⁹ Such was the power inherent in mythical symbols that the Spartans –after their defeat in the

Battle of the Fetters by the Arkadian Helots-⁷⁹⁰ orchestrated and effectively carried out a master plan of political propaganda, according to which the bones of Orestes were miraculously found at Tegea. In order to back up their ‘hereditary’ claim on this Arkadian city,⁷⁹¹ they decreed that the bones of Orestes had to be brought back to Sparta and buried there.⁷⁹² The same practice was soon followed for Orestes’ son Teisamenos,⁷⁹³ whose bones were brought back to Sparta from Achaia.⁷⁹⁴ In both cases the return of a hero’s bones and their burial in Sparta was an impressive propagandistic move with a strong symbolism epitomizing Spartan political aspirations for hegemony in the Peloponnesian League.⁷⁹⁵

As to Orestes’ bastard son Penthilos,⁷⁹⁶ who was born to Erigone, the daughter of Aigisthos,⁷⁹⁷ we can see how Kinaithon handled the link between Mykenai, Sparta, and Lesbos. The Penthilids, an important family in Lesbos around 600 BC, traced their roots back to Agamemnon by means of his grandson Penthilos, who was believed to have led some Aiolian migrants from mainland Greece to this Aegean island.⁷⁹⁸ Next to the Mykenai-Lesbos and Mykenai-Sparta links there was the Lesbos-Sparta association.⁷⁹⁹ Seen from this vantage point, Kinaithon’s presentation of Penthilos as the illegitimate son of Orestes and Erigone,⁸⁰⁰ would have downplayed the Mykenai/Argos-Lesbos connection and covertly promoted the Spartan one. Orestes’ paternity was, of course, the important thing for Teisamenos, but it was through his mother (the Spartan Hermione, offspring of the royal house of Menelaos) that he became a key figure for Sparta.

Fragments 3–4 allow us to see that in the *Genealogies* Kinaithon must have presented Hermione and Nikostratos as the children of Menelaos and Helen. Whether he also referred to another bastard son (Megapenthes) born to Menelaos from a slave,⁸⁰¹ remains unknown, though I would consider it less likely in the light of the negative connotations it may have implied for the house of ‘Spartan’ Menelaos.

Fr. 5

Although what basically this fragment tells us is that in his *Genealogies* Kinaithon did *not* refer to the children of Polykaon and Messene,⁸⁰² this piece of information is still valid with respect to the few things we know about this Lakedaimonian poet. One thing that needs to be elucidated is whether Kinaithon did refer at all to Polykaon and Messene (without designating their children, if any). There are two reasons that make it probable that Polykaon and Messene featured in Kinaithon’s *Genealogies*:

a. Pausanias says that he had not found any information concerning the children of Polykaon and Messene in the *Ehoiai*, the *Carmen Naupactium*, Kinaithon and Asios. He then goes on to say that he had found in the *Megalai Ehoiai* a reference to Polykaon, son of Boutes, who was married to Euaichme, daughter of Herakles’ son Hyllos. He explicitly tells us that this poem, i.e. the

Megalai Ehoiai, made no reference either to Messene's husband or to Messene herself. He, then, adds that since Polykaon had no descendants, they brought in as king Perieres the Aiolian.

ἀλλὰ Ὑλλου μὲν τοῦ Ἡρακλέους θυγατρὶ Εὐαίχμη συνοικῆσαι Πολυκάονα υἱὸν Βούτου λεγούσας τὰς μεγάλας οἶδα Ἠοίας, τὰ δὲ ἐς τὸν Μεσσήνης ἄνδρα καὶ τὰ ἐς αὐτὴν Μεσσήνην παρεῖται σφισι. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, ὥς ἦν τῶν Πολυκάονος οὐδεὶς ἔτι ἀπογόνων, ἐς γενεὰς πέντε ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν προελθόντων καὶ οὐ πλέονας, Περιήρην τὸν Αἰόλου βασιλέα ἐπάγονται.

But I know that the *Megalai Ehoiai* say that Polykaon, son of Boutes, was married to Euaichme, daughter of Herakles' son Hyllos, though information pertaining to Messene's husband and Messene herself is omitted in it.⁸⁰³ Some time later, since Polykaon had no descendants, after the lapse, I think, of no more than five generations, they brought in as king Perieres, the son of Aiolos.

This is an indication that Pausanias knows of two people under the name Polykaon, i.e. the son of Lelex and husband of Messene⁸⁰⁴ and the son of Boutes and husband of Euaichme.⁸⁰⁵ Since he searched for a reference to Polykaon's offspring in such epics as the *Ehoiai*, the *Carmen Naupactium*, and the poetry of Kinaithon and Asios, it means that he was looking for Polykaon's offspring from Messene. This means that Polykaon and Messene featured in some (if not all of these poems). On the contrary, when he turned his attention to the *Megalai Ehoiai*, he looked for Polykaon's offspring from Euaichme.⁸⁰⁶ Pausanias' statement about the offer of the kingship to Perieres, son of Aiolos, since Polykaon had no offspring, must pertain only to the earlier-mentioned list of epics (the *Ehoiai*, the *Carmen Naupactium*, and the poetry of Kinaithon and Asios) and not to the *Megalai Ehoiai*, since there (fr. 251a.9–12) Polykaon has three children to Aristaichme.

b. Messenian myth and history must have been included in Kinaithon's work. This is exactly why Pausanias expects to find relevant material in Kinaithon.⁸⁰⁷ Sparta's association with this neighboring region has been – throughout its history both intense and troubled, but also unbroken. Pausanias makes Polykaon a son of Lelex and younger brother of Myles.⁸⁰⁸ After Myles' death his son Eurotas held the rule. Having no male offspring who would become heir to the throne, the kingship was passed to Lakedaimon, who was born to Taygete from Zeus.⁸⁰⁹ Lakedaimon married Sparta, Eurotas' daughter, and named the city of Sparta after her. Polykaon, being the youngest son of Lelex lived as a private citizen and married a woman from Argos named Messene, the daughter of Triopas son of Phorbas.⁸¹⁰ Since Messene's father was of noble status, Messene wanted her husband to rule too. After mustering an army from both Argos and Lakedaimon they arrived at a region on the other side of Mt Taygetos that they called after her, the name not having been used before as a geographical term.⁸¹¹ Polykaon and Messene founded other cities and built their palace in Andania.⁸¹² Some time later

(Pausanias estimates that their house lasted for five generations), they summoned Perieres, son of Aiolos, as their king, since Polykaon had no descendants.⁸¹³ We also learn from the Periegete that Polykaon and Messene had dedicated a sanctuary (τέμενος) to Zeus at the peak of Mt Ithome in Messenia.⁸¹⁴

Asios

Text, Critical Apparatus, and Translation

Testimonia

Test. 1 Paus. 7.4.1 (II 153.20–1 Rocha-Pereira = fr. 7 EGEF)

Ἄσιος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιπτολέμου Σάμιος ...

Asios of Samos, the son of Amphiptolemos ...

Test. 2 Athen. 3.125b (I 286.2–3 Kaibel)

κατὰ τὸν Σάμιον ποιητὴν Ἄσιον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον ...

According to that poet of old, Asios of Samos ...

Fragmenta

Γενεαλογίαι (?)

Fr. 1 Paus. 2.6.4 (I 121.2–8 Rocha-Pereira) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

Λαμέδων γὰρ ὁ Κορώνου βασιλεύσας μετὰ Ἐπωπέα ἐξέδωκεν Ἀντιόπην. ἥ δὲ ὥς ἐς Θήβας ἦγετο τὴν ἐπ' Ἐλευθερῶν, ἐνταῦθα καθ' ὁδὸν τίκτει. καὶ ἔπη <ἐπὶ> τούτῳ πεποίηκεν Ἄσιος ὁ Ἀμφιπτολέμου·

Ἀντιόπη δ' ἔτεκε Ζῆθον κάμφιονα δῖον
Ἀσωποῦ κόρυη ποταμοῦ βαθυδινήεντος,
Ζηνί τε κυσαμένη καὶ Ἐωπέϊ ποιμένι λαῶν.

2 ἔπη τούτῳ codd. : ἔπη <ἐπὶ> τούτῳ add. Clavier : ἐπὶ τούτῳ Sylburg : ἔπη <ἐς> τοῦτο Valckenaer ||

3 Ἄσιος : Gédoyn : Ἄγισ β ||

4 ἔτεκε codd. : ἔτεκεν Bach | κάμφιονα vulg. : καὶ Ἀμφίονα codd. : κ' Ἀμφίονα θ' υἱόν Naeke : κ' Ἀμφίονα δῖον Valckenaer : †καὶ Ἀμφίονα δῖον† Davies

So, Lamedon, the son of Koronos, who was the king after Epopeus, gave up Antiope. And when she was taken to Thebes by way of Eleutherai, she gave birth on the road. And Asios, the son of Amphiptolemos composed epic verses on this matter:

Antiope gave birth to Zethos and divine Amphion the daughter of Asopos, the

deep-swirling river, after conceiving to both Zeus and Epopeus, shepherd of peoples.

Fr. 2 Strab. 6.1.15 (II 162.7–13 Radt) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

Ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ τὸν Μετάποντον μυθεύουσι καὶ τὴν Μελανίπην τὴν δεσμῶτιν καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς Βοιωτὸν. δοκεῖ δ' Ἀντίοχος (fr. 12 *EGM*) τὴν πόλιν {Μεταπόντιον} εἰρῆσθαι πρότερον Μέταβον, παρωνομάσθαι δ' ὕστερον, τὴν τε Μελανίπην οὐ πρὸς τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Δῖον κομισθῆναι· ἐλέγχειν <δ'> ἥρωιον τοῦ Μετάβου καὶ Ἄσιον τὸν ποιητὴν φήσαντα ὅτι τὸν Βοιωτὸν

Δίου ἐνὶ μεγάροις τέκεν εὐειδῆς Μελανίπη,

ὥς πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἀχθεῖσαν τὴν Μελανίπην, οὐ πρὸς Μέταβον.

2 Ἀντίοχος L : Ἀντιόχῳ Aly | Μεταπόντιον secl. Jacoby : τὸν Μετάποντον pro τὴν πόλιν Μεταπόντιον Niese ms. ||

3 Μέταβον παρωνομάσθαι A : μεταπαρωνομάσθαι BC ||

4 post κομισθῆναι interpunxit Wilamowitz, qui porro post ἐλέγχειν addidit <δ'>.

In this place they tell the story of Metapontos and of Melanippe the captive and of her son Boiotos. Antiochos thinks that the city of Metapontion was earlier called Metabon, and that its name has been changed later, and that Melanippe was brought not to him (*sc.* Metabos) but to Dios; and that the heroon of Metabos and the poet Asios, who said that to Boiotos

in Dios' house beautiful Melanippe gave birth

offer proof that Melanippe was brought to him (*sc.* Dios), not to Metabos.

Fr. 3 Paus. 9.23.6 (III 43 Rocha-Pereira) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

προελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐν δεξιᾷ πέντε πού καὶ δέκα σταδίους τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνός ἐστι τοῦ Πτώιου τὸ ἱερόν. εἶναι δὲ Ἀθάμαντος καὶ Θεμιστοῦς παῖδα τὸν Πτῶον,⁸¹⁵ ἀφ' οὗ τῶι τε Ἀπόλλωνι ἐπικλησὶς καὶ τῶι ὄρει τὸ ὄνομα ἐγένετο, Ἄσιος ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν εἴρηκε.

As one comes away from the city, there is on the right in a distance of about fifteen stades the sanctuary of Ptoan Apollo. Asios has said in his poetry that Ptoos, after whom Apollo acquired an epithet and the mountain its name, was the son of Athamas and Themisto.

Fr. 4 Paus. 5.17.7–8 (II 44 Rocha-Pereira) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

ἐξῆς δὲ Ἀμφιαράου ἡ οἰκία πεποιήται καὶ Ἀμφίλοχον φέρει νήπιον πρεσβύτες ἦτις δὴ· πρὸ δὲ τῆς οἰκίας Ἐριφύλη τὸν ὄρμον ἔχουσα ἔστηκε, παρὰ δὲ αὐτῇν

αἱ θυγατέρες Εὐρυδίκη καὶ Δημώνασσα, καὶ Ἀλκμαίων παῖς γυμνός. Ἄσιος δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι καὶ Ἀλκμήνην ἐποίησε θυγατέρα Ἀμφιαράου καὶ Ἐριφύλης εἶναι.

3 Ἄσιος Palmerius : Αἴσιος β

And next is made the house of Amphiaraios and some old woman, whoever she is, carries the infant Amphilochos; and in front of the house stands Eriphyle with the necklace, and at her side her daughters Eurydike and Demonassa, and the boy Alkmaon naked. Asios in his poetry made Alkmene too the daughter of Amphiaraios and Eriphyle.

Fr. 5 Paus. 2.29.4 (I 175.3–8 Rocha-Pereira) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

Φώκῳ δὲ Ἄσιος ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας γενέσθαι φησὶ Πανοπέα καὶ Κρίσον· καὶ Πανοπέως μὲν ἐγένετο Ἐπειὸς ὁ τὸν ἵππον τὸν δούρειον, ὥς Ὅμηρος ἐποίησεν, ἐργασάμενος, Κρίσου δὲ ἦν ἀπόγονος τρίτος Πυλάδης, Στροφίου τε ὦν τοῦ Κρίσου καὶ Ἀναξιβίας ἀδελφῆς Ἀγαμέμνωνος.

Asios the verse-author says that Panopeus and Krisos were the sons of Phokos. And from Panopeus was born Epeios who, according to Homer, made the wooden horse, while the grandson of Krisos was Pylades, who was the son of Krisos' son Strophios and of Anaxibia, Agamemnon's sister.

Fr. 6 Paus. 3.13.8 (I 233.5–7 Rocha-Pereira) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

Γεγόνασι δὲ οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες τὰ πρὸς μητρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλευρῶνος· Θέστιον γὰρ τὸν Λήδας πατέρα Ἄσιός φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἀγήνορος παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Πλευρῶνος.

2 Ἄσιος Palmerius : Ἄρειος β | φησιν R Pa Va Vb : φασιν β

Tyndareos' sons trace their origin to Pleuron on their mother's side; for Asios says in his poetry that Thestios, Leda's father, was the son of Agenor the son of Pleuron.

Fr. 7 Paus. 7.4.1 (II 153.20–9 Rocha-Pereira) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

Ἄσιος δὲ ὁ Ἀμφιπτολέμου Σάμιος ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ὥς Φοῖνικι ἐκ Περιμήδης τῆς Οἰνέως γένοιτο Ἀστυπάλαια καὶ Εὐρώπη, Ποσειδῶνος δὲ καὶ Ἀστυπαλαίας εἶναι παῖδα Ἀγκαῖον, βασιλεύειν δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν καλουμένων Λελέγων· Ἀγκαῖω δὲ τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ ποταμοῦ λαβόντι τοῦ Μαιάνδρου Σαμίαν γενέσθαι Περίλαον καὶ Ἐνουδον καὶ Σάμον καὶ Ἀλιθέρσην καὶ θυγατέρα ἐπ' αὐτῷ Παρθενόπην, Παρθενόπης δὲ τῆς Ἀγκαίου καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Λυκομήδην γενέσθαι. Ἄσιος μὲν ἐς τοσοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν

ἐδήλωσε.

Asios of Samos, the son of Amphiptolemos, wrote in his poetry that Astypalaia and Europe were born to Phoinix from Perimede, daughter of Oineus, and that there was a son, Ankaios, from Poseidon and Astypalaia, and that he ruled the so-called Leleges. And that Perilaos and Enoudos and Samos and Alitherses were born to Ankaios after marrying Samia, the daughter of the river Maiandros, and also a daughter Parthenope, and that Lykomedes was born from Ankaios' daughter Parthenope and Apollo. This much Asios declared in his poetry.

Fr. 8 Paus. 8.1.4 (II 222.1–10 Rocha-Pereira) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

Φασὶ δὲ Ἀρκάδες ὥς Πελασγὸς γένοιτο ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ (*sc.* Ἀρκαδία) *πρῶτος ... πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Ἀσίῳ τοιάδε ἐς αὐτόν*

*ἀντίθεον δὲ Πελασγὸν ἐν ὕψικόμοισιν ὄρεσσιν
γαῖα μέλαιν' ἀνέδωκεν, ἵνα θνητῶν γένος εἴη.*

2 Ἀσίῳ V : Ἀσίῳ β

And the Arkadians say that Pelasgos was the first (*sc.* human) born in this earth (*sc.* Arkadia) ... Asios too has written the following (*sc.* verses) about him:

*And godlike Pelasgos in the wooded mountains
the black earth gave forth, so that there could be a race of mortal men.*

Fr. 9 Apollod. Bibl. 3.8.2 (p. 135.14–17 Wagner) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

Εὐμηλος (*Kor.* fr. 33 incert. *carm.* *EGEF*) δὲ καὶ τινες ἕτεροι λέγουσι Λυκάονι καὶ θυγατέρα Καλλιστῶ γενέσθαι <ἄλλοι δ' οὐ φασιν αὐτὴν τοῦτου γενέσθαι> Ἡσίοδος (fr. 163 M–W) μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν μίαν εἶναι τῶν νυμφῶν λέγει, Ἄσιος δὲ Νυκτέως, Φερεκύδης (fr. 157 *EGM*) δὲ Κητέως.

2 verba intra uncus singulos add. West, qui lacunam ante Ἡσίοδος posuit

Eumelos and certain others say that Lykaon also had a daughter, Kallisto, <but others deny that she was born to him>. For Hesiod says that she was one of the nymphs, while Asios [says] that she was Nykteus' daughter, and Pherekydes Keteus'.

Fr. 10 Σ (M^aVy) Hom. Od. 4.797b1 (II 391.61–3 Pontani) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

“εἰδῶλον ποίησε (*sc.* Ἀθήνη), δέμας δ' ἦκτο γυναικί, / Ἰφθίμηι, κούρηι

μεγαλήτορος Ἰκαρίοιο, / τὴν Εὐμηλος ὅπυιε, Φερῆς ἐνὶ οἰκίᾳ ναίων”.

οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο κυρίως ἡ ἀδελφὴ τῆς Πηνελόπης. Ἄσιος δέ φησι

κοῦραί τ’ Ἰκαρίοιο, Μέδη καὶ Πηνελόπεια.

Ἄνδρων δὲ (fr. 12 *EGM*) Ὑψιπύλην λέγει.

3 κυρίως om. γ ||

5 Ἄνδρων corr. Barnes : ἀνδρῶν V : τινές M^a | λέγ(ουσι) M^a

“And she (*sc.* Athene) made an *eidolon*, and in form it resembled a woman, Iphthime, the daughter of great-hearted Ikarios, whom (Iphthime) Eumelos married who has his house in Pherai”;

This was the proper name of Penelope’s sister. And Asios says:

and the daughters of Ikarios, Mede and Penelope.

And Andron calls her Hypsipyle.

Fr. 11 Paus. 2.6.5 (I 121.18–21 Rocha-Pereira) [= *PEG* = *EGF* = *GEF*]

Σικυῶνα δὲ οὐ Μαραθῶνος τοῦ Ἐπωπέως, Μητίονος δὲ εἶναι τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως φασίν (*sc.* οἱ Σικυῶνιοι). ὁμολογεῖ δέ σφισι καὶ Ἄσιος, ἐπεὶ Ἡσίοδος γε (fr. 224 M–W) καὶ Ἴβυκος (fr. 308 *PMGF*), ὁ μὲν ἐποίησεν ὡς Ἐρεχθέως εἴη Σικυῶν, Ἴβυκος δὲ εἶναι Πέλοπόδος φησιν αὐτόν.

[The Sikyonians] say that Sikyon was not the son of Marathon son of Epopeus, but of Metion son of Erechtheus. Asios agrees with them, since Hesiod presented Sikyon as son of Erechtheus, while Ibykos claims that he was son of Pelops.

Fr. 12 Paus. 4.2.1 (I 273.16–20 Rocha-Pereira) [= *PEG* = *EGF* = *GEF*]; see Kin. fr. 5

Fragmentum dubium fortasse ad Asii poematum epicum pertinens sine titulo traditum

Fr. 13 Athen. 12.525e–f (III 159.27–160.13 Kaibel) (in Douris *FGrHist* 76 F60) [= *PEG* = *EGF* = *GEF*]

περὶ δὲ τῆς Σαμίων τρυφῆς Δοῦρις ἱστορῶν (*FGrHist* 76 F60) παρατίθεται Ἀσίου ποιήματα, ὅτι ἐφόρουν χλιδῶνας περὶ τοῖς βραχίουσιν καὶ τὴν ἑορτὴν ἄγοντες τῶν Ἡραίων ἐβάδιζον κατεκτενισμένοι τὰς κόμας ἐπὶ τὸ μετὰφρενον

καὶ τοὺς ὧμους. τὸ δὲ νόμιμον τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ παροιμίας τῆσδε
‘βαδίζειν <εἰς> Ἡραῖον ἐμπελεγμένον.’ ἐστὶ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ἀσίου ἐπη οὕτως
ἔχοντα·

οἱ δ’ αὐτῶς φοίτεσκον, ὅπως πλοκάμους κτενίσαιντο,
εἰς Ἥρης τέμενος, πεπυκασμένοι εἵμασι καλοῖς·
χιονέοισι χιτῶσι πέδον χθονὸς εὐρέος εἶχον·
χρύσειαι δὲ κορύμβαι ἐπ’ αὐτῶν τέττιγες ὥς·
χαῖται δ’ ἠιωρέοντ’ ἀνέμῳ χρυσεῖς ἐνὶ δεσμοῖς,
δαιδάλεοι δὲ χλιδῶνες ἄρ’ ἀμφὶ βραχίουσιν ἦσαν,
< >τες ὑπασπίδιον πολέμιστήν.

4 εἰς add. Meineke post βαδίζειν ||

6 totum versum primum sic refinxit Kaibel: οἱ δ’ ὅτε φοίτεσκον ὀπίσω πλοκάμους
κτενίσαντες | αὐτῶς Bach : vulgo αὐτῶς ||

7 Ἥρης corr. Naeke : Ἥρας codd. || post versum alterum (l. 7) lacunam posuit Dindorf;
versus tertius (l. 8) corruptus videtur ||

8 χιονέοισι codd. : χιονέοις τε van Lennep | πέδον codd. : πέδου Naeke | εὐρέος εἶχον codd. :
εὐρὺ ἔσαιρον Jacobs | εἶχον codd. : ἄχρι Hermann : εἴλκον Blumenthal : ἴκον Weston ||
versum quattuor (l. 9) et quinque (l. 10) transposuit Naeke ||

9 κορύμβαι codd. : κοσύμβαι Wilamowitz ||

10 ἠιωρέοντ’ ἀνέμῳ West : ὠρευτανέμῳ A : ὠρευτανέμῳ PVL : δ’ ἠιωρεῦντ’ ἀνέμῳ
Casaubon : δ’ ἐρρώοντ’ ἀνέμῳ Weston ||

11 δαιδάλεοι δὲ χλιδῶνες codd. : δαιδάλεοι δὲ χλιδῶνας Dindorf : δαιδάλεοι δὲ χλιδῶνες
Michelangeli : δαιδαλέας δὲ χλιδῶνας Ebert | ἄρ’ ἀμφὶ βραχίουσιν ἦσαν A : ἄρ’ ἀμφὶ
βραχίουσιν νήσαντες PVL : ἄρ’ ἀμφὶ βραχίουσιν ἦσαν <...> ἦσαντες Schweighäuser : ἄρ’ ἀμφὶ
βραχίουσιν ἦσαν <...>τες Veneri : ἄρ’ ἀμφὶ βραχίουσ’ ἔσαντες Bernabé ||

12 <τὸν δεῖνα αἰσχύνον>τες Jacoby : <οὐ γὰρ ἀναμνησθέν>τες Schmid : <κοῦφα ποσὶν
προβιβάν>τες Gulick : <ὥς ἴσαν εἰκάζον>τες Bowra : <ἀλλοῖον ποιεῦν>τες Vasmanolis :
<Ἀγκαῖον μετιόν>τες Veneri

With respect to the Samians’ luxury Douris quotes the poetry of Asios recording that they wore bracelets around their arms and that while celebrating the festival of the Heraia they were marching having their hair combed carefully over their back and on their shoulders. To this custom testifies this proverb: “to parade <towards> the Heraion with the hair entwined”. And Asios’ verses are as follows:

*And they would go in this manner, when they had combed their locks of hair,
to the precinct of Hera, clothed in fine garments;
with snowy tunics they covered the floor of the wide earth;
there were golden fastenings on them, in the form of cicadas;
their hair floated in the wind, tied in gold;
and around their arms there were dappled bracelets;
< ... > a shield-protected warrior.*

—

Asios

Commentary

1 Life

What we know about Asios' life amounts to scanty information concerning his origin and family. He came from the island of Samos and his father was Amphiptolemos.⁸¹⁶ Given that the word Ἀμφιπόλεμος, i.e. without the common poetical cluster πτ- for π(τ)όλεμος words, would not scan in dactylic verse (both hexameter and pentameter), Huxley has suggested that it may come from an authentic verse-fragment, which could well be some sort of *sphragis*.⁸¹⁷ Influenced by the expression κατὰ τὸν Σάμιον ποιητὴν Ἄσιον τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον (Athen. 3.125b), some scholars have attempted to push back Asios' *floruit* to the 7th century BC.⁸¹⁸ Michelangeli has even suggested that we should distinguish between two poets under the name of Asios, one being the author of fr. 1–4 *EGEF* and living in the 7th century BC, and another one being the poet of fr. 5–6 *EGEF* and leaving either in the 5th or 4th centuries BC.⁸¹⁹ This line of thought is based both on the false interpretation of Athenaios' τὸν παλαιὸν ἐκεῖνον, which Michelangeli takes as indicative of a distinction between two poets named Asios, and on a rather 'odd' fragment,⁸²⁰ the content, diction, and style of which hardly agree with the rest of Asios' poetry. The scenario of two different poets is very unlikely, for many reasons, the most obvious one being that Athenaios regularly employed the phrase οἱ παλαιοὶ and τὸ παλαιόν simply to refer to a time remote from his own and not to distinguish an earlier author from his more recent namesake,⁸²¹ and that the thematic and dictional differences between fr. 13 *EGEF* and the rest of Asios' fragments may be explained by means of their belonging to different poems. A sixth-century date⁸²² is more probable on the basis of a number of considerations pertaining both to Asios himself, the content of his work (as far as it can be reconstructed from the extant fragments), and the *floruit* of the different poetic genres he cultivated, i.e. genealogical epic, elegiac poetry, and parody.⁸²³

2 Works

Asios wrote genealogical poetry in hexameters, but he also seems to have written elegiacs, of which only a puzzling four-verse fragment survives.⁸²⁴ His genealogical epic treated the mythical history of his native island (fr. 7 and dub. 1 *GEF*) and various parts of mainland Greece, such as Boiotia (fr. 1–4 *EGEF*), Phokis (fr. 5 *EGEF*), Aitolia (fr. 6 *EGEF*), the Peloponnese (fr. 8–10 *EGEF*), and Attica (fr. 11 *EGEF*).⁸²⁵ Doubts remain as to whether Asios

had composed parodic poetry in dactylic hexameter of the sort we are familiar from the *Margites*. This line of thought has been followed by certain nineteenth-century scholars⁸²⁶ on the basis of a single fragment (fr. dub. 13 *EGEF*) imbued with comic features and various Atticisms, but the picture we have of such a possibility is blurred by our lack of other information concerning Asios' poetic activity at large.⁸²⁷ Be that as it may, it is hard to classify this fragment under the same genealogical epic to which the rest of Asios' fragments belong. As the next possible alternative, I will place it under a different rubric (*fragmentum dubium fortasse ad Asii poematium epicum pertinens sine titulo traditum*). There may be some true in Naeke's suggestion that Asios' poetic activity spans three different genres of poetry, i.e. genealogical, elegiac, and parodic epic,⁸²⁸ though I am sceptical about the last one.

Genealogies (?)

Title and Authorship

As is the case with Kinaithon, so the attribution of a poem bearing the title *Genealogies* (*Γενεαλογία* / *Γενεηλογία*) to Asios rests solely on the use of the verb *γενεαλογεῖν* by Pausanias in a single occasion (4.2.1).⁸²⁹ According to this line of thought, since the *Ehoiai* (*Catalogue of Women*) is easily classified as genealogical poetry, so the rest of the list (Kinaithon's epic, the *Carmen Naupactium*, and an epic by Asios) will also belong to genealogical epic. The same argument would also have it that since Pausanias gives the names of only two of the four epics belonging to this group of genealogical poems (the *Ehoiai* and the *Carmen Naupactium*), then the other two must have been named on the basis of the technical term used to describe their content, i.e. the verb *γενεαλογεῖν*. It is unlikely that Pausanias would have access to the actual poems in their entirety but did not know their title.⁸³⁰ The title *Genealogies* is a very common title for various poetic and prose works.⁸³¹ Although it can designate both divine and heroic genealogies, we can safely say that Asios' poem was concerned with the world of heroes.⁸³²

The standard way of designating Asios' work is the use of his name together with either a form of the verb *ποιεῖν* (fr. 1 *EGEF*: καὶ ἔπη ... πεποίηκεν Ἄσιος; fr. 4 *EGEF*: Ἄσιος δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι ... ἐποίησε; fr. 5 *EGEF*: Ἄσιος ὁ τὰ ἔπη ποιήσας; fr. 7 *EGEF*: Ἄσιος ... ἐποίησεν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν; fr. 8 *EGEF*: πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Ἀσίῳ) or with a form of the verb *λέγειν*/φάναι (fr. 2 *EGEF*: Ἄσιον τὸν ποιητὴν φήσαντα; fr. 3 *EGEF*: Ἄσιος ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν εἶρηκε; fr. 6 *EGEF*: Ἀσιός φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν; fr. 9 *EGEF*: [λέγει] ... Ἄσιος; fr. 10 *EGEF*: Ἄσιος δέ φησι) or *ὁμολογεῖν* (fr. 11 *EGEF*: ὁμολογεῖ δὲ σφισι καὶ Ἄσιος) or *γενεαλογεῖν* (fr. 12 *EGEF*: Κιναιθῶν καὶ Ἄσιος ἐγενεαλόγησαν).⁸³³ Pausanias, who is the main source of most of the fragments (9 out of 13) standardly employs Asios' name accompanied by a form of the verb *ποιεῖν*

and together with ἐν ἔπεσιν or ἔπη.

Sources

Of the 13 extant fragments, 9 are cited by Pausanias (fr. 1, 3–8, 11–12 *EGEF*), and 1 by Strabo (fr. 2 *EGEF*), by Apollodoros (fr. 9 *EGEF*), by the Σ to the *Odyssey* (fr. 10 *EGEF*), and by Athenaios (fr. dub. 13 *EGEF*). It is possible that the Periegete is the only author (known to us) having direct knowledge of parts of Asios' poem.⁸³⁴ This can be surmised both by his use of ἐπελεξάμην ('I read': fr. 12 *EGEF* = Paus. 4.2.1) and by the fact that he does not mention an intermediate source from which he is drawing,⁸³⁵ as is the case e.g. with Strabo (6.1.15) drawing on Antiochos (*FGrHist* 555 F12) and Athenaios (12.525e) drawing on Douris (*FGrHist* 76 F 60).⁸³⁶

Plot

The genealogical framework of Asios' epic must have been quite extended for, as the extant fragments indicate, the poem included a wide range of heroes belonging to different mythical cycles.⁸³⁷ The geographical distribution of the surviving evidence may give the impression that the organization of the material combined two principles, a geographical and a genealogical one, the former shaping the larger sections of the epic, the latter being used internally for each given section. The Catalogue of Ships⁸³⁸ (though not genealogical) and the *Catalogue of Women* could be set as examples of this practice. On the other hand, it should be made clear that what appears to be a 'Boiotian' section (fr. 1–4 *EGEF*), a Phokian section (fr. 5 *EGEF*), an 'Aitolian' section (fr. 6–7 *EGEF*), an 'Arkadian' part (fr. 8–9 *EGEF*), a 'Lakedaimonian' section (fr. 10 *EGEF*), and a 'Sikyonian' section (fr. 11 *EGEF*)⁸³⁹ is only the result of a principle used by modern editions to classify the surviving fragments. In this light, the above suggestion should be treated with caution. In the 'Boiotian' section Asios dealt with the story of Antiope and her offspring (fr. 1 *EGEF*), of Melanippe (fr. 2 *EGEF*), the eponymous hero Ptoos (fr. 3 *EGEF*), and the innovative genealogy of Alkmene being presented as the daughter of Amphiaraios and Eriphyle (fr. 4 *EGEF*). In the 'Phokian' section belongs the story of Phokos, the *Urvater* of the Phokians (fr. 5 *EGEF*), while the ensuing 'Aitolian' section dealt with Pleuron's (fr. 6 *EGEF*) and Oineus' offspring (fr. 7 *EGEF*). The 'Arkadian' section comprised material ranging from the *Urvater* of the Arkadians, Pelasgos, (fr. 8 *EGEF*) to the story of Kallisto (fr. 9 *EGEF*), while the subsequent 'Lakedaimonian' part dealt with the daughters of Ikarios (fr. 10 *EGEF*). Asios then continued with Sikyon and the tale of its namesake eponymous hero (fr. 11 *EGEF*).

Style of the Poem

As far as the style of Asios' genealogical epic is concerned, we are in the dark. One thing that is fair to say is that, since his epic seems to have

encompassed heroes from different regions of mainland Greece that belonged to different mythical cycles, it must have been of considerable length. If this assumption is correct, then it is possible that the genealogical material may have been inflated by a few speeches, perhaps in the context of material that was more expanded so as to become a short episode.

On the basis of the three surviving fragments offering verse-quotations (fr. 1–2, 8 *EGEF*), the focus in the presentation of the various genealogies may have been women-centered and matrilinear: the mother is highlighted as the center of the procreative process (fr. 1.1: Ἀντιόπη ἔτεκε; fr. 2: τέκεν Μελανίππη; fr. 8.2: γαῖα ... ἀνέδωκεν). The same principle characterizes the most extant example of genealogical epic that we possess, the [Hesiodic] *Catalogue of Women*.⁸⁴⁰

Date

The most possible dating of Asios' poetry is at some point in the 6th century BC. This conclusion is based on the following considerations:

1. In order to find who were the sons of Polykaon from Messene, Pausanias (4.2.1) says that he read the *Catalogue of Women*, the *Carmen Naupactium*, and the genealogies of Kinaithon and Asios. This piece of information shows not only that all these epics were genealogical but also that Pausanias thought that they belong to the same timeframe. Since the *Catalogue Women* dates to the sixth century, this is an indication, though not a very strong one on its own, that the poetry of Asios belongs to the 6th century.

2. A sixth-century date is also supported by various historical considerations. Huxley has drawn attention to the fact that Asios may be alluding to Samian claims on southern Ionia, that he has an interest in Spartan genealogies, the Theban past, and the city of Sikyon whose *floruit* under the tyrant Kleisthenes in the first half of the sixth century is a strong indication for a sixth-century date. The reference to Panopeus and Krisa may be reflecting tension in the area of Phokis, which also points to an early sixth-century date. His presentation of Alkmene as the daughter of Amphiaraios and Eriphyle markedly diverges from the most widespread version of the myth,⁸⁴¹ but it may have been tuned to Asios' interest in promoting an anti-Argive perspective. This would be the case, if he had referred to Amphiaraios' killing of the Theban hero Melanippos, brought by Kleisthenes to Sikyon to replace the cult of the Argive hero Adrastus when Sikyon was at war with Argos.⁸⁴² His anti-Argive leaning may be also seen by means of his rejecting the Argive legend of the first man (Phoroneus) coming from Argos. Instead, he places Pelasgos' birth on the Arkadian mountains.⁸⁴³ It is tempting to see a deeper motive for this anti-Argive penchant in a pro-Sikyonian proclivity.⁸⁴⁴ If that is the case, then a sixth-century date, probably between 590 and 540 BC, is rather attractive.

Although nothing of the above is certain and we should not forget that what we have is just scanty information about the time and content of Asios' poetry, the considerations presented above, if evaluated cumulatively, make a dating of Asios' *floruit* roughly in the first half of the 6th century BC, a reasonable scenario.⁸⁴⁵

Commentary

Fr. 1

The text given by the manuscript tradition cannot stand. The simple dative is used in such a construction by Pausanias not to designate the mythical episode or scene on the basis of which a poet has composed epic verse (which is what the Periegete says here), but to denote the person or people for whom a poet has composed his poetry.⁸⁴⁶ Clavier's addition of ἐπὶ after ἔπη,⁸⁴⁷ which is accepted by all modern editors of Asios, is the best textual emendation available, since the *usus scriptoris* shows that Pausanias regularly employs the syntax ἐπὶ + dative to designate the mythical scene or episode to which refer the poet's cited lines.⁸⁴⁸ The mistake can be easily explained by positing the regular loss of one of the two 'epi'-sounds (due to iotacistic pronunciation).⁸⁴⁹

Gédoyn's⁸⁵⁰ emendation of the nonsensical Ἄγῑς into Ἄσιος is accepted by all editors. On the other hand, Bach's⁸⁵¹ addition of a movable ν in ἔτεκεν *metri gratia* is unnecessary, since ζ regularly makes position.

The manuscript reading καὶ Ἀμφίονα δῖον was adopted by Hermann, Siebelis, and Bekker.⁸⁵² Valckenaer read κ' Ἀμφίονα⁸⁵³ but his suggestion was not endorsed by Naeke⁸⁵⁴ who also did not approve of the *crasis* κάμφιονα of the vulgate and proposed the emendation Ζῆθόν τ' Ἀμφιονά θ' υἱόν. It is advisable to make the smallest change possible and opt for the *crasis* κάμφιονα of the vulgate, that Bach⁸⁵⁵ considered as a reasonable possibility (though not without certain doubts) on the basis of a sixth-century inscription from Sigeum,⁸⁵⁶ in which such forms as κάγω and κάπιστατον are safely attested. Bach's solution is the most economical, the more so since it is supported by examples such as χῆμεῖς (Hom. *Il.* 2.238), καὐτός (Hom. *Il.* 6.260, 13.734; Hom. *Od.* 3.255), καὐτή (Hom. *Od.* 6.282); κάκ (Hes. *Th.* 447); κοὺ (*HHymn to Demeter* [2] 227); κάγώ (*HHymn to Hermes* [4] 173); κάκ (Theogn. 431).⁸⁵⁷

The context of this fragment must have referred to the tale of Antiope. This story pertained to Boiotian and northern Peloponnesian myth and may have gone back to a population movement along a northern-southern 'corridor', from Thessaly to the Peloponnese. The version offered by Pausanias (2.6.1–2.6.4) may well go back to Asios, whose verses the Periegete adds as confirmation of his account at the end of the narrative section devoted to Epopeus and Antiope. According to this line of thought, Asios may have narrated the Antiope story in the following manner:

Korax was king of Sikyon, in the northern part of the Peloponnese. When he died he left no heir to the throne. Epopeus, who arrived at Sikyon from Thessaly, seized the power and became the new king. During his lifetime Sikyon was attacked for the first time by a foreign army. In Boiotia, there was a woman renowned for her beauty among the Greeks, whose name was Antiope. Although Nykteus called himself her father, there was a rumor that in reality she was the daughter of the river Asopos that flows in the area of Thebes and Plataia. This Antiope came to Sikyon after being abducted or seduced by Epopeus. Their marriage took place in her new city, but things did not turn out well for her and her new husband. First, apart from her husband Epopeus, Zeus also slept with her, the result of the double intercourse being the twins Amphion (whose father was Epopeus) and Zethos (whose father was Zeus).⁸⁵⁸ Meanwhile, Nykteus organized an expedition against Sikyon to fetch his daughter back. He was severely wounded, as was Epopeus. Nykteus was brought back to Thebes, his expedition having failed, and later died. Nykteus, who had acted as a king while Labdakos was not of age, left his brother Lykos in his place and begged him to lead a new expedition against Sikyon, in order to punish Epopeus and take back Antiope. Lykos acted accordingly. Meanwhile, Epopeus, who had not taken proper care of his wound during the first attack against Sikyon by Nykteus, died too. The new king, Lamedon son of Koronos, decided to give up Antiope, instead of risking a wholesale war against Thebes. On her way to Thebes, while passing from Eleutherai, Antiope gave birth to two sons, Zethos son of Zeus, and Amphion son of Epopeus.

Antiope is the daughter of Asopos in Homer,⁸⁵⁹ while in Hesiod⁸⁶⁰ and Apollodoros⁸⁶¹ she is the daughter of Nykteus. In Asios she is the daughter of Asopos,⁸⁶² while Nykteus is the father of Kallisto.⁸⁶³ Antiope had intercourse with both Zeus⁸⁶⁴ and her mortal husband Epopeus,⁸⁶⁵ though in Apollodoros' version Zeus seems to be the only father of the twins Amphion and Zethos.⁸⁶⁶ In Eumelos, Antiope was the Sun's wife and grandmother of Epopeus.⁸⁶⁷ According to Homer⁸⁶⁸ and Hesiod,⁸⁶⁹ she had two sons (Amphion and Zethos), whereas her offspring from the Sun were in Eumelos' version Aloeus and Aietes.⁸⁷⁰

Asios' version must have presented Epopeus in a rather positive manner, if his pro-Sikyonian perspective was to be highlighted. The abduction or seduction of Antiope from Boiotia should not be interpreted in a negative way, since Asios may not have presented her as Nykteus' but as Asopos' daughter. Since the Greeks believed that rivers run underground and show up in different places, Asios may well have taken advantage of the existence of another Asopos in northern Peloponnese,⁸⁷¹ so as to present Antiope being 'trapped' by Nykteus in Boiotia. We are in no position to ascertain if Asios continued with the building of the walls of Thebes by Amphion and Zethos, but it is possible that he had done so. Since frs. 2–4 *EGEF* concern the mythical history of Boiotia and Thebes, it seems that Asios devoted a

considerable part of his work to this region. Seen from this vantage point, it is likely that he had referred to the building of the Theban walls, which he may have used as a transition point for passing to the rest of Theban mythical history.

Diction and Meter

1. See Hom. *Od.* 11.262: καί ῥ' ἔτεκεν δύο παῖδ', Ἀμφιόνά τε Ζῆθόν τε.

2. The syntagma ποταμοῦ βαθυδινήεντος is also attested in Hom. *Il.* 21.603 (πὰρ ποταμὸν βαθυδινήεντα Σκάμανδρον); *HHymn to Dionysus* (1) 3 (ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ ποταμῷ βαθυδινήεντι); see also Hom. *Il.* 21.15 (Ξάνθου βαθυδινήεντος). The variant epithet βαθυδίνης (regularly employed for rivers) is attested 6 times in Homer (*Il.* 20.73, 21.143, 21.212, 21.228, 21.329; *Od.* 10.511), 3 times in Hesiod (*Th.* 133, 338; *Op.* 171), and once more in the *HHymn to Hermes* (4) 139; see also Pan. fr. 24.3 *GEF* (Σίβρῳ ἔπ' ἀργυρέῳ, ποταμῷ πάρα δινήεντι).

3. For κυσαμένη in the same metrical position, see Hes. *Th.* 125 (οὓς τέκε κυσαμένη); see also Hes. *Th.* 405 (κυσαμένη δῆπειτα θεὰ θεοῦ ἐν φιλότῃ) and *HHymn to Dionysus* (1) 4 (κυσαμένην Σεμέλῃν τεκέειν Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ); cf. *Cypr.* fr. 30 *GEF* (τῷ δ' ὑποκυσαμένη τέκε Γοργόνας, αἰνὰ πέλωρα).

On the formula ποιμὴν λαῶν in the dative singular at verse-terminal position, see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.85, 2.105, 2.254; Hom. *Od.* 14.497, 15.151; Hes. *Th.* 1000.

Lines 2–3 are to some extent reminiscent of *HHymn to Dionysus* (1) 3–4: οἱ δέ σ' ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ ποταμῷ βαθυδινήεντι / κυσαμένην Σεμέλῃν τεκέειν Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ.

Fr. 2

Fowler⁸⁷² and Radt⁸⁷³ are probably right to follow Jacoby who omitted Μεταπόντιον after πόλιν, since the manuscript reading τὴν πόλιν Μεταπόντιον seems to be the result of interpolation by some scribe who may have added Μεταπόντιον above the line or in the margin to explain for the readers what city was meant. At some later stage, the exegetical note was incorporated in the main text.

Niese's⁸⁷⁴ emendation τὸν Μετάποντον instead of the manuscript reading τὴν πόλιν Μεταπόντιον aims to make this expression agree with οὐ πρὸς τοῦτον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς Δῖον, which refers to people, not cities. But Niese's proposal is unlikely to be correct because of the improbability that a person's name would have been distorted. Moreover, since Strabo had written immediately above τὸν Μετάποντον μυθεύουσι, he would have employed a pronoun (e.g. ἐκεῖνον not to be confused with τὸν Βοιωτόν) and not τὸν Μετάποντον for a second time. It is better to assume that while reworking his

text Strabo had forgotten to link the name of Metapontos to the city.⁸⁷⁵

Wilamowitz's interpunction after κομισθῆναι and insertion of <δ'> after ἐλέγχειν makes perfect sense, since it is clear that by a new clause Strabo is asserting the two claims made by Antiochos of Syracuse, i.e. both that the city was first called Metabon and then Metapontion, and that Melanippe was brought not to Metapontos but to Dios.⁸⁷⁶

Strabo says that he knows of a local (ἐνταῦθα) tradition circulating in the area of Metapontion, according to which Melanippe the captive and her son Boiotos found refuge there.⁸⁷⁷ He then goes on to refute this epichoric tradition on the basis of information derived from the mythographer Antiochos, who argues that it was not in the city of Metapontion in Italy (its earlier name being Metabon after the local hero with the same name) where Melanippe went but to Dios' house in Boiotia. As proof for this claim, Antiochos used the heroon of Metabos in Boiotia and the epic poet Asios saying that 'Melanippe gave birth to Boiotos in the halls of Dios' in Boiotia.⁸⁷⁸

Dios⁸⁷⁹ is only mentioned by Asios as the man in whose house Melanippe gave birth to Boiotos.⁸⁸⁰ We are not told that he was the father of Boiotos. Korinna, who probably reflects some local Boiotian tradition, had Poseidon as his father.⁸⁸¹ In Euripides' play *Melanippe Desmotis* he is named Metapontos⁸⁸² and is king of Metapontion in southern Italy, where Melanippe is brought after being impregnated by Poseidon. It is there that she gives birth to Aiolos and Boiotos, who are raised as Metapontos' children, since the king and his queen (Siris⁸⁸³ or Theano⁸⁸⁴) are childless. It is difficult to decide to what extent Asios followed this story, in which the sons of Melanippe support her mother and kill either the queen herself or her brothers who see the sons of Melanippe as a threat to the throne. Other principal sources of this story, Diodoros⁸⁸⁵ and Hyginus,⁸⁸⁶ differ in a number of smaller points. What is perhaps relevant as far as the contextualization of Asios' fragment is concerned is that both the Antiope and the Melanippe myths that were definitely narrated in Asios' epic share a number of common features:⁸⁸⁷ a mortal woman sleeps with a god, is pregnant, leaves her home and goes to a foreign palace, gives birth to two sons,⁸⁸⁸ faces further problems, and is saved by her sons. Seen from this vantage point, it is not unthinkable that Asios had exploited this mythical framework in the part of his work devoted to Boiotia.

Diction and Meter

1. On ἐνὶ μεγάροις τέκε, see [Hes.] *Cat.* 190.3 M–W (ἐν μεγάροις κούρας τέκε); on ἐνὶ μεγάροις in the same metrical position, see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.137 (εἶατ' ἐνὶ μεγάροις), 18.435 (κεῖται ἐνὶ μεγάροις) etc., and for more Hesiodic examples, Hirschberger (2004) 355 on [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 190.4 M–W (= 89.4 Hirschberger).

εὐειδὴς Μελανίππῃ at verse-terminal position is paralleled by P. Lit. Lond. 6 xxii 43 ⁸⁸⁹ (Ὀτρή[ρ]η<ς> θυγάτηρ εὐειδὴς Πενθεσέλ<ε>ια), which has by

Fr. 3

The story of Athamas, one of Aiolos' sons, is closely associated with his three wives and the offspring he had from these marriages: Phrixos and Helle from Nephele, Learchos and Melikertes from Ino, Leukon, Erythrios, Schoineus, and Ptoos from Themisto. The shared pattern characterizing Athamas' troubles is the hatred of one concubine against his children from another wife, Ino acting against Phrixos and Helle (Nephele's children), Themisto against Learchos and Melikertes (Ino's children), Ino against Leukon, Erythrios, Schoineus, and Ptoos (Themisto's offspring). If to this picture we add Athamas' killing of his son Learchos because of Hera's hatred (in another version), we can see that the entire Athamas myth is based on women-oriented hatred resulting in children's death.⁸⁹¹

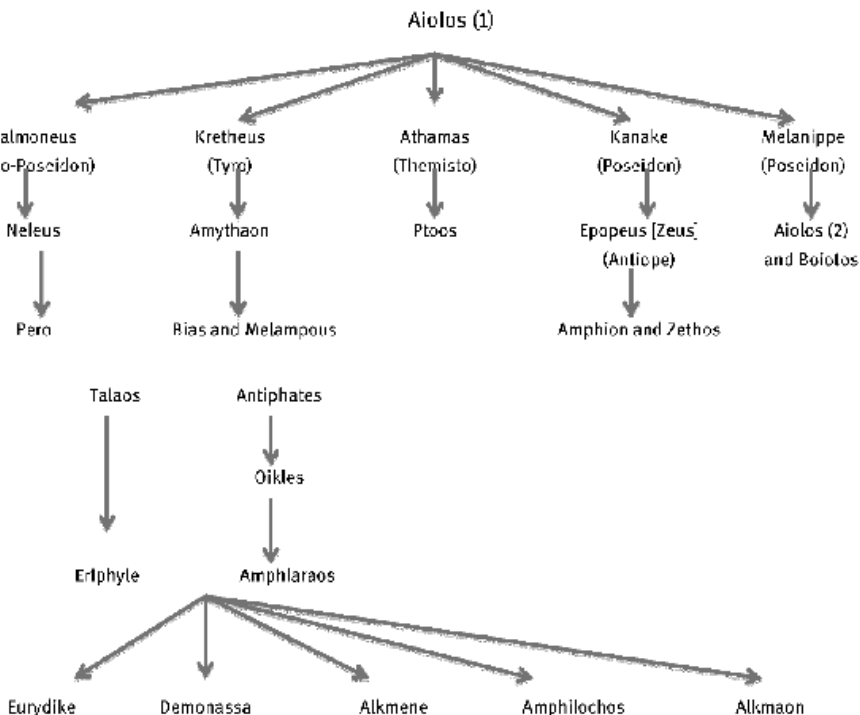
What we learn from Pausanias is that in Asios' version, Ptoos was the son of Athamas and Themisto. Pausanias' statement that the epithet 'Ptoios' (who had a sanctuary under this name in Boiotia) was given to the god Apollo after the hero Ptoos, son of Athamas and Themisto, is perplexing. This must have been local saga linking the hero Ptoos with the god Apollo, often in search of a *Wohnplatz*,⁸⁹² as in Pind. fr. 51 S–M (a hymn to Apollo Ptoios).⁸⁹³ But since Athamas left Boiotia after having killed (out of Hera-caused madness) his son Learchos from Ino (who leapt to the sea together with her other son Melikertes in a vain attempt to save his life), then Ptoos must have been born in Thessaly (Athamas migrated to Thessaly, where he founded the Ἀθαμαντία χώρα). If this hold true, then it was in Thessaly that he was married to Themisto, having four children with her, among whom was Ptoos. To support such an interpretation, we need to postulate a return of Ptoos to Boiotia,⁸⁹⁴ of which we know nothing. On the contrary, there is a version reported by Herodoros of Herakleia⁸⁹⁵ that Athamas had married Themisto, from whom he had the same four children mentioned by Apollodoros (Leukon, Erythrios, Schoineus, and Ptoos) with the addition of Phrixos and Helle, the last two being 'transferred' to Themisto, since Nephele had been completely eliminated in this version. The fact that four of these children (those mentioned by Apollodoros) 'are Boiotian eponyms, this arrangement makes more sense than marrying Themisto after his [*sc.* Athamas'] migration to the far north-west'.⁸⁹⁶ The place of the 'nesting' of such a version may have been epic poetry like that of Asios, the more so if the Samian poet was reflecting a local Boiotian tradition concerning the sanctuary of Apollo Ptoos. The close connection between Athamas and Boiotia, especially Orchomenos, is telling in this respect. Although I remain sceptical about the possibility that Asios had visited Boiotia,⁸⁹⁷ I think that he is clearly presenting local knowledge, according to which the eponymous hero Ptoos must have been born on Boiotian soil. This line of interpretation points to the direction of a marriage between Athamas and Themisto *in Boiotia*.

Fr. 4

As in the previous passage, special attention must be paid to what exactly Pausanias implies that Asios included in his epic apart from the information that Alkmene was daughter of Amphiaraios and Eriphyle (which is expressed in a direct and straightforward manner). First, as indicated by the use of καὶ (Ἀλκμήνην), it is very likely that Amphiaraios and Eriphyle had at least one other child. Although in Pausanias' description of the Chest of Kypselos Amphiaraios and Eriphyle are presented as having two daughters (Eurydike and Demonassa),⁸⁹⁸ we should not draw the conclusion that this is also what happened in Asios.

By presenting Alkmene as the daughter of Amphiaraios and Eriphyle, Asios is introducing a remarkable diversion from her 'standard' genealogy.⁸⁹⁹ In the [Hesiodic] *Catalogue of Women* she was the daughter of Lysidike and Elektryon,⁹⁰⁰ who was also mentioned as her father in the [Hesiodic] *Aspis*.⁹⁰¹ Lysidike was one of the three daughters of Pelops (Astydameia, Nikippe, Lysidike) who married three of Perseus' sons, i.e. Alkaios, Sthenelos, and Elektryon respectively.⁹⁰² This means that in the [Hesiodic] tradition Alkmene was descended directly from the intermarriages between Perseus' sons and Pelops' daughters.⁹⁰³

Asios' decision to create this radical change in her genealogy should be interpreted in the context of his aim to 'transfer' her from the Pelopid to the Aiolian stemma.⁹⁰⁴ In fact, as I aim to show, the drastic transformation of her origins is not isolated in Asios' epic but belongs to what seems to have been a rather general plan to promote the Aiolian stemma in the extant 'Boiotian' tales of his work. The following table displays this phenomenon schematically:



As is obvious from this stemma, all the main figures of fragments 1–4 (Antiope / Amphion and Zethos, Melanippe / Boiotos, Athamas-Themisto / Ptoos, Amphiarao-Eriphyle / Alkmaon) belong to the stemma of Aiolos’ descendants. This cannot have been a matter of pure chance. Asios must have focused his attention on the Aiolid, given that he aimed at promoting or highlighting a link between Boiotian and Thessalian genealogy. It is a reasonable inference that in doing so Asios was reflecting local Boiotian traditions, which (a) aimed at making Boiotos, the figurehead of all Boiotia, stem from Hellen via Aiolos, something that considerably reinforced the Boiotians’ claims to their Greekness; (b) made Herakles, the son of Zeus and Alkmene, ultimately stem from Hellen; (c) make the Boiotians stand on the same level of authority and prestige with the Dorians and Ionians (only having their eponymous hero come one generation later); and (d) reflect a tradition of migration from Thessaly to the south.⁹⁰⁵ A second conclusion that can be drawn from Alkmene’s tale in Asios is that he must have followed some of Aiolos’ family tree down to many descendants, for Alkmene is separated from Aiolos by eight generations. Perhaps, this was also done by Asios with respect to other descendants of Aiolos. If so, the aforementioned hypothesis about the stress put to the Aiolian stemma would be further reinforced.

There is one more important gain from this analysis of Asios’ ‘Boiotian’ section of his genealogies. Like Antiope and Melanippe, who were treated in fragments 1–2, Alkmene too had two sons, one from Zeus (Herakles) and one from Amphitryon (Iphikles). Is this a hint that, as was the case with several

Ehoiai, certain tales in Asios' epic were developed around female figures who produced double offspring by sleeping both with a god and a mortal? One can hardly reply with certainty, but on balance it is fair to claim that there is such a case in the 'Boiotian' section of Asios' poem.

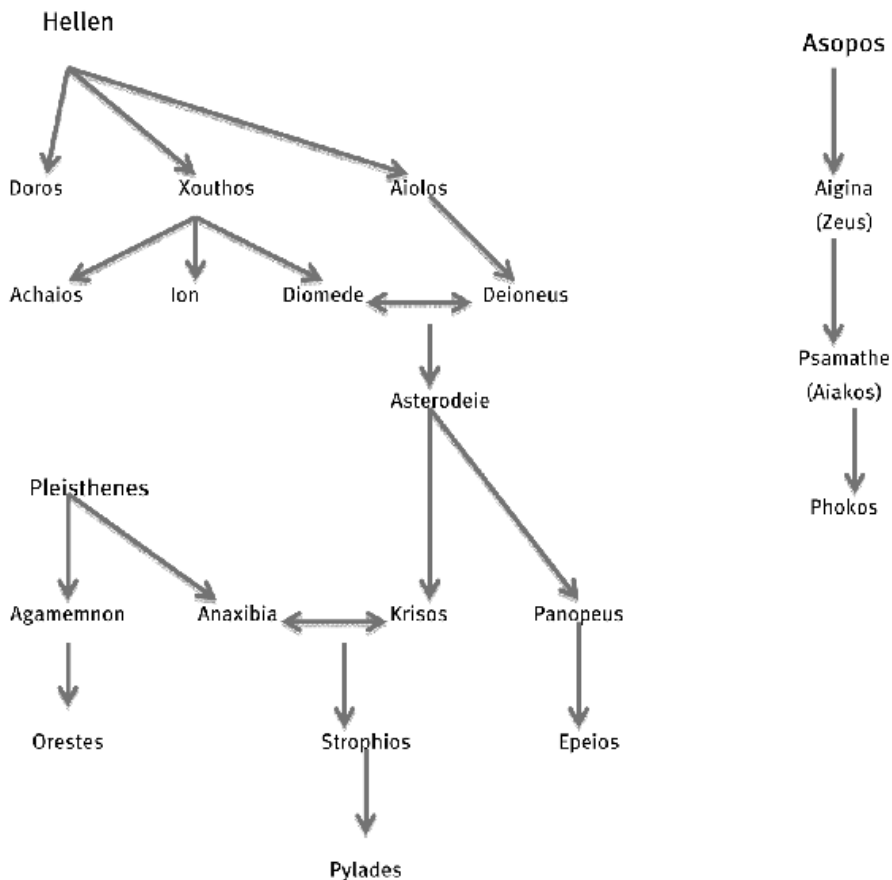
Fr. 5

With this fragment we move from Boiotia to Phokis, which took its name from the eponymous hero Phokos. Panopeus⁹⁰⁶ and Krisos, his two sons, were also eponymous heroes of local Phokian cities. The fact that this genealogy is also attested in the [Hesiodic] *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 58.8–13 M–W),⁹⁰⁷ in which it is explicitly said that Phokos was married to Asterodeia, daughter of Deioneus, and had two sons, Panopeus and Krisos who started fighting even before they were born (in their mother's belly),⁹⁰⁸ is telling for the historical context within which Asios' poetry must be placed. This must be the first half of the sixth century BC, since the relations between Panopeus and Krisa were tense since the time of the First Sacred War (595–585 BC).⁹⁰⁹ Such a scenario is further strengthened by the fact that the standard dating of the *Catalogue of Women* is around the middle of the sixth century BC.

Since Asios' poetry dealt with heroes like Panopeus and Krisos who pertain to the region of Phokis, we need to dwell for a while on Phokian matters seen under the lens of Phokos and Phokian identity. As McInerney has argued,⁹¹⁰ it is possible that there was a local hero Phokos in the Parnassos region in central Greece, and that both the Aiginitan Phokos and his Corinthian *Doppelgänger* are secondary developments, when this Ur-Phokos was brought to the south, in particular to Aigina and Corinth. The first Phokos, eponymous hero of Phokis, was the great-grandson of Aiolos, having as his father Ornytion and as his grandfather Sisypheos. Pausanias supplies us with a rather detailed analysis of the migration of this first Phokos from Corinth to Phokis, in particular to the area around Tithorea and Delphi.⁹¹¹ The transformation of a purely local hero Phokos into a regional one can be seen in both myth and ritual from the neighboring region of Boiotia: Phokos was known to have cured and married Antiope, who wandered in madness after giving birth to Amphion and Zethos (Epopeus having died). As for the ritual, there was an annual festival during the time of planting in the spring, when Tithoreans would steal soil from the grave of Amphion and Zethos, who were not Phokos' children and so considered foreigners, and dedicate it to the grave of Phokos and Antiope.⁹¹² This fertility ritual, recorded by Pausanias,⁹¹³ reflected tensions between Tithorea and Thebes, more or less as the story of Agamemnon's spear and cache of gold pertained to another rivalry between Panopeus in Phokis and Chaironeia in Boiotia.⁹¹⁴ We do not need to go further.⁹¹⁵ It is clear that '[t]he first Phokos [...] personified the alliance of the communities of northeastern Phokis, around Tithorea and Hyampolis. It was understood in antiquity that the term *Phokis* was applied to the rest of the Parnassos as the result of the coming of a second Phokos'.⁹¹⁶

This second Phokos, again eponymous hero of Phokis, was killed in Aigina when challenged to the pentathlon by his half-brothers Peleus and Telamon.⁹¹⁷ His descendants migrated to the region around Parnassos and inhabited the land that had already been called Phokis. Their advent resulted in an extension of the region's borders.⁹¹⁸ This second, Pan-Phokian Phokos added to the fictitious 'autochthony' of the first Phokos what is known as 'terrestrial exteriority', which designates territorial expansion grown on the basis of claims of autochthony.⁹¹⁹ What is important for the reconstruction of the genealogy of Phokos is that Peleus and Telamon were the sons of Aiakos and Endeis, whereas Phokos was the son of Aiakos and Psamathe, grandson of Aigina and Zeus, and great-grandson of Asopos.⁹²⁰ That this second Phokos was originally a hero of southern Thessaly and that the Aiginitan mythical nexus shaped around him is a secondary development is a hypothesis supported, among other things, by the fact that it offers a reasonable explanation for the paradox of geographical distance and cultural closeness between Phokis and Aigina.⁹²¹

The above analysis of Phokos' mythological origins shows that Phokian identity went back to central Greece and southern Thessaly and that once more an Aiolian background played a crucial role in the shaping of their past and understanding of their present.



What can we gain, then, as far as Asios' epic is concerned?

First, that the genealogical material included in this section of the epic may have been linked to the preceding 'Boiotian' section. Phokis and Boiotia were neighboring regions, and as such their cultural affinities were strong. Second, it is possible that Asios drew material from local Phokian sources that reflected Phokian interests and aimed, like the Boiotians, at 'placing themselves within the Hellenic family tree'.⁹²² Third, given that Asios presented Epeios as son of Panopeus and Pylades as 'son of Krisos' son Strophios and of Anaxibia, Agamemnon's sister',⁹²³ it is possible that he promulgated local Phokian claims to heroic ancestry that aimed at promoting the region's prestige by means of its participation in the Trojan War,⁹²⁴ the sack of Troy (Epeios), as well as associations to the royal house of Mykenai (through Strophios' marriage to Anaxibia, Agamemnon's sister).

Fr. 6

The emendation of Ἄρειος to Ἄσιος is highly commendable on the basis of the standard expression ἐν τοῖς ἑπείν employed by Pausanias⁹²⁵ when he refers to the work of this Samian poet.⁹²⁶ For this reason we should reject

Siebelis' suggestion that behind the form Ἀπειός of the manuscript tradition may lie Ἀπεύς (ὁ Λάκων),⁹²⁷ on the grounds both that the poet's origin would explain his interest in Lakonian genealogy and that the story narrated in Antoninus Liberalis referred to a certain Kyknos who lived in the area between Pleuron and Kalydon.

The genealogy offered by Asios in this fragment is markedly different from that of Eumelos in his *Korinthiaka*,⁹²⁸ in which Thestios is the legitimate husband of Panteidyia, whose offspring from Glaukos (son of Sisypheos) was Leda.⁹²⁹ In this way, Eumelos stressed the Corinthian line of Leda, since her true father was Glaukos, son of Sisypheos. In contrast to this family tree, Asios made Thestios (Leda's true father) descend from Agenor, the son of Pleuron. This family tree would ultimately go back to another of Aiolos' offspring, Kalyke, whose son Endymion (by Aethlios) was the great-great-grandfather of Leda (Kalyke > Endymion > Aitolos > Pleuron > Agenor > Thestios > Leda). Seen from this vantage point, Leda's genealogy in the *Catalogue of Women* was very similar to that of Asios, though Thestios was not the son (as in Asios) but the grandson of Agenor (Ares and Demodike being his parents).⁹³⁰

It, therefore, becomes clear that Asios opted for an Aitolian origin of Leda, as she was presented as daughter of Thestios, who was king at Aitolian Pleuron.⁹³¹ Leda is actually called 'Aitolian' by Apollonios Rhodios (1.146), and the scholiast to this verse tries to explain the use of the epithet by recourse to Eumelos (fr. 26 *EGEF*), Hellenikos (fr. 119 *EGM*), and Pherekydes (fr. 9 *EGM*).⁹³² By making Thestios son of Agenor, Asios brought Leda even closer to the Aitolian family tree, and through that to Aiolos, since Aitolos was his great-grandson.⁹³³

Three conclusions can be advanced: first Asios' emphasis on the ultimate 'Aiolian' origin of his genealogies seems to have been a constant in his work. All the fragments studied so far trace their beginning to Hellen's son Aiolos. It seems that Asios had a tendency to bring more families into that descended from Hellen, consolidating the idea of common belonging to the Hellenes. Second, since Leda is separated by four generations from Pleuron, then it must have been the case that Asios followed his genealogies to a considerable extent. We do not know if he went further down than Leda. But the mention of Pylades in the previous fragment shows that Asios may have continued until he reached the great heroes of the Trojan War saga. This would have given to his genealogies more prestige and authority. Third, this fragment perhaps belongs to what we may call an 'Aitolian' section of Asios' genealogical work. The Samian epic poet seems to be moving westwards, from Boiotia to Phokis, and then to Aitolia. It would have been very helpful, if we were in a position to map the way all the genealogies were presented within the epic's structure. But again, the sections I have been postulating are only based on the order the fragments are presented in all the standard editions. There is no solid evidence indicating that this fragment order represents the poem's true

Fr. 7

This is the only time Pausanias uses Asios' name in both the beginning and end of the passage to frame a citation. In his effort to denote the exact extent of the information drawn from Asios he also employs the phrase ἐς τοσούτο ('this much'), which tells his readers not only that his citation is over but that Asios did not deal with the aforementioned information in any other part of his work.

As far as the placement of this fragment is concerned, Asios may have moved after Aitolia southwards, passing to the Peloponnese. In fact, his choice to make Perimede wife of Phoinix (instead of Kassiepeia and Alpheisiboia as in the *Catalogue of Women*)⁹³⁴ must be interpreted in the light of her being fathered by Oineus, who is of course a typical Aitolian hero. This genealogical shift, which would have facilitated Asios' crossing-over from the 'Aitolian' section to the 'Peloponnesian', must be seen together with the change of Perimede's role. In the *Catalogue of Women* she was one of Aiolos' daughters with Oineus being her great-grandson (Perimede > Hippodamas > Euryte > Oineus).⁹³⁵ By making Perimede Oineus' daughter and wife of Phoinix Asios deepens further the Aitolian stemma, since Phoinix, as the son of Agenor, son of Pleuron, son of Aitolos, must have been Thestios' brother.⁹³⁶ Perhaps we can move one step further. Since in the *Catalogue of Women* the Agenor who was Phoinix's father was not the Aitolian son of Pleuron but a different one, brother of Belos and son of Libye and Poseidon, Asios may have run the two 'Agenors' together. The reason for such a choice would have been to 'embed' the Inachid line (Agenor being an Inachid) to the Aitolian stemma. After all, Europa featured in both the *Catalogue of Women* and in Asios as the granddaughter of one Agenor, the Inachid and the Aitolian respectively. Of Europa and Astypalaia, the two daughters of Phoinix and Perimede, Asios must have been interested in Astypalaia, since it was to her line that he would trace the origin of Samos, the eponymous hero of his native island, Samos. We know on the basis of a Σ Ap. Rh. 2.865–72b (p. 192.24–7 Wendel) that Ankaïos, the son of Poseidon and Astypalaia, was considered a Samian and that he became the captain of the Argo after the death of Tiphys.⁹³⁷ Asios made Ankaïos marry Samia, the daughter of the river Maiandros, and rule the Samian Leleges. Among their offspring was Samos, the eponymous hero of the author's fatherland. It is not unthinkable that Asios dealt to some extent with Ankaïos, referring to his birth by the banks of the river Parthenios that Apollonios Rhodios calls Imbrasos.⁹³⁸ As far as names are concerned, the name of Parthenope (one of Ankaïos' offspring) may be associated with the the name Παρθενία given to Samos⁹³⁹ and the name Παρθένιος given to one of its rivers.⁹⁴⁰ Moreover, it is possible that such names as Παρθενία, Παρθένιος, and Παρθενόπη indicate an Arkadian origin,⁹⁴¹ since there is a Παρθένιον ὄρος in Arkadia between Tegea and

Argolis. True, there were two different ‘Ankaioi’, the son of Lykourgos and Eurynome or Kleophile or Antinoe in Arkadian Tegea and the son of Poseidon and Astypalaia, husband of Maiandros’ daughter Samia and father of Samos, the eponymous hero of Samos, but the two ‘Ankaioi’ are often confused, basically because both of them are reported to have participated in the Argonautic expedition,⁹⁴² though the Samian Ankaios is a wiser version of his Arkadian namesake.⁹⁴³ There may even be a deeper reason for this confusion or for the transfer of Arkadian names to Samos. After all there was in Arkadia (and Achaia) a certain Phalanthos, a local figure representing Poseidon.⁹⁴⁴ In this light, Asios’ presentation of the Samian Ankaios as son of Poseidon may well go back to an infusion of Arkadian lore to Samos in an attempt to shape Samian ‘ethnical’ identity. It has been suggested that Arkadian Ankaios was brought to Samos not by Arkadians but by Epidaurians, who also brought with them a pristine form of the boar-saga before being ‘subjugated to Meleager’s tale’.⁹⁴⁵

Fr. 8

Asios referred to Pelasgos as the first man, placing his birth from the earth on the mountains of Arkadia.⁹⁴⁶ This version is in sharp contrast to that of the *Phoronis*, in which the Argive Phoroneus was presented as the first human on the face of the earth.⁹⁴⁷ This shift of emphasis from Argos to Arkadia fits well a fragment belonging to the ‘Arkadian’ section of Asios’ work, but should not be treated as Asios’ invention. The Samian poet is reporting a long-standing tradition which presented Pelasgos not only as autochthonous⁹⁴⁸ and the first man but also as a *πρῶτος εὐρετής*.⁹⁴⁹ In fact, after citing this fragment Pausanias tells that Pelasgos invented huts so that men do not shiver from cold, soak from the rain and suffer from the heat.⁹⁵⁰ He also fabricated chitons from the sheep-skins (still in use in Euboia and Phokis by poor folks at Pausanias’ time), and put an end to people’s eating of roots, green leaves and grasses that were poisonous by introducing acorn, ‘the oak’s fruit’ (*τὸν καρπὸν τῶν δρυῶν οὐτὶ που πασῶν, ἀλλὰ τὰς βαλάνους τῆς φηγῶς*), as the basic form of nutrition.⁹⁵¹ Since his son Lykaon also introduced various inventions we are clearly dealing here with a local Arkadian tradition with respect to the first beginnings of humankind featuring an Arkadian ‘first inventor’.⁹⁵²

Diction and Meter

Of a total of 10 attestations of *ὕψικομος* in archaic Greek epic, this is one of the two cases (*poemation εἰς Ξένους* l. 3: *ναίετε, Σαϊδῆνης πόδα νείατον ὕψικόμοιο*)⁹⁵³ that *ὕψικομος* refers to a mountain and not to the noun *δρῦς* (‘oak’): see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 14.398, 23.118; Hom. *Od.* 9.186, 12.357, 14.328, 19.297; Hes. *Op.* 509; [Hes.] *Asp.* 376. Since Pelasgos is credited with the introduction of a new kind of nutrition for men, i.e. acorns (the fruit of oak), it is possible that Asios has kept the epithet *ὕψικομος* (standardly employed for

oaks in Homer and Hesiod) but applied it to mountains (ἐν ὄψικόμοισιν ὄρεσσιν) as an ‘introduction’ to the theme of food-invention with which he may have dealt later. It is not unlikely that he had employed the same epithet for oak trees too. The use of this epithet may have been also relevant to the fact that Pelasgos grew from the earth ‘like a tree’.⁹⁵⁴

Apart from Asios fr. 8 *EGEF*, ἀναδιδόναι is attested only one more time in archaic Greek epic (*HHymn to Hermes* [4] 111: Ἑρμῆς τοι πρότιστα πυρήϊα πῦρ τ’ ἀνέδωκε); see Vergados (2013) 322.

Fr. 9

According to Apollodoros, Asios is the only author credited with a version in which Kallisto was the daughter of Nykteus. This Nykteus is neither the son of Hyrieus⁹⁵⁵ nor the son of Chthonios,⁹⁵⁶ but another name for Nyktimos, son of Lykaon and grandson of Pelasgos. Nyktimos/Nykteus was the only one among Lykaon’s sons who was spared by Zeus, when he decided to punish them for their arrogance and impiety.⁹⁵⁷ Since Asios had devoted an entire section to Arkadian genealogies and had referred to Pelasgos as the autochthonous progenitor of the Arkadian *ethnos*, it is likely that he would also have narrated Lykaon’s story that is the bridge between Pelasgos and Nykteus-Kallisto. The story of Lykaon and his sons was told in the *Catalogue of Women*,⁹⁵⁸ on which both Pherekydes⁹⁵⁹ and Apollodoros⁹⁶⁰ depend. What form would the story of Lykaon have taken?⁹⁶¹ This difficult question cannot be answered with certainty, if answered at all, but we can only avail ourselves with some general remarks. Since Lykaon is not Kallisto’s father, his sacrificing either Arkas⁹⁶² or Nyktimos⁹⁶³ could have hardly made any sense, for in both of these cases the crime is connected to his revenge on Zeus for having seduced his daughter Kallisto.⁹⁶⁴ If this assumption is correct, we are left with the form of the tale as presented in the *Bibliothèque*⁹⁶⁵ and in a Σ in Lykophron.⁹⁶⁶ According to this version, it was Zeus who visited Lykaon and his sons in the guise of a poor man, in order to test whether they were arrogant and impious. Lykaon and his sons slaughtered a local child and offered him to Zeus to eat. The god understood what they had done, overthrew the table (hence this place is called Τραπεζοῦς ‘Table-Place’) and thunderbolted Lykaon and all his sons apart from the youngest one, whose name was Nyktimos. In the Σ to Lyk. *Alex.* 481 (II 174.2 Scheer), the explanation offered for Zeus’ sparing of Nyktimos seems to be his young age,⁹⁶⁷ whereas in Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 3.8.1–2) is the intervention of Gaia.⁹⁶⁸ The latter version may well have come from Asios. This leaves us with the need to explain how Kallisto’s human father Nyktimos/Nykteus was ‘removed’ from the story, since we do not hear about him in those versions in which he was the only one of Lykaon’s children that was spared from Zeus’ anger. Given that we have to exclude the possibility of Nyktimos being slaughtered and served as dinner (as explained above), we can only think of his death by some other reason, e.g. the Flood. Although such a scenario is left open by Σ Lyk.

Alex. 481 (II 174.2–4 Scheer), there remain serious difficulties, since we have to assume that he died in the Flood whereas his daughter Kallisto survived. To this difficulty, we need to add the fact that the Lykaon tale and Flood are two completely separate myths, which at some point, probably in the vast stretch of time separating Hesiod and Apollodoros, were combined with the Flood ‘imposed on the older tradition’.⁹⁶⁹ Did this combination of the two stories happen as early as Asios? Given the paucity of the available information no clear answer can be given.

The reason for Asios’ departure from the most common genealogy,⁹⁷⁰ which made Kallisto Lykaon’s daughter, must have been Asios’ aim to present a ‘positive’ version of early Arkadian history, in which Kallisto, the mother of Arkas, i.e. the eponymous hero after whom the Arkadian race would be named, would be separated from Lykaon who was a well known ‘murderer, cannibal, [and] werewolf [...] not a good start for the nation’.⁹⁷¹ There is also a hint in the version related in the *Bibliothēke* with respect to the salvation of Nyktimos/Nykteus that would only make sense if this son would be important for the continuation of the genealogy and the foundation of the Arkadian *ethnos*. Apollodoros specifically says that Nyktimos/Nykteus was saved by the intervention of Gaia who touched Zeus’ right hand in an act of supplication and ceased his anger⁹⁷² at the moment he was ready to thunderbolt Nyktimos/Nykteus. This detail remains suspended in the ensuing narrative offered by Apollodoros, the reason being that the author of the *Bibliothēke* follows the ‘mainstream’ version that makes Kallisto daughter of Lykaon. Conversely, since in Asios Kallisto is made the daughter and not the sister of Nykteus, her father becomes instrumental in the foundation of the Arkadian nation. Therefore, his survival by means of Gaia’s intervention is essential and must have been connected to a specific reason, which may well have been that she wanted to protect at least one of the grandsons of Pelasgos who was born directly from her.⁹⁷³

Huxley⁹⁷⁴ argued that Nykteus’ name points to the catasterism of his daughter Kallisto, but there is much more to it. There is an entire tradition relating that the Arkadians were προσέληνοι⁹⁷⁵ (‘people older than the moon’),⁹⁷⁶ which indicated the extreme antiquity of this Greek *ethnos*.⁹⁷⁷ Related to the antiquity of the Arkadians is that they were known as βλανηφάγοι (‘acorn-eaters’),⁹⁷⁸ a characteristic not pertaining solely to them among the early Greeks but considered by certain authors, like Plutarch,⁹⁷⁹ to be indicating their antiquity.⁹⁸⁰ In Σ Lyk. Alex. 482 (II 174.24–175.13 Scheer), these two features of the Arkadians (that they are ‘acorn-eaters’ and ‘older than the moon’) are used in a way that points to an aetiological link between them, as if their consumption of acorns results from the fact that they lived before the first rising of the moon. This association is obvious if we read in Σ Lyk. Alex. 482 immediately after ll. 28–9 (II 174 Scheer) only the text offered by the *codices Tzetzae* (indicated by s⁴ in Scheer’s edition): <τῶν πρόσθε δὲ μῆνης> ἐπεὶ προσέληνοι οἱ Ἀρκάδες. (ss³ s⁴) ἐτρέφοντο γὰρ πρὸ συνόδου τῆς

σελήνης | πυρὶ ὀπτῶντες τὰς βαλάνους (s⁴). In addition, if the attribution of the epithet προσεληναῖος to Pelasgos by an unknown lyric poet (perhaps of the classical period)⁹⁸¹ is associated to Pelasgos' birth from the 'black earth' (Asios fr. 9 *EGEF*: γαῖα μέλαιν' ἀνέδωκεν), it seems that there must have been an entire nexus of associations in the early Greek mind between acorn-eating,⁹⁸² living before the rise of the moon,⁹⁸³ and being born from the earth. This nexus pertained to the theme of 'remote antiquity' to which that of autochthony was attached.

Fr. 10

Whereas Iphthime is a daughter of Ikarios and Penelope's sister in the *Odyssey* (4.797), in Asios it is Mede who appears in her position, i.e. as Ikarios' daughter and Penelope's sister. There are two issues that need to be discussed with respect to this fragment: first, how can we account of Asios' opting for Mede in the place of Iphthime, and second how does this fragment fit to the genealogical framework of Asios' epic.

Before we begin, it should be noted that the following analysis is based on the assumption that in Asios' poem Ikarios had only two daughters, Mede and Penelope. This is highly likely given not only the way the scholium is phrased but also on account of Σ Hom. *Od.* 4.797c (II 391.70–1 Pontani), in which among the offspring of Ikarios feature only Penelope and Mede, the latter having alternative names, i.e. Hypsipyle (as in Andron fr. 12 *EGM*) and Laodameia.

The explication of Asios' choice of Mede as Penelope's sister instead of Iphthime passes through the question of Mede's identity. The only thing we know about this name is that it was used for Idomeneus' wife, whom Leukios killed (together with Idomeneus' children Kleisithera, Iphiklos, and Lykos) at the instigation of Nauplios, who in his attempt to avenge the murder of his son Palamedes by the Greeks at Troy convinced the wives of certain Greek leaders to commit adultery while their husbands were in the war.⁹⁸⁴ This mythical version would fit well Mede's presentation as Penelope's sister and daughter of Ikarios. This would have made Odysseus and Idomeneus brothers-in-law. Given that Idomeneus was the first cousin once removed of Agamemnon and Menelaos (his cousin Aerope being the mother of the Atreidai),⁹⁸⁵ both the royal houses of Odysseus and the Atreidai would have acquired a strong Cretan association.⁹⁸⁶ The 'replacement' of Iphthime by Mede may be a rather misleading term, since it takes for granted that Asios has departed from the 'standard', *Odyssean* version. But this line of thought would have made sense only if we were dealing with a well known mythical figure that the *Odyssey* had treated in a way similar to other sources. In cases like this one, in which we are dealing with a marginal mythical figure, things may have worked the other way round, and we cannot exclude the possibility either that it is the *Odyssey* that had replaced Mede by Iphthime or that the *Odyssey* did not know any name for a sister of Penelope and simply invented the name

With respect to the second issue, i.e. the way this fragment fits in the structure of Asios' genealogical poem we are facing two alternatives: we should either number it as fr. 10 committing ourselves to the practice of all modern editors or follow Huxley, who has argued that it should be associated with fr. 6 referring to Tyndareos, husband of Leda, since Ikarios must have been mentioned together with his brother Tyndareos.⁹⁸⁸ Huxley's suggestion is based on a wrong assumption, i.e. that 'Asios almost certainly tied up this family with his list of descendants of Pleuron, because as early as Stesichoros⁹⁸⁹ [...] Tyndareus and Ikarios were said to be brothers, being both sons of Perieres'.⁹⁹⁰ This line of thought has not much to recommend it, since it is likely that in Asios Medea and Penelope were daughters of Ikarios and Asterodeia and not Polykaste, the former pointing to Messenia, the latter to Aitolian Akarnania. To avoid confusion we should keep in mind that of the different wives Ikarios has in various mythical traditions, only Polykaste is from Akarnania where Ikarios settles after helping Thestios against his enemies. In this version Ikarios has three children from Polykaste: Penelope, Alyzeus,⁹⁹¹ and Leukadios, the last two being eponyms for the city of Alyzeia and the island of Leukas off the coast of Akarnania.⁹⁹² The other line of Ikarios' descendants is not related to Akarnania, since they return to Lakeldaimon after Herakles kills Hippokoon who had exiled them in the first place, and Tyndareos becomes king.⁹⁹³ It is then that Ikarios marries the nymph Periboia from whom six children are born: Penelope, Thoas, Damasippos, Imeusimos, Aletes, and Perileos.⁹⁹⁴ Associated with this version is the one reported by Σ Hom. *Od.* 4.797c (II 391.68–71 Pontani), according to which Ikarios who was married to Asterodeia, daughter of Eurypylos son of Telestor, had the following children: Amasichos, Phalereus, Thoon, Phereimmelas, Pallas, Perilaos, Penelope, and Medea or Hypsipyle or Laodameia. As son of Oibalos, Ikarios is alternatively married to a certain Demodoke, daughter of Ortilochos.⁹⁹⁵ Given that this Medea can be nobody else than Asios' Medea, we can clearly see that Medea and Penelope as Ikarios' daughters must have featured in a context which had nothing to do with Akarnania, contrary to Huxley's claim. We can go a bit further. Since Ikarios and Tyndareos had been exiled from Lakeldaimon by Hippokoon, they must have featured not in a stemma going back to Aiolos (a feature observed in the first sections of Asios' poem),⁹⁹⁶ but with respect to Lakeldaimon. In this light, it is advisable to follow modern editors who have unanimously placed this fragment after the 'Arkadian' section of Asios' epic.

Diction and Meter

The entire verse is composed by traditional elements; see e.g. Hom. *Od.* 19.375 (κούρη Ἰκαρίοιο, περίφρων Πηνελόπεια). Μέδη is never attested in Homer or archaic Greek epic at large, while Πηνελόπεια occurs (in this five-syllable form) 51 times in Homer (solely in the *Odyssey*), always at verse-end.

Fr. 11

Pausanias gives various accounts with respect to Sikyon's fatherhood. The local, Sikyonian tradition, which Asios followed, made Sikyon the son of Metion and grandson of Erechtheus, whereas Eumelos (*Kor.* fr. 5 *EGEF*) aimed at bringing Marathon (and through him Sikyon and Athens) to the Corinthian sphere⁹⁹⁷ by making him the son of Epopeus, who is according to the Eumelian version, the son of Aloeus,⁹⁹⁸ son of Helios, the god-protector of Corinth.⁹⁹⁹ The adoption of Marathon seems to be aiming at revising the Sikyon-Athens connection already apparent in the [Hesiodic] *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 224 M–W). Apart from the consequences of this observation for the dating of Eumelos' *Korinthiaka*,¹⁰⁰⁰ the idea of Eumelos reworking a version circulating by means of the *Catalogue* is crucial, since it allows to see the more general context within which Asios' own version must be placed. Unlike Ibykos (fr. 308 *PMGF*) who made Sikyon son of Pelops,¹⁰⁰¹ we can see that the *Catalogue of Women*, the *Korinthiaka*, and Asios opted for a version in which Sikyon would have been partly or completely tied to Attica. It would have been very helpful, if we could date these three epics more precisely, since this would have allowed us to see where Asios falls. Since Asios' version strengthens the Athenian-Sikyonian axis,¹⁰⁰² it fits very well the historical circumstances of the first-half of the 6th century BC, when under the leadership of the tyrant Kleisthenes, Sikyon tried to strengthen its ties with Athens. This is testified by both Kleisthenes' marriage of his daughter Agariste to the Alkmeonid Megakles¹⁰⁰³ and by his banning the cult of the Argive hero Adrastus from his city, a clear anti-Dorian statement.¹⁰⁰⁴ If we take into account Pausanias who reports that Asios followed a Sikyonian tradition, his account must reflect Sikyonian pro-Athenian feelings in the early 6th century BC.

Fr. 12

This fragment is identical with Kin. fr. 5 *EGEF* and *Carmen Naupactium* fr. 11 *EGEF* on which see the analysis on Kin. fr. 5.

Fragmentum dubium fortasse ad Asii poematum epicum pertinens sine titulo traditum

Fr. 13

Textual Issues:¹⁰⁰⁵

1 (6). Kaibel's οἱ δ' ὅτε φοίτεσκον ὀπίσω πλοκάμους κτενίσαντες stems from his attempt to 'cure' the asyndeton of the first three verses. He, therefore, changes the finite verb κτενίσαι into the participle κτενίσαντες, which unavoidably leads to a need to change ὅπως, which introduced the subordinate

clause in the text transmitted by the manuscript tradition, into ὀπίσω.¹⁰⁰⁶ There are multiple problems with this suggestion, which has not been accepted by anyone wholesale (Vasmanolis' κτενίσαντες preceded by ὁμοῦ or ὁμῶς is even worse):¹⁰⁰⁷ first, it is paleographically very hard to explain, and second it results in the metrical difficulty of treating the last syllable of φοίτεσκον (followed by ὀπίσω) as long.¹⁰⁰⁸ Doubts have also been raised against the authenticity of the ὅπως clause, though there are examples as early as Herodotos of its use with an optative to denote time, e.g.: ὅκως μὲν εἴη ἐν τῇ γῇ καρπὸς ἀδρός, τηνικαῦτα ἐσέβαλλε τὴν στρατιήν (1.17), ὅκως δὲ ἀπίκοιτο ἡ στρατιή, σκηνὴ μὲν ἔσκε πεπηγυῖα (7.119).

Nor is there any reason to change αὐτως into αὔτως,¹⁰⁰⁹ since the spelling with the aspirate breathing is an Attic form, and, therefore, unlikely to have been employed by Asios instead of the Ionic spelling αὔτως. Likewise, the epic form Ἥρης should be restored in the place of the manuscript reading Ἥρας.¹⁰¹⁰

3 (8). The asyndetic construction, to which I have drawn attention in verse 1, is clearly observable in verse 3. However, this is not the only 'problem' of verse 3. There is also the attribution of a masculine epithet to a feminine noun (χθονὸς εὐρέος) and the function of εἶχον. The asyndeton has troubled a fair number of scholars, who have resorted to various suggestions to avoid it. Van Lennep has changed the epic dative in –οῖσι into an Attic dative in –οις, so as to gain the extra short mora needed to add the particle τε after χιονέοις and so avoid the asyndeton. There is, again, no need to be annoyed by the asyndeton. This phenomenon occurs a number of times in Homeric epic and extends from adjectives to whole sentences, as here. When the second sentence explains the first and is in some sort of apposition to it, often repeating or rephrasing or specifying the thought expressed in the first, asyndeton is used.¹⁰¹¹ Given that asyndeton adds rapidity to the style, it is quite appropriate for this passage, as if the narrator's eye is following the parade of the Samians. Asyndeton of sentences mainly occurs in the narrative (not in the speeches) in Homer, e.g. (*Il.* 17.50–1: δούπησεν δὲ πεσών, ἀράβησε δὲ τεύχε' ἐπ' αὐτῷ. / αἵματί οἱ δεύοντο κόμαι; *Il.* 22.393: ἡράμεθα μέγα κῦδος· ἐπέφνομεν Ἑκτορα δῖον).¹⁰¹² It is for this reason that I have used a semicolon as punctuation mark after καλοῖς instead of a full stop (as in *EGF*), which would have curtailed the rapidity of the narrative. The syntagma εὐρέος χθονός, which had troubled Naeke, Hermann, and Bach, has nothing against it, since the use of feminine forms instead of masculine ones is attested in a number of authors: θῆλυς instead of θήλεια is attested in Homer,¹⁰¹³ [Hesiod],¹⁰¹⁴ and Euripides;¹⁰¹⁵ ἡδύς instead of ἡδεῖα is used in Homer¹⁰¹⁶ and Theokritos;¹⁰¹⁷ πολυλὺς instead of πολλή in Homer;¹⁰¹⁸ last, εὐρύς instead of εὐρεῖα is employed in Antiphilos¹⁰¹⁹ and [Oppian].¹⁰²⁰ In this light, there is no reason to change πέδον into πέδου, in order to agree with εὐρέος, as suggested by Naeke,¹⁰²¹ who was followed by Hermann¹⁰²² and Bach.¹⁰²³ Nor does it make any sense

to opt for Jacobs' idiosyncratic εὐρὺ ἔσαιπον,¹⁰²⁴ which is both paleographically and conceptually extreme, since it is based on a hypothetical scenario according to which Daléchamp had in front of him the true reading εὐρὺ ἔσαιπον that he translated in latin as (*terraeque*) *late (niveis tunicis) solum radebant*. The function of the verb ἔχω has also made scholars come up with various emendations: Hermann suggested ἄχρι (provided that πέδον is changed to πέδου). Such an emendation, he thought, would solve both the problem of the asyndeton and of the 'awkward' function of the expression πέδον ... εἶχον. Blumenthal opted for εἶλκον in the place of εἶχον on the basis of the expression ἐλκεχίτωνες Ἰάονες employed in the *HHymn to Apollo* [3] (147) for a similar occasion.¹⁰²⁵ Weston's ἴκον,¹⁰²⁶ which won the approval of Schweighäuser,¹⁰²⁷ was based on the Homeric formula οὐρανὸν ἴκεν,¹⁰²⁸ as well as on Virgil's (1.404) *pedes vestis defluxit ad imos* that these scholars thought to have preserved a structure that Asios had inverted. But one may ask, following Michelangeli, why is there a need to change the manuscript reading πέδον ... εἶχον? Here the verb ἔχειν may well mean 'to cover',¹⁰²⁹ as in Hom. *Od.* 23.45–7: εὖρον ἔπειτ' Ὀδυσῆα μετὰ κταμένοισι νέκυσσι / ἔσταθ'· οἱ δέ μιν ἀμφὶ κραταίπεδον οὔδας ἔχοντες / κείατ' ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισιν.¹⁰³⁰

4–5 (9–10). Naeke changed the order of verses 4 and 5 to make the pronoun αὐτῶν refer to the preceding noun χαῖται.¹⁰³¹ His proposal had been adopted by the majority of nineteenth-century editors and Bernabé.¹⁰³² Michelangeli treated Naeke's suggestion with some scepticism: although he adopted the transmitted text, he showed that there is nothing against taking αὐτῶν as referring to χιτῶσι in the preceding line.¹⁰³³ The order of verses given by the manuscript tradition has been also supported by Bowra¹⁰³⁴ and adopted in the editions of both Davies (*EGF*) and West (*GEF*). O'Sullivan argued anew in support of Naeke's transposition of verses. He thought that the fact that verses 3, 4, and 5 begin with the letter χ has misled a scribe who 'omitted either verse 4 or 5, thinking he had already written this verse beginning with χ, and then added it in the margin; a later scribe wrote it back into the text in the wrong place'.¹⁰³⁵ O'Sullivan has brought two more elements in favor of Naeke's transposition of verses 4–5: first that τέττιγες is used *exclusively* for hairstyle¹⁰³⁶ (and, therefore, it cannot be applied to tunics),¹⁰³⁷ and second that according to a gloss of Hesychios on κορυμβάς (περιδρόμοις, δι' ὧν συσπᾶται γύργαθος καὶ κεκρύφαλος καὶ δεσμοί) these κορυμβάδες were used with respect to δεσμοί.¹⁰³⁸ The necessary conclusion is, according to O'Sullivan, that we have to accept Naeke's transposition of verses and that ἐπ' αὐτῶν may actually refer to δεσμοῖς. This line of interpretation has its own shortcomings: apart from the fact that O'Sullivan completely ignores Michelangeli's discussion and interpretation that shows how the word κόρυμβος (meaning 'knot of fair') was contaminated by the word κοσύμβη (designating 'a purple stripe in the front of the tunic' or 'fastening of arm-

coverings or sleeves',¹⁰³⁹ and also meaning 'chignon'¹⁰⁴⁰ and 'shepherd's coat'¹⁰⁴¹ with the result that a new coin was created, i.e. κορύμβη (meaning 'fastening', 'brooch'), it is hard to see how cicada-shaped (τέττιγες) 'fastenings' (κορύμβαι) would be 'used *somehow* to fasten δεσμοί'.¹⁰⁴²

4 (9). Wilamowitz's emendation of κορύμβαι to κοσύμβαι¹⁰⁴³ does not make sense in this context. κόσυμβος means 'fringe' and was employed for 'tasselled' or 'fringed' tunics,¹⁰⁴⁴ but also 'hair-net'.¹⁰⁴⁵ In this light, we may be dealing with a contamination of the word κόρυμβος (= κρωβύλος 'knot of hair') with κοσύμβη ('stripe on the front of tunic') or even with κόσυμβος ('fringe', 'hair-net'). The result of this contamination was both morphological and semantical: with respect to the former the feminine noun κορύμβη was created, and concerning the latter it acquired the meaning of 'fastening for tunic', i.e. exactly as it is used here by Asios.¹⁰⁴⁶ The omission of some verbal form meaning 'were' is paralleled by various Homeric examples (Hom. *Il.* 10.437, 457; 17. 43; Hom. *Od.* 5.477).¹⁰⁴⁷

5 (10). Casaubon's¹⁰⁴⁸ emendation δ' ἠωρεῦντ' ἀνέμωι of the manuscript readings ὠρευτανέμω (codex Marcianus) and δωρευτανέμω (other codices) has won almost unanimous approval. It is also supported by Hom. *Il.* 2.448 (τῆς [*sc.* αἰγίδος] ἑκατὸν θύσανοι παγχρύσει ἠερέθονται). Weston's¹⁰⁴⁹ δ' ἐρρώοντ' ἀνέμωι, which has gained the approval of Schweighäuser,¹⁰⁵⁰ builds on the analogy of Hom. *Il.* 23.367 (χαῖται δ' ἐρρώοντο μετὰ πνοιῆις ἀνέμοιοι),¹⁰⁵¹ but is paleographically less likely. West's ἠωρέοντ' ἀνέμωι is based on Casaubon's emendation but with an εο instead of an ευ realization of the diphthong, since the vocalic contraction in ευ is a later Ionic development,¹⁰⁵² which was falsely adopted in the edition of Homer Casaubon was employing.

6 (11). On the basis of Herodian *Peri katholikis prosoidias* 1 (3.1.1, 24.24–25.1 Lentz) and *Peri kliseos onomaton* (3.2.2, 729.18–19 Lentz)¹⁰⁵³ Dindorf's correction of δαιδαῖλοι into δαιδάλαιοι and Michelangeli's χλιδῶνες instead of the manuscript reading χλιδῶνες have been approved, the former by most editors, the latter by West (*GEF*). Bernabé (*PEG*) and Davies (*EGF*) both keep the transmitted accentuation χλιδῶνας (*PEG*)/χλιδῶνες (*EGF*), following Veneri, who argued that Herodian may be reflecting the tendency of Attic to make all properispomena with a short antepenultimate syllable proparoxytone (Vendryes' Law).¹⁰⁵⁴ But this accent shift probably occurred at some point in the 4th century BC, which explains why it did not affect forms like χλιδῶνα in Aristoph. *Thesm.* *II* fr. 332.11 *PCG* 3.2. ¹⁰⁵⁵ Another problem is based on how one reads the ending of the verse. The manuscript tradition gives ἄρ' ἀμφὶ βραχίσιν ηναντες (A) and ἄρ' ἀμφὶ βραχίσιν νήσαντες (PVL). Those editors (Davies and West) who follow Veneri's ἄρ' ἀμφὶ βραχίσιν ἦσαν <...>τες print the nominatives δαιδάλαιοι δὲ χλιδῶνες (Davies) or δαιδάλαιοι δὲ χλιδῶνες (West) as the subject of ἦσαν, whereas others (Bernabé, Olson) who

read ἄρ' ἀμφὶ βραχίος' ἔσαντες print Ebert's emendation δαιδαλέας δὲ χλιδῶνας as object of ἔσαντες. βραχίος' ἔσαντες is hard to explain given what is transmitted by the two branches of the tradition, i.e. βραχίουσιν ἦσαντες (A) and ἄρ' ἀμφὶ βραχίουσιν νήσαντες (PVL). Moreover, since a nominative subject (δαιδάλαιοι δὲ χλιδῶνες) would be in tune with the previous nominatives (κορύμβαι, χαῖται), then ἄρ' ἀμφὶ βραχίουσιν ἦσαν is clearly preferable.

7 (12). There have been various efforts to fill in the lacuna of verse 7. Jacoby has proposed <τὸν δεῖνα αἰσχύνον>τες (i.e. an unknown proper noun),¹⁰⁵⁶ on the basis of his belief that the expression ὑπασπίδιον πολεμιστήν can only have been part of a comparison between the luxury of the present-day Samians and their more warlike past.¹⁰⁵⁷ Bowra has convincingly shown the flaw of using Douris as a basis for the interpretation of Asios. There is nothing to suggest that Asios disapproved of Samian present-day luxury.¹⁰⁵⁸ Schmid's¹⁰⁵⁹ <οὐ γὰρ ἀναμνησθέν>τες echoes Jacoby's supplement but simply employs different diction. Gulick's <κοῦφα ποσὶν προβιβάν>τες is based on his belief that there is an ironic tone here. Gulick adduced Hom. *Il.* 13.158 (κοῦφα ποσὶ προβιβὰς καὶ ὑπασπίδια προποδίζων), in order to argue that Asios' verse is a parodic resonance of Hom. *Il.* 13.158. The same observation had been made more or less by Naeke,¹⁰⁶⁰ who was followed by Kinkel.¹⁰⁶¹ Again, there is no indication whatsoever that ὑπασπίδιος is used in this way in Asios. In Homer the meaning is totally in accordance with epic severity. Vasmanolis' ¹⁰⁶² supplement <ἄλλοιον ποιεῦν>τες is based on the same flaw that we have observed in the suggestions of Jacoby, Schmid, and Gulick. Bowra proposed <ὧς ἦσαν εἰκάζον>τες, arguing that verse 7 'may have suggested that the Samians, marching majestically in their encumbering garments, recall a warrior advancing under his shield to battle'.¹⁰⁶³ Veneri rejected Bowra's supplement, since it seems to create a rather grotesque picture of the Samians.¹⁰⁶⁴ The very idea of a luxurious *pompe* of Samians being compared to a warrior protected under his shield looks unconvincing to me. Veneri drew attention to a passage in Polyainos (*Strategemata* 1.23.2) referring to a ritual taking place in the Heraion in which armed Samians were included.¹⁰⁶⁵ She also stressed that the use of the singular (ὑπασπίδιον πολεμιστήν) makes it less likely that some generalization about all the Samians could have been expressed. In light of these two observations, Veneri suggested that Asios may have referred to Ankaïos, mentioned by Asios in fr. 7 *EGEF* as the founder of the city of Samos, and proposed the supplement <Ἀγκαῖον μετιόν>τες.¹⁰⁶⁶ Though Veneri's suggestion seems to be the most promising made so far, I will refrain from including it in the text. It is advisable to leave the lacuna as it is.

Fragment 13 must belong not to Asios' genealogical epic but to a different poem altogether. Scholars have emphasized its antiquarian style, interpreting Asios verses as referring to a remote time, when the Samians lived in luxury.

Bowra has used this line of thought as an argument for placing the date of Asios in the late fifth century, claiming that the passage is imbued with a parodic tone reminiscent of Aristophanic comedy.¹⁰⁶⁷ But this ‘parodic’ tone is based on Bowra’s supplement to line 7 and his personal interpretation of the function of the phrase ὑπασπίδιον πολεμιστήν. How misleading is the argument pertaining to the late dating of Asios on the basis of his referring to the Samians’ past can be seen if we compare this passage with the one immediately following in Athenaios’ text, in which Xenophanes¹⁰⁶⁸ (fr. 3 Lesher) talks about the Kolophonians who became accustomed to Lydian luxury, before Kolophon fell to the Persians in 546 BC.¹⁰⁶⁹ We can see here that Xenophanes is referring to a lifestyle the Kolophonians were following even during the beginning of his own lifetime as if he belonged to a different era. This is because he distances his own viewpoint from the lifestyle of his fellow-citizens, and not because of any considerable time-lapse. He can do so because he draws a line between himself and the other Kolophonians, as if his own stance creates a certain distance from the habits and events he is describing. Likewise, Asios’ passage works like a *descriptivized narration*,¹⁰⁷⁰ i.e. a detailed designation of the Samians’ dressing and combing their hair in their traditional procession to the temple of Hera that is presented in narrative form. This blurred mode of presentation becomes clear from the verbal forms that function as internal organizing devices of the passage. Seen from this angle, the past tenses in this passage, which had made Bowra argue that Asios refers to some remote past, result from the poet’s looking at these events from the point of view of a commentator addressing a non-Samian audience.¹⁰⁷¹

Given the multiple textual problems of this passage, it is advisable to limit ourselves to what is certain in the text. First, it should be made clear that there is nothing in these verses indicating a parodic or comic tone, or even a disapproving stance on the part of the poet. We should not forget that it is Douris of Samos, according to Athenaios, who used these verses of Asios as indicating Samian τρυφή, not Asios himself. Although this point has been made by Bowra, in the context of refuting the interpretation of Jacoby (and other scholars after him) about the disparaging or parodic tone of this passage,¹⁰⁷² he later concentrates on a certain comic taste of Asios recalling a typical Old Comedy strategy to refer to a long-gone Golden Age.¹⁰⁷³ My own interpretation is a different one. The text as we have it is a lively presentation of Samian culture by means of a vivid snapshot of a formal procession to the temple of Hera. What we have here is nothing less than the use of the typical for *ktisis*-literature motif of τρυφή with respect to a thriving and prosperous people described at a moment of high religious significance for their city.¹⁰⁷⁴ The use and function of epithets is typically epic in tone giving to the passage true candor: the clothes are ‘beautiful’ (καλοῖς), the tunics ‘snowy’ (χιονέοισι), the brooches and the fastenings are both ‘golden’ (χρῦσσαι, χρυσέοις), and the bracelets ‘ornate’ (δαιδάλοισι). Moreover, the narrativized

form of the description results in making the whole snapshot acquire a certain motion, as if we are watching the Samians parading to the temple of Hera, their tunics touching the ground, their hair floating in the air, their ornaments shining. This fragment may have come from a *ktisis* epic on Samos, in which Asios would have narrated, among other things, aspects of Samian cultural and religious life.¹⁰⁷⁵

Diction and Meter

1. *πλόκαμος* is attested as early as Homer (*Il.* 14.176: *πεξαμένη χερσὶ πλοκάμους ἔπλεξε φαεινούς*). On *κτενίζειν*, see Archil. fr. 240 *IEG* (*διεκτενισμένον*); Sem. 7.65 *IEG* (*χαίτην ἐκτενισμένην*); Hdt. 7.208 (*τὰς κόμας κτενιζομένους*). Wackernagel sees a clear Atticism in the ending *-αίντο* (for *-αίατο*) of *κτενίσαιντο* arguing on this basis that if the transmitted form is correct, then Asios' text cannot be older than the fifth century BC.¹⁰⁷⁶

2. On *πεπυκασμένος* + dat. referring to clothing, see Hom. *Od.* 22.488 (*μηδ' οὔτω ῥάκεσιν πεπυκασμένος εὐρέας ὤμους*). On *εἵματα καλά* at verse-terminal position, see Hom. *Od.* 6.111, 13.218, 17.550; *HHymn to Aphrodite* (5) 64.

3. *χιονέοισι χιτῶσι* is also attested in Ioann. Gramm. *Ekphrasis tou kosmikou pinakos* 1.78 Wehrli (*εἰσέτι χιονέοισιν ἐπαστράπτουσι χιτῶσιν*). On *χθονὸς εὐρέος*, see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 4.182, 8.150, 11.741, Hes. *Th.* 458 (*εὐρεῖα χθών*); Pind. fr. 33c3 S–M (*χθονὸς εὐρείας*); on *πέδον*, see [Aisch.] *PV* 1 (*χθονὸς μὲν ἐς τηλουρὸν ἦκομεν πέδον*), *PV* 734 (*λιποῦσα δ' Εὐρώπης πέδον*), Soph. *Phil.* 1464 (*χαῖρ', ὦ Λήμνου πέδον ἀμφιάλον*).

4. On *χαῖται δ' ἠιωρέοντ' ἀνέμωι*, see Hom. *Il.* 1.529 (*χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο*), 23.367 (*χαῖται δ' ἐρρώντο μετὰ πνοιῆς ἀνέμοιο*).

5. *κορύμβαι* (*κορύμβη*) is a *hapax legomenon*. On *κόρυμβος*, *κόσσυμβος*, *κοσύμβη*, see the analysis of the critical apparatus (above). On *τέττιξ*-shaped fastenings or knots, see e.g. Xen. fr. 3.5 (*IEG*) ... *χαίτησιν ἰσχυρὰ ἄλλομεν εὐπρεπέεσσιν*; Antim. *Art.* fr. 100 (Matthews) (–) *χρυσείη[ισι κορυμ]βίσιν ἐσφῆκοντο*;¹⁰⁷⁷ Her. Pont. 55.11–12 (Wehrli) *ποικίλους δ' ὑπέδυνον χιτῶνας, κορύμβους δ' ἀναδόμενοι τῶν τριχῶν χρυσοῦς τέττιγας περὶ τὸ μέτωπον καὶ τὰς κόμας (κόρρας: Birt) ἐφόρου*; Σ Thouk. 1.6.3 (8.27–8 Hude) *ἐφόρου δὲ τέττιγας διὰ τὸ μουσικὸν ἢ διὰ τὸ αὐτόχθονες εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῶον γηγενὲς ἐστίν*.

6. On *χλίδων*, see Aristoph. *Thesm.* II fr. 332.11 *PCG* 3.2 (*χλίδωνα*); also various inscriptions, e.g. *IG* II² 1388.85, 1400.68, 1417.9, 1418.18–19 (*χλιδὼν χρυσία ἔχων*), 1445.46–7, 1447.9 (*χλιδων[ίω δ]ύο χρυ[σία ἔχον]–[τε]*), 1449.3–4 (*χλιδῶν – – – – χλ–λιδὼν χρυσί[α ἔχων –]*), 1449.6 (*χλιδῶν –*), 1455 fr. b 35–6, 1457.8, 1459.9, (*χλιδῶν*) *ιον τ–[έττιγα ἔχον]*; Hesych. *χ* 518

(IV 220 Hansen and Cunningham): χλιδῶνες· κόσμος ὃν αἱ γυναῖκες ,περὶ τοῖς βραχίοσιν εἰώθασι φορεῖν καὶ ,τοὺς τραχήλους.

7. On ὑπασπίδιον πολεμιστήν, see Hom. *Il.* 13.158 (κοῦφα ποσὶ προβιβὰς καὶ ὑπασπίδια προποδίζων).

Hegesinous

Text, Critical Apparatus, and Translation

Fragmenta

F1 Paus. 9.29.1–2 (III 53.18–54.2 Rocha-Pereira)

θῦσαι δὲ ἐν Ἑλικῶνι Μούσαις πρῶτους καὶ ἐπονομάσαι τὸ ὄρος ἱερὸν εἶναι
Μουσῶν

Ἐφιάλτην καὶ Ὦτον λέγουσιν, οἰκίσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ Ἄσκλην. καὶ δὴ καὶ
Ἥγησίνους

ἐπὶ τῷιδε ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι ἐποίησεν,

Ἄσκληρι δ' αὖ παρέλεκτο Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων,

ἥ δὲ οἱ τέκε παῖδα περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν

Οἶοκλον, ὃς πρῶτος μετ' Ἀλωέος ἔκτισε παίδων

Ἄσκλην, ἥ θ' Ἑλικῶνος ἔχει πόδα πιδακόμεντα.

ταύτην τοῦ Ἥγησίνου τὴν ποίησιν οὐκ ἐπελεξάμην, ἀλλὰ πρότερον ἄρα
ἐκκλειουπιῖα ἦν πρὶν ἢ ἐμὲ γενέσθαι· Κάλλιππος δὲ Κορίνθιος ἐν τῇ ἐς
Ὀρχομενίους συγγραφῇ (*FGrHist* 385 F 1) μαρτύρια ποιεῖται τῷ λόγῳ τὰ
ἔπη, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς πεποιήμεθα παρ' αὐτοῦ {Καλλίππου} διδαχθέντες.

7 θ' RVa¹Vb : τ' β ||

10 Ἥγησίνου ante ἔπη suppl. RPaVaVb ||

11 παρ' αὐτοῦ codd. : παρὰ τοῦ Schubart-Walz | Καλλίππου del. West

They say that Ephialtes and Otos were the first to sacrifice to the Muses in
Helikon and to call the mountain sacred to the Muses, and also to found
Askra. And indeed Hegesinous in his *Atthis* composed verses with respect to
this:

And again with Askra lay Poseidon the Earth-shaker,

and she was the one to bear to him a son when the years revolved,

Oioklos, who first with Aloeus' children built

Askra, which lies at the well-watered foot of Helikon.

This poetry of Hegesinous I have not read, but it was no longer extant before I
was born. Kallippos the Corinthian in his prose work addressed to the
Orchomenians uses these verses as evidence for his view, and we have done
likewise, having being instructed (with respect to this information) by him.

—

Hegesimalous Commentary

Title

Pausanias (9.29.1: Ἡγησίνου ... ἐν τῇ Ἀθίδι ἐποίησεν) reports that the title of Hegesinous' epic was *Atthis*. The title *Atthis* raises doubts not only because the sole extant fragment concerns Boiotia, but also because *Atthis* as a title for an archaic epic is unexpected.¹⁰⁷⁸ Its use of a place-name (Ἀθίς) as its title is different from other examples like the titles *Cypria* and *Carmen Naupactium*, which are also based on place-names (Κύπρος and Ναύπακτος respectively). The actual titles of these two epics consist in the adjectives stemming from the respective place-names and modifying the word ἔπη. In the case of Hegesinous' *Atthis* the epic's title is identical with a place-name. Welcker had argued that such a title can only point to Athens and, since it has nothing to do with the chronographic-antiquarian *Atthides* written in prose, its name may have been shaped in the manner of other epics (*Iliad* and *Thebais*),¹⁰⁷⁹ whose titles reflect the siege of a city.¹⁰⁸⁰ In this light, Welcker believed that the only possible subject-matter for such an epic *Atthis* could be the siege of Athens by the Amazons and their defeat by Theseus. Welcker's opinion was followed by Düntzer¹⁰⁸¹ and Dindorf,¹⁰⁸² but has not found any support after the edition of Kinkel's epic fragments. This theory has come to its destined end after Jacoby.¹⁰⁸³ A crucial question is why would Kallippos (Pausanias' source) include these verses in a prose work addressed to the people of Orchomenos in Boiotia unless there was some connection with Orchomenos? Huxley's¹⁰⁸⁴ suggestion that Hegesinous' 'Boiotian' epic must have been linked to Attica by means of Marathon, son of Epopeus, son of Aloeus, is far-fetched, for many reasons but especially because it is unthinkable that Marathon may have been its protagonist or key-figure, in the manner of Phoroneus in the *Phoronis*. That the entire title of an archaic epic may have been called *Atthis* just because of such an association seems as absurd as if someone would claim that Eumelos' *Korinthiaka* should be called *Atthis* because it features Marathon, the son of Epopeus. Debiasi tried to solve the riddle of the poem's title by explaining on the one hand the name *Atthis* by means of the protagonistic (or co-starring) role of Theseus in Hegesinous' poem and the Orchomenian element by means of the cult of the three Muses in Mount Helikon established by the Aloadae. Debiasi¹⁰⁸⁵ suggested that Hegesinous' epic may have belonged to a Boiotian context reflecting the tension between Askra-Orchomenos that fostered the local cult of the three Muses (Melete, Mneme, Aoide) founded by the autochthonous Aloadae against the 'imported' tradition of the nine Muses coming to Boiotia from Pieria and even beyond.¹⁰⁸⁶ The explication of the title *Atthis* by means of Theseus' role in Hegesinous' epic is a hypothesis based on Debiasi's assumption that the Orchomenian *Minyas* and the *Atthis* must have shared some material

pertaining to Theseus, descending with Peirithoos in the Underworld in the former poem, and fighting against the Amazons in the latter. Unfortunately, there is no evidence supporting this assumption.¹⁰⁸⁷

In my view, it is better to turn our focus on Pausanias' use of the term Ἀθίς in the whole of his work and then compare it with what Jacoby's exhaustive analysis has shown with respect to the use of the term Ἀθίς in the entirety of the Greek world. Pausanias employs the word Ἀθίς 14 times in his work: in 8 cases (2.21.4; 3.11.1; 3.17.3; 4.28.3; 5.10.4; 7.7.7; 7.20.6; 9.6.5) he uses the expression Ἀθίς συγγραφή to refer to Book 1 of his work, which is termed Ἀττικά; in two cases (6.7.6; 10.8.1) the same expression (Ἀθίς συγγραφή) is employed in reference to Androtion's *Atthis*, i.e. to the local history of Athens by one of the seven known Atthidographers; in one case the term refers to Hegesinous' work (9.29.1). The remaining three cases do not pertain to a work called Ἀθίς but to one of Kranaos' daughters (1.2.6), the land of Attica (4.1.8), and the Attic dialect (5.15.7). Pausanias' use of the term Ἀθίς shows that it is basically employed to refer to a work focusing on Athens. But it has to be made clear that this use is not consistently followed by the *Periegete*. First, the term Ἀθίς συγγραφή is at odds with the title of Book 1 of the *Hellados periegesis* that is called Ἀττικά. Second, while Pausanias employs Ἀθίς συγγραφή to designate the work of the Atthidographer Androtion (6.7.6; 10.8.1), he refers to the work of another Atthidographer, i.e. Kleidemos (whom Pausanias calls Kleitodemos), by the phrase ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ... τῷ Ἀττικῷ (2.21.4). Why is Kleidemos important? Because of a passage that has escaped notice, in which he refers to the giant Helikon who was worshiped in the place now called Agrai in Attica. The text runs as follows (*FGrHist* 323 F 1):

Ἄγραι, χωρίον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως Ἀθηνῶν, οὗ τὰ μικρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος ἄγεται μυστήρια, ἃ λέγεται τὰ ἐν Ἄγρας, ὡς ἐν Ἀσκληπιού· Φερεκράτης Γρασίν (fr. 40 *PCG*) “εὐθὺς γὰρ ὡς ἐκαθίζομην ἐν Ἄγρας”. καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος τῆς Ἀγραίας αὐτόθι τὸ ἱερόν· Πλάτων Φαίδρωι (229 C) “ἥ πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἀγρα<ια> διαβαίνομεν”. καὶ Κλειδήμος ἐν πρώτῳ Ἀθίδος: “τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄνω τὰ τοῦ Ἰλισοῦ πρὸς Ἄγραν Εἰλείθια· τῷ δ' ὄχθῳ πάλαι ὄνομα τοῦτοι, ὅς<ς> νῦν Ἄγρα καλεῖται, Ἑλικῶν”. καὶ ἡ ἐσχάρα τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Ἑλικωνίου ἐπ' ἄκρου”. καὶ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ (F 9) “εἰς τὸ ἱερόν τὸ μητρώϊον τὸ ἐν Ἄγρας”.

Since Kleidemos referred in his *Πρωτογονία* to the name Helikon as designating a hill, which was later called Agrai, adding that the sacrificial hearth of Poseidon was on its top, an association is made possible between Helikon in Boiotia and Helikon in Attica. When referring to Helikon in Attica, Kleidemos may have briefly referred to Helikon in Boiotia, under pressure of similarity of context.¹⁰⁸⁸ As he was talking about the cult in Attic Helikon and mentioned the sacrificial hearth of Poseidon, he drew the analogy with Boiotian Helikon on which Oioklos and the Aloadae first offered sacrifices to the Muses. It may well have been in this context that Kleidemos recorded Hegesinous' verses that testified to this tradition. When the source of Kallippos of Corinth used Kleidemos' work, which was known to him (as also

to various post-Hellenistic sources) by the name of *Atthis*, probably under the influence of Kallimachos' *Pinakes* that made the latter term standard for referring to the works of the Atthidographers,¹⁰⁸⁹ he must have written something like Κλειδῆμος ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι Ἡγησίνου ποιῆσαι φησί Ἀσκληῖ δ' αὖ παρέλετο Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων κ.τ.λ. At a later stage, Kallippos of Corinth took the phrase ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι as referring to Hegesinous' poetry and not Kleidemos' prose and wrote a text in which the name Kleidemos was not mentioned but only that of Hegesinous to whom now Kleidemos' *Atthis* was wrongly assigned, e.g. ἐν τῇ Ἀτθίδι Ἡγησίνου φησί Ἀσκληῖ δ' αὖ παρέλετο Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων κ.τ.λ. If Hegesinous was connected with Boiotia, there is one more reason to explain why Kallippos omitted Kleidemos' name. He kept of the initial citation he found in his source only what was the non-Attic part, i.e. that pertaining to Hegesinous. But he did that clumsily, hence the ascription of the *Atthis* to the poet, not the Atthidographer. As far as Kallippos is concerned, the citation of Hegesinous and only Hegesinous made perfect sense, since the mountain giant Helikon, also known from the poetry of Korinna,¹⁰⁹⁰ was associated with the Aloadae. Pausanias, who used Kallippos' work on the Orchomenians read a text in which there was no Kleidemos but only a Hegesinous, author of an *Atthis*. The Periegete had no reason to disbelieve his only source, Kallippos. On the contrary, he followed him carefully, as he himself acknowledges.¹⁰⁹¹ After all he did not find in Kallippos the name of Kleidemos, whom he knew under the name of Kleitodemos as the author of a λόγος Ἀττικός.¹⁰⁹²

Seen from this vantage point, the title *Atthis* has nothing to do with Hegesinous' poetry. There is no need to invent fancy scenarios for its 'Attic' content bringing in classic Athenian heroes like Theseus.

Authorship

Welcker was the first to argue that the name 'Hegesinous' for the author of an epic *Atthis* is fictive and that it has been shaped on the basis of the beginning of the initial verse of the proem (ἦγεό μοι λόγον ἄλλον)¹⁰⁹³ of what he considered an *Amazonis*, i.e. an epic poem on the invasion of Attica and siege of Athens by the Amazons, an epic he considered to be identical with Hegesinous' *Atthis*.¹⁰⁹⁴ Welcker adduced as parallels of this phenomenon the term ἀμφιάνακτες, i.e. the nickname of the dithyrambic poets that was formed on the basis of the usual beginning of their odes (ἀμφί μοι αὖθις ἄνακτα or ἀμφί μοι αὖτε, ἄναξ)¹⁰⁹⁵ and the 'Hesiodic' *Ehoiai* that were named after their introductory formula ἦ' οἴη. In this light, Welcker postulated that in a later period the collective name Ἡγησῖαι may have been used for certain rhapsodes, hence its variants Ἡγησῖνοος/-ους, Ἡγησίας, Ἡγίας. Robert¹⁰⁹⁶ placed too much emphasis on the question of the value of a single source (Pausanias) based on another single source (Kallippos of Corinth), the latter being known only with respect to Hegesinous and Chersias (via Pausanias). He further claimed that Hegesinous' very name raised doubts since it is the

same with that of one of the possible authors of the Cyclic *Cypria*.¹⁰⁹⁷ He was followed by Wilamowitz,¹⁰⁹⁸ Kalkmann,¹⁰⁹⁹ and Jacoby,¹¹⁰⁰ who considered both Hegesinous and the fragment quoted by Pausanias a forgery. Wilamowitz later changed his mind and argued that the fact that the sole extant fragment from Hegesinous' poetry refers to the foundation of Askra by Oioklos, son of Poseidon and Askre, and the children of Aloeus, shows that there is nothing against its attribution to Hegesinous' *Atthis*.¹¹⁰¹ Wilamowitz claimed that the sky-storming Aloadae are the 'human successors'¹¹⁰² of the mountain giant Helikon, who is known from Korinna.¹¹⁰³ Kroll accepted the historicity of the poet Hegesinous but raised doubts with respect to the authenticity of the single extant fragment.¹¹⁰⁴ Schmid calls Kallippos 'dubious' (*fragwürdig*), but does not seem to doubt the existence of Hegesinous or his poetry.¹¹⁰⁵ Jacoby claimed that the name Hegesinous for the poet of the *Cypria* 'may be merely a corruption which became a variant'.¹¹⁰⁶ The corruption by assimilation to the preceding Stasinos in Photios' text is likely¹¹⁰⁷ but I cannot see how such a hypothesis can lead us to believe that the name Hegesinous is fictive in the case of the *Atthis* and that it was falsely employed for other epic verse by Kallippos of Corinth or his source, the more so since the Hegesinous to whom two sources attribute the *Cypria* is a Salaminian (and it is extremely likely that the Salamis in Cyprus is meant, not that in the Saronic gulf, as Jacoby himself admits).¹¹⁰⁸ Moreover, the name Hegesinous did not belong to 'mainstream' tradition as far as the poet of the *Cypria* is concerned. Homer and Stasinos were the primary candidates for authorship, Hegesias and Kyprias being very weakly represented. How, then, was this variant name applied to the author of an epic called *Atthis*?¹¹⁰⁹ There is absolutely no common ground that would have facilitated the 'use' of the name of the Cypriot Hegesinous for the poet of genealogical verse under the title *Atthis*. Given that the association between a certain Hegias of Troizen, author of a poem on the joint expedition of Herakles and Theseus against the Amazons, and Agias of Troizen, author of the Cyclic *Nostoi*, has been discarded for thematic reasons, Debiasi has aimed to connect Hegias of Troizen with Hegesinous. A name-similarity can in no way be used as an indication for similarity of content between two different poems.¹¹¹⁰ Using the name *Atthis* as a hint for the presence of Theseus in a poem of which we know almost nothing is highly conjectural.

Sources

The only source for both a poet Hegesinous, author of an epic under the title *Atthis*, and the sole extant fragment from this work is Pausanias (9.29.1–2). Pausanias explicitly tells us that Hegesinous' poetry did not survive at his time and that his information is derived via a prose work addressed to the Orchomenians by Kallippos of Corinth.

Date

There is simply no evidence that would allow us to decide between a seventh-, sixth-, or fifth-century date for Hegesinous' poetry.

Commentary

Fr. 1

This fragment traces the foundation of the town Askra at the foot of Helikon in Boiotia to Oioklos, son of Poseidon and Askra, and the sons of Aloeus. It also testifies to the naming of the town Askra after Poseidon's concubine with the name Askra, who is only known as such from this source.¹¹¹¹ The same is the case for their offspring Oioklos, through whom Poseidon is 'brought' in the mythical saga of Helikon.¹¹¹² Poseidon's cult in Boiotian Helikon is also known from the *HHymn to Poseidon* (22) 1–3, ¹¹¹³ though sacrifices to him under the name 'Helikonian' no doubt were taking place at a very early period even in Mykale, as made clear by the *Iliad* (20.403–5).¹¹¹⁴ As far as the Aloadaí are concerned, their function as founders of cities is traditional. They built the city of Aloion in Thessaly,¹¹¹⁵ and their father Aloeus founded the city of Alos.¹¹¹⁶ The Aloadaí are also associated with mountains. In the *Odyssey* (11.315–16), they attempt to place Ossa on Olympos and Pelion on Ossa.¹¹¹⁷ In Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.4, they aim to fill the sea with mountains. Oioklos must reflect a local tradition for the foundation of Askra, according to which the son of the homonymous concubine of Poseidon was helped by the Aloadaí in carrying out their superhuman endeavor.¹¹¹⁸ In spite of the brevity of this fragment, we can safely claim that the town of Askra was presented in a rather positive manner by Hegesinous. This is made clear by the fact that it would have been absurd to refer to the *foundation* of a town in negative terms. On the contrary, there was a clear effort on the part of the poet to invent for Askra a noble and half-divine background through Oioklos, son of Poseidon. Moreover, the last verse of our fragment refers to Askra's foundation in terms that speak positively concerning the town's placement ('Askra, which lies at the well-watered foot of Helikon'). Being located at a well-watered place, Askra is presented as a spot where land cultivation would have been profitable. This picture of Askra stands in sharp contrast to its notorious Hesiodic namesake. In the *Works and Days* (639–40) Askra is referred to as a place nobody would desire to live in, being inhospitable both during winter and summer (νάσσατο δ' ἄγχ' Ἐλικῶνος οἰζυρῇ ἐνὶ κόμῃ, / Ἄσκρι, χεῖμα κακῇ, θέρει ἀργαλέῃ, οὐδέ ποτ' ἐσθλῇ). The highlighting of the importance of Askra in Hegesinous' epic can be also inferred from the accentuation of the role of Oioklos. Our fragment seems to stress the passing of time until Oioklos' birth (τέκε παῖδα περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν),¹¹¹⁹ because it adopts an 'Askran' viewpoint. It is Oioklos (πρῶτος) who will undertake the initiative of the foundation of Askra with the help of the Aloadaí, who are presented as having an ancillary role. The traditional expression περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν is used somewhat awkwardly here, for it refers to the period of Askra's

pregnancy. This clumsy reference to the years that passed until Oioklos' birth may be a phrase that has been accommodated from the common reference used with respect to the age of the Aloadaí¹¹²⁰ and transferred to Oioklos. The expression 'children of Aloeus' should not make us think that Hegesinous opted for Aloeus as the father of Otos and Ephialtes and not Poseidon.¹¹²¹ A mortal father does not exclude a divine one, as is the case with Ptoos who has two fathers, Athamas and Apollo,¹¹²² or Amphion and Zethos who have both a divine (Zeus) and a mortal father (Epopeus).¹¹²³ Hegesinous may have simply used the expression 'children of Aloeus' to achieve clarity, since 'children of Poseidon' would not have been a clear way to refer to them.¹¹²⁴ The superhuman twins Otos and Ephialtes surely must have had a divine father.

Following van Groningen,¹¹²⁵ Debiasi interpreted the stress on Hesiodic features in the poetry of Chersias (who is credited with the composition of an epitaph for Hesiod inscribed on his grave)¹¹²⁶ and Hegesinous (foundation of Askra) as reflecting a historical rivalry between Askra-Orchomenos on the one side and Thespiiai on the other. This rivalry is mirrored on a cultural level in the Helikonian cult of the three Muses as opposed to the introduction by the Macedonian Pieros¹¹²⁷ and 'adoption' of the nine Muses at Thespiiai.¹¹²⁸ It is no surprise, then, that even in later times the festival of the Μουσεία celebrated at Thespiiai fostered the cult of the nine Muses,¹¹²⁹ whereas the inhabitants of Helikon accepted as Hesiodic only the *Works and Days* after omitting its proem,¹¹³⁰ since both the *Theogony* and the proem of the *Works and Days* were associated with the nine Muses, although they did not mention their names or number.¹¹³¹

Diction and Meter

1 παρέλεκτο: only twice in archaic epic (*HHymn to Aphrodite* [5] 167; [Hes.] *Cat. fr.* 176.6 M–W). ἐνοσίχθων is attested 41 times at verse-terminal position in Homer, Hesiod, and the Homeric Hymns; It is preceded by Ποσειδάων 25 times.

2 ἦ δὴ: the first in a series of three relative clauses, each based on a proper name appearing in the very beginning of the previous or the same verse (Ἄσκηρι - ἦ δὴ; Οἶοκλον - ὅς; Ἄσκηρην - ἦ θ'). This cumulative style is characteristic of archaic epic, especially of a genealogical catalogic context. (F)οἱ is here preserved to avoid chiasm, but neglected in the last verse (θ' Ἑλικῶνος). περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν is used three times in Homer, Hesiod, and the Hymns (Hom. *Od.* 1.16; *Th.* 184 [περιπλομένου δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ]; *HHymn to Demeter* [2] 265); see also Hom. *Il.* 2.551 (περιτελλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν), 23.833 (περιπλομένους ἐνιαυτούς); [Hes.] *Asp.* 87 (ἐπιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν). Muta cum liquida (πλ) in περιπλομένων ἐνιαυτῶν makes position but not (κλ) in the next verse (Οἶοκλον).

3 Οἶοκλον: *hapax legomenon*. Like ἄσκησιν, Οἶοκλον is the run-over word of an ‘adding-internal’¹¹³² enjambment. For πρῶτος with the verb κτίζειν, see Hom. *Od.* 11.263 (οἱ πρῶτοι Θήβης ἔδος ἔκτισαν ἑπταπύλοιο).

4 ἢ θ’ Ἐλικῶνος ἔχει πόδα πιδακόντα recalls Hes. *Th.* 2 (αἶ θ’ Ἐλικῶνος ἔχουσιν ὄρος μέγα τε ζάθεόν τε). πόδα is also known as early as Homer in the sense of the lowest part of something, especially ‘foot of a hill’, see Hom. *Il.* 2.824, 20.59. πιδακόντα: only here in its simple form in the whole of archaic Greek epic; for the compound πολυπίδαξ, see Hom. *Il.* 20.59 (πάντες δ’ ἐσσεύοντο πόδες πολυπίδακος Ἴδης), again in a Poseidon-related context. πιδακόμεναι in non-compound form is found again in Eur. *Andr.* 116 (τάκομαι ὥς πετρίνα πιδακόεσσα λιβάς).

Chersias

Text, Critical Apparatus, and Translation

Testimonia

Test. 1 Plut. Sept. sap. conv. 156e (I 321.18–21 Paton-Wegehaupt-Pohlenz) [= PEG test. 2 = GEF sine numero]

εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Μνησιφίλου Χερσίας ὁ ποιητής (ἀφεῖτο γὰρ ἤδη τῆς αἰτίας καὶ διήλλακτο τῷ Περιάνδρῳ νεωστί, Χίλωνος δεηθέντος) “ἄρ’ οὖν,” ἔφη, κ.τ.λ.

When Mnesiphilos had said these things, the poet Chersias (for he had now been acquitted of the charge and had been recently reconciled with Periandros on Chilon’s pleading), said, etc.

Test. 2 Plut. Sept. sap. conv. 163e (I 336.20–337.8 Paton-Wegehaupt-Pohlenz) [= PEG test. 3 = GEF sine numero]

ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις ὁ ποιητής Χερσίας ἄλλων τε σωθέντων ἀνελπίστως ἐμέμνητο καὶ Κυψέλου τοῦ Περιάνδρου πατρός, ὃν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἀνελεῖν νεογνὸν ὄντα προσμειδίασαντ’ αὐτοῖς ἀπετράποντο· καὶ πάλιν μετανοήσαντες ἐζήτουν καὶ οὐχ εὔρον εἰς κυψέλην ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἀποτεθέντα. διὸ καὶ τὸν οἶκον ἐν Δελφοῖς κατεσκεύασεν ὁ Κύψελος, ὥσπερ θεοῦ τότε τὸν κλαυθυρισμὸν ἐπισχόντος, ὅπως διαλάθοι τοὺς ζητοῦντας. καὶ ὁ Πιττακὸς προσαγορεύσας τὸν Περιάνδρον “εὖ γ’” ἔφη “Περιάνδρε Χερσίας ἐποίησε μνησθεὶς τοῦ οἴκου· πολλάκις γὰρ ἐβουλόμην ἐρέσθαι σε τῶν βατράχων τὴν αἰτίαν ἐκείνων, τί βούλονται περὶ τὸν πυθμένα τοῦ φοίνικος ἐντετορευμένοι τοσοῦτοι, καὶ τίνα πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἢ τὸν ἀναθέντα λόγον ἔχουσι.” τοῦ δὲ Περιάνδρου τὸν Χερσίαν ἐρωτᾶν κελεύσαντος, εἰδέναι γὰρ ἐκείνον καὶ παρεῖναι τῷ Κυψέλῳ καθιεροῦντι τὸν οἶκον, ὁ Χερσίας μειδίασας κ.τ.λ.

Whereupon the poet Chersias recalled others who had been unexpectedly saved, as well as Kypselos, Periandros’ father, who when he was a newborn smiled at the men who were sent to kill him, and they turned away. And when they changed their minds, they looked but did not find him, since his mother had placed him in a chest. This is why Kypselos constructed the building at Delphi, because he thought that the god had stopped him crying, so as to escape the notice of those who were looking for him. And Pittakos, addressing Periandros, said, ‘Chersias did well to mention the building, Periandros, for I often wanted to ask you the explanation about those frogs, why they are carved in such numbers about the base of the palm-tree, and what is their connection to the god or the dedicator’. When Periandros told him to ask Chersias, since he knew that he had been present when Kypselos consecrated the building, Chersias smiled and said, etc.

Fragmenta

Fr. 1 Paus. 9.38.9–10 (III 76.3–14 Rocha-Pereira) [= PEG = GEF]

Ἀσπληδὸνα δὲ ἐκλιπεῖν τοὺς οἰκήτοράς φασιν ὕδατος σπανίζοντας· γενέσθαι δὲ τὸ ὄνομα ἀπὸ Ἀσπληδόνος τῇ πόλει, τοῦτον δὲ εἶναι νύμφης τε Μιδείας καὶ Ποσειδῶνος. ὁμολογεῖ δὲ καὶ ἔπη σφίσιν ἃ ἐποίησε Χερσίας, ἀνὴρ Ὀρχομένιος·

*ἐκ δὲ Ποσειδάωνος ἀγακλειτῆς τε Μιδείης
Ἀσπληδὼν γένεθ' υἱὸς ἀν' εὐρύχωρον πτολίεθρον.*

τοῦδε τοῦ Χερσίου τῶν ἐπῶν οὐδεμία ἦν ἔτι κατ' ἐμὲ μνήμη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ἐπηγάγετο ὁ Κάλλιππος ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν ἔχοντα ἐς Ὀρχομενίους· τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ Χερσίου καὶ ἐπίγραμμα οἱ Ὀρχομενιοὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡσιόδου τάφῳ μνημονεύουσιν.

1 σπανίζοντας Musurus : -ος β ||

2 μιδείας Pa : μηδείας β ||

3 σφίσιν Siebelis : φησὶν β | ὀρχομενός F ||

4 Μιδείης edd. : -ας β ||

6 τοῦδε Bekker : οὐδὲ β ||

8 <τὸ> ἐπίγραμμα Schubart-Walz

They say that its inhabitants abandoned Aspledon because of shortage of water, and that the name was given to the city after Aspledon, the son of the nymph Mideia and Poseidon. The verses composed by Chersias, an Orchomenian, confirm this.

*And from Poseidon and famous Mideia
a son Aspledon was born in the broad-spaced citadel.*

Of the verses of this Chersias there is no more any record in my time, but they were also adduced by Kallippos in the same discourse pertaining to the Orchomenians. Of this Chersias the Orchomenians also record an epigram, the one on Hesiod's grave.

Chersias
Commentary

Title

We do not know the title of this epic. Pausanias refers to the poetry of Chersias with the word ἑπῆ ('hexameters'), a term often employed by the Periegete to denote epic verse.¹¹³³ On the basis of the diction of the sole extant fragment and other sixth-century examples of epic poets, it is likely that Chersias' poetry may have been genealogical, in the manner of Kinaithon and Asios.¹¹³⁴

Authorship

Chersias was an epic poet from Orchomenos in Boiotia.¹¹³⁵ He was credited with the composition of epic verse, as well as an epigram on Hesiod's grave.¹¹³⁶ Plutarch refers to him as a contemporary of Periandros of Corinth and Chilon of Lakadaimon.¹¹³⁷ Several scholars have argued against the attribution to Chersias of both a four-verse epigram on Hesiod's grave¹¹³⁸ and of two lines of epic verse coming from some regional epic poem. They claim that the cited verses have been forged in the Imperial era by the Corinthian Kallippos, who is Pausanias' source.¹¹³⁹ This claim does not seem sound to me for the following reasons:

1. The existence of Chersias is guaranteed by the fact that he is mentioned by two different sources (Pausanias and Plutarch), which are independent one from the other.
2. Pausanias only says that Kallippos is his source with respect to the epic poetry of Chersias. This is made clear in the following passage (9.38.10):

τοῦδε τοῦ Χερσίου τῶν ἐπῶν οὐδεμία ἦν ἔτι κατ' ἐμὲ μνήμη, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ἐπηγάγετο ὁ Κάλλιππος ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν ἔχοντα ἐς Ὀρχομενίους· τούτου δὲ τοῦ Χερσίου καὶ ἐπίγραμμα οἱ Ὀρχομενιοὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡσιόδῳ τάφῳ μνημονεύουσιν.

The use of the clause ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδε ἐπηγάγετο ὁ Κάλλιππος ἐς τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον τὸν ἔχοντα ἐς Ὀρχομενίους (9.38.9) 'looks back' to Pausanias' earlier reference (9.29.2) to Hegesinous' *Atthis*, knowledge of which is again derived from Kallippos. Conversely, his source for the attribution of the four-verse epigram on Hesiod's grave to Chersias is not Kallippos but the Orchomenians.

3. Pausanias does not doubt the attribution of epic poetry to Chersias (and Hegesinous), as he does with other epic poets. This attitude shows that he considers his source, Kallippos, trustworthy. The fact that he acknowledges in the most explicit way that the poetry of Chersias did not survive in his age shows that he believes that only a few verses had been preserved in a work

where they have been at home, i.e. Kallippos' ἐς Ὀρχομενίους συγγραφή.¹¹⁴⁰

4. Pausanias, our main source for the *Minyas*, never associates it with Chersias, despite the Orchomenian connections of both poem and poet. If Chersias had been a fictive invention of a later period, then it would have been natural to attribute to him all Orchomenian poetry of the past. But Pausanias¹¹⁴¹ mentions in relation to this epic a certain Prodikos of Phokaia, whose authorship of the *Minyas* he doubts. Here, then, we see clearly that neither Pausanias nor his sources, which must have reflected some extant Orchomenian tradition, associated all epic poetry of Orchomenos with Chersias.¹¹⁴² If, then, the most typical type of forgery, i.e. of attributing to a historical or quasi-historical figure all earlier poetry connected to a given place,¹¹⁴³ does not apply to Chersias, it is very difficult to see why Chersias would be fictively associated with an epic the title of which is not mentioned even by an author (Kallippos) writing about the place from which this poet comes (Orchomenos).

5. The information offered by Plutarch is in perfect agreement with that given by Pausanias with respect to Chersias' excellence as Homeric *exegetes*. In the *Sept. sap. conv.* 164b10–c1, Plutarch makes Aesop refer to Chersias' skill in interpreting Homer: καὶ ὁ Αἰσωπος, ὅταν γε παίζηι πρὸς ἐμὲ Χερσίας, εἶπε· ὀσπυδάζων δὲ τούτων Ὅμηρον εὐρετὴν ἀποδείκνυσι καὶ φησι τὸν μὲν Ἑκτορα γινώσκειν ἑαυτόν. Is it a coincidence that the two verses of Chersias' epic production quoted by Pausanias (via Kallippos) show a strong knowledge of epic poetry? A simple juxtaposition will suffice:

Hom. *Il.* 2.506–7 and 511: [506]

Ὀγχηστόν θ' ἱερὸν Ποσιδήϊον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος,
οἳ τε πολυστάφυλον Ἄρνην ἔχον, οἳ τε Μίδειαν

.....
οἳ δ' Ἀσπληδόνα ναῖον ἰδ' Ὀρχομενὸν Μινύειον [511]

Chersias, fr. 1:

ἐκ δὲ Ποσειδάωνος ἀγακλειτῆς τε Μιδείης
Ἀσπληδὼν γένεθ' υἱὸς ἀν' εὐρύχορον πτολίεθρον.

6. West has rightly drawn attention to the fact that the 'forgery' of Kallippos with respect to the sole extant fragment of Chersias is odd, since forgeries are usually too inventive and suprising in their use of diction, not so predictable and boring.¹¹⁴⁴ Moreover, there should have been a reason for which Kallippos would forge verses by both Chersias and Hegesinous in his ἐς Ὀρχομενίους συγγραφή.

Sources

The sources for Chersias' epic poetry are Pausanias (9.38.9–10) and Plutarch

(*Sept. sap. conv.* 156e8–164c.10 *passim*) both for the extant fragments and for his poetry and *floruit*.

Date

If Plutarch's association of Chersias with Periandros of Corinth and Chilon of Lakedaimon is taken as representing historical information about a poet Chersias, then his *floruit* must belong to the 6th century BC. Since, the *Sept. sap. conv.* contains only historical personalities, it would have been odd if Chersias who takes part in it belonged to the world of fiction. His troubles with the tyrant Periandros may indeed be 'novelistic fiction',¹¹⁴⁵ of the sort a later age liked to associate with the life and deeds of famous men of the past, like Periandros.¹¹⁴⁶ But the fact that Plutarch does not mention a single verse of his is not proof that some of his verses did not survive in the Imperial era and, even more so, that he did not exist at all.¹¹⁴⁷

Commentary

Fr. 1

The couplet refers to the birth of Aspledon to Poseidon and the nymph Mideia. This seems to be pointing to genealogical poetry pertaining to the foundation of the city of Aspledon in Boiotia and its naming after the namesake son of Poseidon and Mideia. Aspledon is known both as a Boiotian¹¹⁴⁸ and Phokian¹¹⁴⁹ city. There is a good case that behind the story of the abandonment of Aspledon¹¹⁵⁰ because of water shortage (a surprising explanation since one of Aspledon's fathers¹¹⁵¹ was Poseidon)¹¹⁵² lies a historical event, i.e. the displacement of the older substratum of Minyans by the incoming Aiolians. Being situated in the northern part of Boiotia, these Minyans would have been the first to feel the pressure of the successive waves of Aiolians moving to the south. Their movement to Orchomenos makes perfect sense, since it was reasonable for them to seek refuge to the closest Minyan city. It is in this light that Müller has suggested the following supplements to Stephanos Byzantios' text:¹¹⁵³

τὴν δὲ παρ' Ὀμήρῳ (B 511) τῆς Βοιωτίας φασὶ <***> τοὺς Βοιωτοὺς πρότερον Αἰολεῖς καλεῖσθαι, τοὺς δὲ Ὀρχομενὸν καὶ Ἀσπληδόνα <οικοῦντας Μινύας>.

¹⁻² τοὺς Αἰολεῖς πρότερον Βοιωτοὺς καλεῖσθαι codd. ||

² <οικοῦντας Μινύας> Müller : <κατοικῖσαι> Berkel

Chersias seems to have opted for a version, in which Aspledon would be the son of Poseidon, apart from being also the son of Presbon or Orchomenos.¹¹⁵⁴ This must have been a local version, since it is only epichorically transmitted.¹¹⁵⁵ As for Mideia, Chersias must be referring to the Boiotian city

named after the nymph Mideia, which is known as early as Homer (*Il.* 2.506–7): Ὀγχηστόν θ' ἱερὸν Ποσιδήϊον ἀγλαὸν ἄλσος, / οἳ τε πολυστάφυλον Ἄρνην ἔχον, οἳ τε Μίδειαν. This Mideia is different from the more famous Argolic city with the same name.¹¹⁵⁶ Boiotian Mideia was at the borderline between Phokis and Boiotia. It was first located on high ground and was named after Aspledon's mother, the nymph Mideia. Its name and location changed when Lebados arrived at the area from Athens. The inhabitants of Mideia moved to the plain and the city was named Lebadeia after Lebados.¹¹⁵⁷

Diction and Meter

The diction is typical of epic poetry with definite Homeric overtones.

1. ἐκ δὲ Ποσειδάωνος . . . γένεθ' υἱός is paralleled by ὅς τε Ποσειδάωνος ἐρισθ[ε]νέος γένεθ' υἱός ([Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 150.27 M–W). On ἀγακλειτῆς τε Μιδείης, see Hom. *Il.* 18.45 (ἀγακλειτὴ Γαλάτεια) in the same metrical position. This is the standard placement of the epithet ἀγακλειτός in archaic Greek epic, being followed by a three- (Hes. *Th.* 1016: ἀγακλειτοῖσιν ἄνασσον) and four-syllable (Hom. *Il.* 12.101: ἀγακλειτῶν ἐπικούρων) word at verse-terminal position depending on its ending as well as on the initial syllable of the following word.¹¹⁵⁸

2. For ἀν' εὐρύχορον πολίεθρον, see Hom. *Il.* 2.498 (εὐρύχορον Μυκαλησσόν); Hom. *Od.* 13.414 and 15.1 (ἐς/εἰς εὐρύχορον Λακεδαίμονα), Hom. *Od.* 24.468 (πρὸ ἄστεος εὐρυχώροιο); Sapph. 44.12 Voigt (πτόλιν εὐρύχορον).

Danais

Text, Critical Apparatus, and Translation

Testimonia

Test. 1 /G 14.1292 ii 10 = Tabula Iliaca 10K (Borgia) p. 61 Sadurska

] ἔπεσιν, καὶ Δαναΐδας ,ςφ' ἐπῶν, καὶ τὸν [

. . . and the *Danaids*, in 6,500 verses, and the [. . .

Fragmenta

Fr. 1 Clem. Strom. 4.120.4 (II 301 Stählin) (= PEG = EGF = GEF)

φασὶ ... τὰς Ἀργολικὰς ... Σπαρτιάτας ... φανείσας ... μόνον τρέψασθαι καὶ ἐκείναις τὸ ἀδεὲς τοῦ θανάτου περιποιήσασθαι. τὰ ὅμοια λέγει καὶ ὁ τὴν Δαναΐδα πεποιηκῶς ἐπὶ τῶν Δαναοῦ θυγατέρων ᾧδε·

καὶ τότε ἄρ' ὠπλίζοντο θοῶς Δαναοῖο θύγατρες
πρόσθεν ἑὺρρεῖος ποταμοῦ Νείλοιο ἄνακτος

καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς.

4–5 Δαναοῖο θύγατρες – Νείλοιο ἄνακτος codd. : Δαναοῖο ἄνακτος – Νείλοιο θύγατρες
commutandas esse clausulas cogitat Köchly ||

5 post ποταμοῦ interpunxit Wilamowitz

They say that the Argive women ... turned to flight the Spartans ... by solely showing themselves and that [Telesilla] made them acquire fearlessness of death. The author of the *Danaïs* says similar things concerning the daughters of Danaos:

*and then the daughters of Danaos swiftly armed themselves
in front of the fair-flowing river, the lord Nile*

and so forth.

Fr. 2 Harpokr. Lex. s.v. αὐτόχθονες (I 68.8–15 Dindorf) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος (fr. 253 S–M) καὶ ὁ τὴν Δαναΐδα πεποιηκῶς φασιν Ἑριχθόνιον τὸν Ἥφαιστου ἐκ γῆς φανῆναι.

1–2 τὸν Ἥφαιστου Schroeder : ἐξ Ἥφαιστου καὶ ἐκ Γῆς Düntzer : καὶ Ἥφαιστον codd.

Pindar and the author of the *Danais* say that Erichthonios, son of Hephaistos, appeared out of the earth.

Cf. *IG* 14.1292 ii 10 (= Tabula Iliaca 10K [Borgiae], g1–7, pp. 59–60 Sadurska):

1[Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ φευγούσης τὸν]
Ἥφαιστον καὶ μὴ προσδ[εξα]-
μένης τὸ λέχος, τῆς γον[ῆ]ς
ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν πεσοῦσης {ἐπὶ
5τὴν} γεννᾶται ὁ Ἐριχθόνιος.
Πρὸ τῆς ἔριδος Ἀθηνᾶς πρὸς
Ποσειδῶνα πρόκειται τάδε.

2–3 προσδ[εξα]μένης suppl. Heeren : προσδ[εχο]μένης Ebert

4–5 ἐπὶ τὴν γεννᾶται inscr. : ἐπὶ τὴν del. Kaibel : ἐπιγεννᾶται Ebert (vide supra ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν)

When Athena was fleeing from Hephaistos because she did not accept intercourse with him, Erichthonios was born from the semen that fell on the ground. These events take place before the strife between Athena and Poseidon.

Fr. 3 Philod. *Peri eusebeias* B 5818 (Obbink)

πα]ρὰ δὲ τῷ ποιή[σαν]τι τὴν Δανα[ΐδα] μητρὸς τῶν θ[εῶν] θ[εράπον] [τ]ες [οἱ
Κου]ρῆτες.

And according to the author of the *Danais*, the Kouretes are attendants of the Mother of the Gods.

—

Danais
Commentary

Title and Sources

The title *Danaïs* is reported by a testimonium (*IG* 14.1292 ii 10 = *Tabula Iliaca* 10K (Borgia) p. 61 Sadurska)¹¹⁵⁹ and all three extant fragments (*Clem. Strom.* 4.120.4; *Harpokr. Lex.* s.v. αὐτόχθονες (I 68.8–15 Dindorf); *Philod. Peri eusebeias* B 5818 Obbink).¹¹⁶⁰ In the testimonium, in contrast to the three fragments, the title is given in the plural¹¹⁶¹ followed by a reference to the epic's size in terms of verses: καὶ Δαναΐδας ,ζφ' ἐπῶν ('and the *Danaids* in 6,500 verses'). The epic's size is almost half of the *Iliad* but close to that of the *Oedipodea* (6,600 according to the *Tabula Iliaca* 10K [Borgiae]) and the *Thebais* (7,000 verses according to the *Certamen*).¹¹⁶² This size allows for a detailed treatment of a number of mythical episodes, which may well have been only loosely associated until the creation of the *Danaïs*, i.e. the myths of Io, Argos, the Danaids, and Amyclone.¹¹⁶³ The title *Danaïs* means the epic of Danaos not 'the daughter of Danaos',¹¹⁶⁴ as *Alkmeonis* means 'the epic of Alkmeon', *Phoronis* means 'the epic of Phoroneus', and *Theseis* 'the epic of Theseus'.

Authorship

No information survives about the poem's author, who is designated in our sources as ὁ τὴν Δαναΐδα πεποιηκώς,¹¹⁶⁵ and ὁ τὴν Δαναΐδα ποιήσας.¹¹⁶⁶

Plot

The reconstruction of the plot of the *Danaïs* is based on the epic's surviving fragments, on further material attested in tragedy (Phrynichos' *Danaides* and Aischylos' Danaid-trilogy), and on later sources.¹¹⁶⁷ The plot of this epic may have started with Zeus' love for Io, daughter of the river-god Inachos and priestess of Hera at Argos. Being discovered by Hera, she was transformed by Zeus into a cow. After wandering, Io arrived in Egypt, where she gave birth to Epaphos. Epaphos had a daughter (Libye), who bore to Poseidon twin sons, Agenor and Belos. When Agenor left for Phoenicia, Belos remained as the sole heir of the throne in Egypt. He married a daughter of Neilos and had also twin sons from her, Aigyptos and Danaos. It is at this point that the story of the Danaids comes to the foreground. Fragment 1 (*EGEF*) refers to the daughters of Danaos either being armed so as to kill the sons of Aigyptos in Egypt¹¹⁶⁸ or preparing in haste by the banks of the river Nile in Egypt just before their departure to Greece. There can be, therefore, no doubt that the epic featured the story of Danaos' daughters, who fled to Argos in order to escape either from their cousins, the sons of Aigyptos, or from the penalty that would have been inflicted on them if they had murdered their cousins. Fragment 2 (*EGEF*) refers to the birth of Erichthonios from the earth but it is

not clear at all how this episode would have featured within the plot of the *Danaïds*.¹¹⁶⁹ Fragment 3 (*EGEF*) records that the Kouretes who were the attendants of the Mother of the Gods. Notwithstanding the inherent difficulties with respect to the contextualization of this fragment, it is possible that the Kouretes may have been mentioned in a framework relating to first inventors. The epic undoubtedly included the dramatic highlight of this mythical tale, i.e. the murder of most of Aigyptos' sons by the daughters of Danaos at their father's instigation and 'the dynasty that was descended from the one who was spared, Lynceus'.¹¹⁷⁰

Style of the Poem

The *Danaïds* must have stood between the Hesiodic tradition and the early historians and our detailed knowledge of its content would have probably allowed us to see an 'epic Hekataios' in action, given the poem's interest in 'lands and peoples, in the expansion of geographical knowledge, in early history and wanderings'.¹¹⁷¹ Since the very journey of Io from Argos to Egypt could not be effectuated directly by sea, Io had to travel by land, covering (with the exception of Italy) a large part of the world as known to the Greeks.

The fact that the Danaid-myth was more than once explored by tragedy shows that it contained enough material for dramatic exploitation. The flight of the Danaïds from Egypt (pairing the earlier flight of Io), their journey to Argos, and the subsequent murder of the sons of Aigyptos have provided the necessary background for considerable suspense, character development, and pathos.¹¹⁷²

Date

The dating of the *Danaïds* is unknown, but there are some indications which, if considered cumulatively, broadly suggest the sixth century BC:¹¹⁷³

1. The mention of the birth of Erichthonios is an indication towards the sixth century BC.¹¹⁷⁴
2. If the Kouretes were presented as pipers, as is the case in the *Phoronis*, then the seventh century BC should be treated as a *terminus post quem*, since it was then that Phrygian music became known to the Greeks.¹¹⁷⁵
3. If the *Danaïds* was used by Aischylos for his Danaid-trilogy performed around 463 BC, then this date may function as a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of this epic.¹¹⁷⁶
4. The Egyptian stemma that was employed in the *Danaïds* (with Belos as son of Epaphos and father of Danaos and Aigyptos) reflects an orientaling tendency that can hardly be earlier than the 6th century BC. If West's hypothesis that 'there was a more ancient version of the story in which it was

the fifty sons of Arkadian Lycaon who married the Argive girls' is correct, then the 'expansion' and 'transfer' of the story to Egypt must have happened at a period during which the Greeks living overseas were able to make new attachment, 'and contributed some pieces of genealogy'.¹¹⁷⁷

Commentary

Fr. 1

These are the only surviving verses from the *Danaïs*. Köchly's suggestion for an interchange of the verse-terminal formulas so as to read Δαναοῖο ἄνακτος – Νεῖλοιο θύγατρες introduces a harsh hyperbaton with θύγατρες¹¹⁷⁸ separated from Δαναοῖο by no less than five words.¹¹⁷⁹

The context within which this couplet must be placed is that pertaining either to the arming of Danaos' daughters or to their preparation for fleeing (together with their father) to Argos. If the detail offered by Apollodoros, according to whom Danaos was the first to build a ship so that they could sail to Argos,¹¹⁸⁰ featured in the *Danaïs*, then Meyer's¹¹⁸¹ assumption that Io had travelled, again in the manner Apollodoros describes her itinerary,¹¹⁸² mainly inland until she reached Egypt may have also formed part of this epic.¹¹⁸³ Since the arrival of Danaos and his daughters at Rhodes, where they founded a temple in honor of Athena at Lindos, is attested only in sources deprived of an ascription to the *Danaïs*,¹¹⁸⁴ it should be treated with caution. Although it could create a link with respect to the role of Athena in the poem (see fr. 2 *EGEF*), it could equally be that the *Danaïs* made no mention of the Lindian temple¹¹⁸⁵ and that it was itself the inspiration for the legend that Danaos was its founder.¹¹⁸⁶

It is not easy to tell whether the use of ὀπλίζοντο points to an ensuing fighting. It could also designate the equipment the Danaids were hastily (θοῶς) taking with them before their departure.¹¹⁸⁷ Wilamowitz opted for a fighting scene on the banks of the Nile, on the basis of the context of Clement's citation of these two lines next to his reference to Telesilla's leading of the women of Argos against the Spartan army of Kleomenes. He also drew attention to traces of what he called the 'amazonhaftes Wesen' ('the Amazonian nature') of the Danaids in Aischylos, Phrynichos, ¹¹⁸⁸ and Melanippides of Melos, a dithyrambic poet of Euripides' time.¹¹⁸⁹ Kraus¹¹⁹⁰ emphatically repeated Wilamowitz' arguments and dismissed wholesale Meyer's interpretation (that the Danaids were preparing themselves for departure from Egypt).¹¹⁹¹ This line of interpretation is not against the departure of Danaos together with his daughters. Repercussions were to be expected. Moreover, the building of a fifty-oared ship after the advice of Athena,¹¹⁹² makes sense only if Danaos was bringing with him to Greece a whole group of people. Alternatively ὀπλίζοντο θοῶς is taken as meaning 'they were equipping themselves in haste' because of the danger they were facing. Although this interpretation cannot be excluded, it is less likely. The

parallels from the *Iliad* point to the meaning ‘they were arming themselves’.¹¹⁹³ The expression Νεῖλοιο ἄνακτος specifying ἐϋρρεῖος ποταμοῦ can only be taken in a metaphorical sense, i.e. ‘Lord Nile, the fair-flowing river’. Although, according to the Σ in the *Odyssey*, the rivers Νεῖλος and Αἴγυπτος were equated,¹¹⁹⁴ this can hardly be the case here, since Aigyptos was Danaos’ twin brother from Belos and Anchione,¹¹⁹⁵ one of the river Nile’s daughters.¹¹⁹⁶ Aigyptos’ usurpation of the Egyptian throne was effectuated after his return from Phoenicia.¹¹⁹⁷

What about the names of the Danaids? Apollodoros’ list is based on the episode of their marriages to the sons of Aigyptos, since he cites each one’s name together with the name of her husband.¹¹⁹⁸ The names of the Danaids are also attested in Hyg. *Fab.* 170. The two lists share the names of only seven¹¹⁹⁹ Danaids and nine¹²⁰⁰ Aigyptioi, Apollodoros’ containing the oldest forms.¹²⁰¹ Robert has observed that a significant number of the names given to the Danaids and the sons of Aigyptos have features of the Ionic dialect (Ἀκταίη, Ἀναξίβη, Κλεοδώρα, Σκαῖη) and as a whole the list evokes hexameter poetry.¹²⁰² He also stressed that, as is the case with other similar lists (Robert refers to the Hesiodic catalogue of the Nereids in Hes. *Th.* 243–62 but this observation could be extended to other catalogues as well), there is a notable alliterative effect (Αὐτομάτη-Ἀμυμώνη-Ἀ-γανή, Ἴστρος-Ἴπποδάμειαν, Ἴδας-Ἴπποδίκη, Εὐίππη-Ἐρατώ). In the Marmor Parium only five or six names of Danaids were mentioned, but the overall context is remarkably similar to the old lay of the tale of Danaos’ daughters going as far back as the *Danaïds*. The fragmentary condition of the names does not allow for any safe conclusions.¹²⁰³ All the observations simply show that some of the names attested in Apollodoros could feature in hexameter poetry, not that there was a complete list of all the Danaids in the *Danaïds* on which Apollodoros is drawing.

The sources are divided with respect to whether Aigyptos travelled together with his sons to Argos in the first place. In Hekataios (fr. 19 *EGM*) Aigyptos stayed in Egypt,¹²⁰⁴ and the same goes for one of the different versions reported by the Σ *Eur. Or.* 872 (I 184.12–185.4 Schwartz), according to which Aigyptos comes to Argos only at a later phase to take revenge for the murder of his sons. In this version, the murder had taken place at Argos, since Lynkeus is already there and tries to reconcile the two brothers. In Aischylos he is hardly in Argos. In Σ *Eur. Hek.* 886 (I 69.19–23 Schwartz) Danaos exiles Aigyptos and his sons from Argos to Egypt. In this version too only the sons return to Argos. On the other hand, both Phrynichos (fr. 1 [*Aigypt.*] *TrGF* 1 in Σ *Eur. Or.* 872 [I 185.2–3 Schwartz])¹²⁰⁵ and a Euripides fragment (846 incert. fab. *TrGF* 5.2 in Aristoph. *Ran.* 1206–8)¹²⁰⁶ record that Aigyptos went to Argos together with his sons.¹²⁰⁷ It is almost impossible to decide which version was employed by the author of the *Danaïds*.

1. On καὶ τότ' ἄρ(α) in verse-initial position, see Hom. *Il.* 7.405, 17.237, 17.593, 17.651, 20.375, 24.32, 24.786; Hom. *Od.* 15.458, 23.247; on ὀπλίζοντο θοῶς, see Hom. *Il.* 7.417 (στὰς ἐν μέσσοισιν. τοὶ δ' ὀπλίζοντο μάλ' ὄκα).

2. On ἐϋρρεῖος ποταμοῦ, see Hom. *Il.* 6.508, 14.433, 15.265, 21.1, 24.692 (ἐϋρρεῖος ποταμοῖο being placed always in verse-terminal position).

Fr. 2

The story of the birth of Erichthonios is known by a large variety of sources.¹²⁰⁸ The core of this tale is the following: Hephaistos wanted to have sex with Athena in recompense for agreeing to manufacture arms for her. Being abandoned by his wife Aphrodite, he made a sexual pass on Athena and started pursuing her, despite the fact that she was unwilling to have intercourse with him. When he had come close to Athena, he ejaculated on her thigh. Being disgusted at this, Athena wiped the semen with wool and threw it to the ground.¹²⁰⁹ It was from this semen that Erichthonios was born.¹²¹⁰

The story is fashioned so as to provide an etymological explanation for the name Ἐπι-χθόνιος,¹²¹¹ on the basis of either ἔρις ('strife')¹²¹² or ἔρα ('earth') or ἐρέχθαι ('break') or ἔριον ('wool') and χθών ('ground').¹²¹³ The two goddesses that seem to have played their part in this story express two opposing poles with respect to the theme of sex: Aphrodite abandoned Hephaistos by sleeping with Ares, while Athena did not let him touch her. In the version offered by Kallimachos,¹²¹⁴ if Heinrichs'¹²¹⁵ and Luppe's¹²¹⁶ restorations are correct, we come across a critique of Hephaistos' sexual desire that is evaluated negatively against the backdrop of his physical disability: his paragonal lameness did not make him σώφρων.¹²¹⁷ This unfavorable assessment of Hephaistos' sexual activity is also seen in the account of Apollodoros, though this time it is Athena who is σώφρων.¹²¹⁸

What was the context of this tale within the plot of the *Danaïs* is very hard to tell. Huxley, who at first seems to entertain an analogy between Athena's shunning of the sexual advances of Hephaistos and rejection of marriage on the one hand, and the Danaïds' refusal to marry the sons of Aigyptos on the other, rightly concludes that the relation of this Athenian tale with the *Danaïs* 'is beyond conjecture'.¹²¹⁹

Fr. 3

This fragment virtually overlaps with fragment 3 of the *Phoronis*, in which it is said that the Kouretes were Phrygian pipers. Huxley suggests that 'their instruments they may well have played in honour of the Great Mother of Phrygia, the country whence the Phrygian mode of music came to the Greeks'.¹²²⁰ Although there is no evidence that the Kouretes were pipers in the *Danaïs* too, Huxley's suggestion remains a reasonable possibility, since in

two Argive epics (the *Phoronis* and the *Danaïs*) the same people (Kouretes) perform the same task (are servants of the Mother of the Gods). These Kouretes should not be associated with the ‘young, noisy, armed dancers of Crete who conceal the cries of the baby Zeus by banging on their shields with their lances, thus preventing detection by Kronos’.¹²²¹ They belong to Argive myth, their scope and function being rather regional. Is it possible that the information given by a [Hesiodic] fragment (*Cat. fr. 10a.19 M–W*) is also relevant to both the *Phoronis* and the *Danaïs*? The designation of the Kouretes as θεοί is incompatible with the *Phoronis*, in which they are designated as Phrygians, which means that they are not gods, but with respect to their being referred as φιλοπαίγμονες ὀρχηστῆρες (‘sportive dancers’) we may be less dismissive. Given the paucity of the material available it is very difficult to assess what would have been the function of the Kouretes in the *Danaïs*. Having said this, I will offer an account that should be treated by readers as *exempli gratia*. There is a single piece of information that, if reflecting the old epic traditions, would admirably make all the pieces of the puzzle take their proper position. According to the *Marmor Parium*,¹²²² it was during the kingship of Erichthonios that the ἄγαλμα or βρέτας¹²²³ of the Mother of the Gods appeared on Mt Kybela of Phrygia and that the Phrygian Hyagnis invented the *aulos* and Phrygian harmonics. He was also the first to sing with the *aulos* the *nomoi* of the Mother of Gods, Dionysos, and Pan.¹²²⁴ In this light and given that the *Marmor Parium* had referred just before to the building by Danaos of the first fifty-oared ship with which he brought his daughters to Greece from Egypt,¹²²⁵ an episode that may have featured in the *Danaïs*, as well as to the episode of the establishment of the temple of Athena in Lindos by the daughters of Danaos on their way to Greece,¹²²⁶ it is a reasonable possibility that it reflects the version of the myth that is still recovered by means of frs. 2–3 *EGEF* of the *Danaïs*. Philodemos’ reference to the Kouretes as servants of the Mother of the Gods may have been used in the *Danaïs* in the same context that is reconstructed with the help of the *Marmor Parium*. Seen from this vantage point, the *Danaïs* may have fostered an Argive mythical version about ‘first inventors’ like Hyagnis that would rival the relevant Athenian versions with respect to gifts given to the Athenians by the gods.¹²²⁷ The Kouretes, then, of the *Danaïs* must have been local and somehow associated with Danaos and his daughters. One possibility is through their link with Phrygia, an area for which we have determined specific connections with the Argolid in another Argive epic, the *Phoronis*.¹²²⁸ Another possibility is that the reference to the Kouretes was done in a context emphasizing first inventors, like Hyagnis who had invented the *aulos* and Phrygian music. Such a topic may have been mentioned when the *Danaïs* turned its focus to the role the Danaïds and/or Danaos played in turning Argos from ἄνυδρον (‘waterless’) into ἔνυδρον (‘holding water in it’) or εὐνυδρον (‘well-watered’).¹²²⁹ It is not impossible that such an episode was shared by both the [Hesiodic] *Catalogue* and the *Danaïs*.¹²³⁰ In fact, it was

deeply built in the early Argive tradition,¹²³¹ as one can also see from the *Phoronis*.

Minyas

Text, Critical Apparatus, and Translation

Fragmenta

Fr. 1 Paus. 10.28.2 (III 154.11–25 Rocha-Pereira) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

τὸ δὲ ἕτερον μέρος τῆς γραφῆς ... ἔστιν Ὀδυσσεὺς καταβεβηκὼς ἐς τὸν Ἅιδην ὀνομαζόμενον ... ἔχει δὲ οὕτω τὰ ἐς τὴν γραφήν. ὕδωρ εἶναι ποταμὸς ἔοικε, δῆλα ὡς ὁ Ἀχέρων, καὶ κάλαμοί τε ἐν αὐτῷ πεφυκότες καὶ ἀμυδρὰ οὕτω δὴ τι τὰ εἶδη τῶν ἰχθύων· σκιὰς μᾶλλον ἢ ἰχθύς εἰκάσεις. καὶ ναὺς ἔστιν ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ καὶ ὁ πορθμεὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς κώπαις. ἐπηκολούθησε δὲ ὁ Πολύγνωτος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ποιήσει Μινυάδι· ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Μινυάδι ἐς Θησέα ἔχοντα καὶ Πειρίθουν·

*ἐνθ' ἥτοι νέα μὲν νεκράμβατον, ἣν ὁ γεραιός
πορθμεὺς ἦγε Χάρων, οὐκ ἔλλαβον ἔνδοθεν ὄρμου.*

ἐπὶ τούτῳ οὖν καὶ Πολύγνωτος γέροντα ἔγραψεν ἤδη τῇ ἡλικίαι τὸν Χάρωνα.

3 ante ἀμυδρὰ <ἰχθύες· ἔστι δ'> add. Spiro ||

4 ante σκιὰς <ὡς> add. Kayser | inter καὶ et ὁ verbum <γέρων> posuit Schubart ||

8 ἦγε Pa^{sv} : ἦκε β | ἔλλαβον Pa : ἔλαβον β | ὄρμου Pa^{sv} : ἔρμου β ||

9 ἐπὶ τούτῳ PaVaVb : τοῦτο β

The other part of the picture ... shows Odysseus, who has descended into what is called Hades ... What is depicted is as follows. There is water in the like of a river, being clear that it refers to Acheron, with reeds growing in it and fish the forms of which are very faint; they look like shadows rather than fish. And there is a boat in the river and the ferry-man at the oars. It seems to me that Polygnotos followed the poem *Minyas*. For in the *Minyas* there are verses referring to Theseus and Peirithoos:

*There the boat that the dead board, which the old
ferryman Charon steered, they did not find at its berth.*

For this reason, then, Polygnotos too painted Charon as already advanced in age.

Fr. 2 Paus. 10.28.7 (III 156.5–11 Rocha-Pereira) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

ἔστι δὲ ἀνωτέρω τῶν κατειλεγμένων Εὐρύνομος. δαίμονα εἶναι τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου φασὶν οἱ Δελφῶν ἐξηγηταὶ τὸν Εὐρύνομον, καὶ ὡς τὰς σάρκας περιεσθίει τῶν νεκρῶν, μόνᾳ σφίσιν ἀπολείπων τὰ ὀστέα. ἡ δὲ Ὀμήρου ποιήσις ἐς Ὀδυσσέα καὶ ἡ Μινυὰς τε καλουμένη καὶ οἱ Νόστοι – μνήμη γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐν ταύταις

Ἰδου καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ δειμάτων ἐστὶν – ἴσασιν οὐδένα Εὐρύνομον δαίμονα.

1 τῶν (ἐν Ἰδου) PaVaVb : τὸν (ἐν Ἰδου) β ||

4 μνήμη γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἐν ταύταις Ἰδου West : μνήμη γὰρ καὶ ἐν ταύταις Ἰδου propos. Schubart : μνήμη γὰρ δὴ ἐν ταύταις καὶ ἐν Ἰδου codd. : ἐν ante Ἰδου om. R¹PaVb (prob. multi viri docti)

Higher up than the figures I have enumerated there is Eurynomos. The Delphian guides say that he is one of the demons in Hades, and that he devours the flesh of the dead, leaving only their bones. The poetry of Homer pertaining to Odysseus and the so-called *Minyas* and the *Nostoi* –for there is in them reference both to Hades and the terrifying things there- know of no demon Eurynomos.

Fr. 3^A Paus. 9.5.8–9 (III 10.14–18 Rocha-Pereira) [= fr. 3 PEG = 4 EGF = 3 GEF]

λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὥς ἐν Ἰδου δίκην δίδωσιν ὁ Ἀμφίων ὢν ἐς Λητὴν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπέρριψε· καὶ τὰ ἐς τὴν τιμωρίαν τοῦ Ἀμφίονος ἔστιν <ἔπη> ποιήσεως Μινυάδος, ἔχει δὲ ἐς Ἀμφίονα κοινῶς καὶ ἐς τὸν Θράικα Θάμυριν.

2 καὶ τὰ ἐς Hitzig coll. 1.27.7 : κατὰ δὲ codd. | <ἔπη> post ἔστιν suppl. Sylburg

It is also said that Amphion is punished in Hades for his insults to Leto and her children. There is a reference to the punishment of Amphion in the poem *Minyas*, and it pertains jointly to Amphion and the Thracian Thamyras.

3^B Paus. 4.33.7 (I 1.349.29–350.1 Rocha-Pereira) [= fr. 4 PEG = 4 EGF = 4 GEF]

Πρόδικος δὲ Φωκαεύς – εἰ δὴ τούτου τὰ ἐς τὴν Μινυάδα ἔπη – προσκεῖσθαι φησι Θαμύριδι ἐν Ἰδου δίκην τοῦ ἐς τὰς Μούσας αὐχλήματος.

1 τὴν Μινυάδα codd. : τὰς Μινυάδας Lobeck | φησι R^{SV}PaVb : φασι β

Prodikos of Phokaia – if these verses pertaining to the land of *Minyas*¹²³² are his own – says that a punishment has been imposed on Thamyras in Hades because of his boasting to the Muses.

***3^C Paus. 10.30.8 (III 162.3–8 Rocha-Pereira)**

Θαμύριδι δὲ ἐγγὺς καθεζομένῳ τοῦ Πελίου διεφθαρμένοι αἱ ὄψεις καὶ ταπεινὸν ἐς ἅπαν σχῆμά ἐστι, καὶ ἡ κόμη πολλὴ μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, πολλὴ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τοῖς γενείοις· λύρα δὲ ἔρριπται πρὸς τοῖς ποσὶ, κατεαγότες αὐτῆς οἱ πῆχεις καὶ αἱ χορδαὶ κατερρωγυῖαι.

1 θαμύριδι Pa : θάμυρις β | ἐγγὺς Pa : ἐγγύτατα Siebelis: ἐγγυᾶται β ||

2 πολλῇ] πολὴ Madvig (bis)

Thamyris who is sitting near Pelias has been blinded and his air is completely dejected. The hair on his head and his beard are long; a lyre is lying thrown by his feet, the arms and strings of which have been broken.

Fr. 4 Paus. 10.31.3 (III 162.29–163.7 Rocha-Pereira) [= fr. 5 PEG = 3 EGF = 5 GEF]

Μελέαγρος δὲ ὁ Οἰνέως ἀνωτέρω μὲν ἢ ὁ τοῦ Ὀϊλέως Αἴας ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, ἔοικε δὲ ὀρῶντι ἐς τὸν Αἴαντα. τούτοις πλὴν τῷ Παλαμῆδει γένειά ἐστι τοῖς ἄλλοις. ἐς δὲ τοῦ Μελεάγρου τὴν τελευταίην Ὀμήρωι μὲν ἐστὶν εἰρημένα ὡς Ἑρινὺς καταρῶν ἀκούσαι τῶν Ἀλθαίας καὶ ἀποθάνοι κατὰ ταύτην ὁ Μελέαγρος τὴν αἰτίαν· αἱ δὲ Ἥοιαι τε καλούμεναι ([Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 25.12–13 M–W) καὶ ἡ Μινυὰς ὠμολογήκασιν ἀλλήλαις· Ἀπόλλωνα γὰρ δὴ αὐταὶ φασιν αἱ ποιήσεις ἀμῦναι Κούρησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ ἀποθανεῖν Μελέαγρον ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος.

1 ἀνωτέρω μὲν ἢ R^{ms}PaVb : ἄνωθε μὲν ἢ V¹ : ἄνω τεμένη FP | οἰλέως V¹ : οἰαλέως β ||

3 ἐρινὺς Pa : περίνυς VF : περίνης P : <ή> Ἑρινὺς Bekker ||

6 γάρ om. Pa

Meleagros, the son of Oineus, is above Ajax, the son of Oileus, in the painting, and he seems to be looking at Ajax. All the others but Palamedes have a beard. With respect to the death of Meleagros it is said by Homer that the Erinys heard the curses of Althaia, and that Meleagros died according to this cause. But the so-called *Ehoiai* and the *Minyas* are in agreement between themselves. For these poems say that Apollo helped the Kouretes against the Aitolians and that Meleagros was killed by Apollo.

Fr. 5 Philod. *Peri eusebeias* B 4922 Obbink

Ὡ]ρίωνα δὲ θνη[τὸν] λέγει καὶ ὁ τῇ[ν Μι]γνάδα γράψ[ας, ἀποθανεῖν δ' ὕ]π' Ἀ[ρτέμιδος.

1 θνη[τὸν] Bücheler, Obbink : Ἡσί[ο]δος Merkelbach-West (fr. dub. 345) | τῇ[ν Μι]γνάδα Gomperz ||

1–2 ἀποθανεῖν δ' ὕ]π' Ἀ[ρτέμιδος Schober : ὑπὸ | σκορπίου] πλ[ηγῆναι] Philippon

The author of the *Minyas* too says that Orion was mortal and that he was killed by Artemis.

Fragmenta dubia fortasse ad Minyadem pertinentia

Fr. *6 P.lbscher cols. i–ii (Berlin, private collection, lbscher inv. number 18122 (recto); see *SIFC* 1950, n.s. 24: 255–63 (R. Merkelbach); *SIFC* 1952, n.s. 26: 221–2 (R. Merkelbach) = *AfP* 1958, 16: 52–4 no. S (R. Merkelbach) [= fr. 7 PEG = *7

col. i

[“ οὐ δύνατ’ οὐ τις]
 ἀνθρώπων ὀλ[έσαι με βίηφί τε δουρί τε μακρῶι,
 [0]ἀλλά με Μοῖρ’ ὀλο]ῃ καὶ Λητοῦς ὤλεσε[ν υἱός.
 ἀλλ’ ἄγε δὴ μοι ταῦτα δι]αμπερέως ἀγρό[ρευσον·
 τίπτ’ ἄρ’ ὀδὸν τοσσή]γδε κατήλυθες [εἰς Αἴδαο,
 τίπτε δὲ Πειρίθοός τοι] ἄμ’ ἔσπετο π[ισ[τὸς] ἐ[ταῖρος;
]η τί κατὰ χρεῶ ζω[ὸς ἰκάνε]ις;”
 [5]τὸν δ’ αὖτε προσέφη π[ρ]ότερό[ς] τ’ ἀπ[ὸ] μῦθον ἔειπε[ν
 Θησεὺς Αἰγείδης]ας εἰς ποιμένα λαῶν·
 “διογενὲς]ς [Μελ]έαγ[ρε, δαῖ]φρονος Οἰνέως υἱέ,
 τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι] ταῦτ[α μάλ’ ἀ]τρεκέως καταλέξω.
 [10]Πειρίθοον μεγάλ’ ἄσε θ]εὰ δασπλῆτις Ἐρινύς·
]. εὐφρενδε []ἀγαυὴν Φερσεφόνειαν
 9]. . . . ας φασ .[. . .]αι Δ[ί]α] τερπικέραυνον
 [12]ἀθανά]των τε νόμοις, ἵνα ἐδνώσειεν ἄκ[ο]ιτιν·
 καὶ γὰρ] ἐκείνους φασὶ κασιγνήτας μεγ[ακ]υδεῖς
 μνησ]τεύειν, γαμέειν δὲ φίλων ἀπ[άγ]ευθε τοκῆων.
 [14]ᾧδε κ]αὶ ἐκ μακάρων γάμον ὄρνυται ἐδνώσασθαι
 αὐτοκ]ασιγνήτην ὁμοπάτριον· ἐγγυτέρω γάρ
 φήσ’ εἶ]ναι γεγαῶς αὐτὸς μεγάλου Αἴδαο
 Φερσεφ[ό]νηι κούρηι Δημήτερος ἡϋκόμοιο·
 αὐτὸς] μὲν γάρ φησι κασίγνητος καὶ ὄπατρος
 [20]τῆς ἔμ]εν<αι>, Αἴδην δὲ φίλον πάτρω {ι}α τετύχθαι·
 τοῦ δ’ ἔν]εκεν φάτο βῆμεν ὑπὸ ζόφον ἡερόεντα.”
 ὧς ἔφατ’·] Οἰνείδης δὲ κατέστυγε μῦθον ἀκούσας,
 τὸν δ’ ἀπ]αμ[ειβό]μενος προσεφώνει μελιχίοισιν· [25]
 “Θησεῦ Αἠην]αίων βουληφόρε θωρηκτάων,
 ἦ ρ’ οὐχ Ἴππο]δάμεια περίφρων ἦν παρά[κοι]τις
 μ]εγαθύμου Πειριθόοιο;
 θερ]άποντα[
]. . π[
]ορσκ[
]ρεμα[
] ν [

col. ii

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ξ[
α.[

0 οὐ δύνατ' οὐδεῖς] Merk. : οὐ δύνατ' οὐ τις] West. ||

1 ἀνθρώπων ὅλ]έσαι Merk. ||

2 ἀλλά με Μοῖρ' ὅλο]η Merk. qui antea ἀλλά με μητρὸς ἀρα]i suppl. | ὥλε]σεν υἱός Merk. ||

3 ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ μοι ταῦτα Merk. : ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ μοι καὶ σὺ Latte : ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ μοι πάντα Page | ἀγρό]ρευσον Merk. ||

4 τίπτ' ἄρ' ὁδὸν τοσσή]νδε Page : τίπτ' Αἶδαο δόμο]νδε Merk. : ἡ ἰδίης ἐνθέ]νδε Latte | [εἰς Αἶδαο Merk. qui etiam [εὐρώεντα prop. : [εἵνεκα χρείης Latte ||

5 τίπτε δὲ Πειρίθοός τοι] West : καὶ τίς ἔων οὗτός τοι] Page : καὶ τίς σοι ἔρεβόσδε] Latte: - νυ τίς δέ σοι οὗτός vel. sim. M–W | πισ[τὸς] ἐ[ταῖρος Latte ||

6 τεθνεώτων τεμέν]η τί κατὰ χρ<ε>ὴ ζῶ[δς ἰκάνε]ις; Page : ἡ ἐ φίλου μέγα δ]ή τι κατὰ χρέος, ὥς ἀνύσα]ιο; Latte : κατὰ χρέ[ος] ὤ[δε Maas ||

7 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέφη π] M–W : Θησεὺς δ' ἀντηῦδα π] Merk. : στή δὲ μάλ' ἄγχ' αὐτοῦ Page | ἔειπε]ν Maas : ἔειπε[Merk. ||

8 Θησεὺς Αἰγείδης West : ὄμμασιν ἀτρέπτοις βλέψ]ας Latte : Θησεὺς, χεῖρας ὁμοῦ πιτν]ὰς Page | εἰς II : ἐς M–W ||

9 hunc versum post 11 transp. West (duce Maas), qui Πειρίθοον μεγάλ' ἅσε θ]εὰ suppl. : post 7 transp. Wyss, qui ὄν (sc. μῦθον) οἱ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε prop. : ἅτην δ' ἐν φρεσὶ θῆκε θ]εὰ Merk. : ὥς οἱ ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θ]εὰ Latte (ἐπὶ φρεσὶ corr. M–W) : ἦ μάλ' ἀ γ' ἐδάμασσε θ]εὰ Page : ὄν μάλ' ἀ γ' ἐδάμασσε θ]εὰ Zerhoch ||

10 suppl. Merk. ||

- 11 τοιγάρ ἐγὼ τοι Merk. : αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοι Page | παῦτ[α μάλ’ ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω Merk. : ατραπεως II ||
- 12 ἤλθομ[εν suppl. hesitanter Merk. ||
- 13 φας [. . .]αἱ Most : θεσμῶι θ’ ὄν ποτε] φάσκ’ [ἀρέσ]αι Latte : φασὶ γ[αμει]ν sive φάσκ’ [εἶν]αι Merk. : φὰς γ[εῦσ]αἱ West ||
- 14 suppl. Merk. : νόμοισιν ἐεδνώσεσ[θαι (αεδν- II) Maas ||
- 15 καὶ γὰρ] vel πάντας] Merk. | φασι II : φησὶ ci. Maas : μεγ[ακ]υδεῖς Latte : μὲν [ἀδε]λφεάς Maas ||
- 16 μνησ[τέειν Merk. | τε Merk. : δε II | ἀπάγ]ευθε τοκήων Maas. ||
- 17 ὧδε κ]αὶ vel ὧς δὲ κ]αὶ Merk. : ὧς ῥα κ]αὶ Latte | εγμ[ακαρ II | ἐγγύασθαι ci. Maas ||
- 18–19 suppl. Latte ||
- 20 Φερσεφ[όνηι Merk. ||
- 21 αὐτὸς] vel κείνης] vel εἶναι] Merk. | μεγγαρ II ||
- 22 τῆς ἐμ]μεν<αι> Merk. μ ξ supra [[εν]] γράφεται in II | πατρωια II : πάτρωα corr. Merk. ||
- 23 τοῦδ’ ἐν]εκεν vel τῶνδ’ ἐν]εκεν Maas : τοῦνε]κ’ ἐ[πείγε]το Page ||
- 24 suppl. Merk. ||
- 25 τὸν δ’ ἀπ]αμ[ειβό]μενος Ebert : καὶ μιν ἀμ[ειβό]μενος Merk. | προσεφώνει II : προσεφώνεε corr. Bern. | μειλιχίοισι II : μειλιχίουσιν corr. Maas ||
- 26 suppl. Merk. ||
- 27 ἦ ῥ’ οὐχ Ἱππο]δάμεια vel ἦ ῥ’ οὐχ Δηϊ]δάμεια M–W : ἀλλὰ γὰρ vel ἀλλ’ οὐχ Merk. : οὐ νό τοι Ἱππο]δάμεια Latte | παρὰ[κοι]τις Merk. ||
- 28 αἰδοίη κεδνή μ] suppl. Merk. : κουριδίη τ’ ἄλοχος μ] Vecchiato ||
- 29 suppl. hesitanter Merk.

col. ii

- 1 ὧς ε]ἰπὼν vel ὧς ἔ]φατ’ Merk. ||
- 2 σεμν-? M–W ||
- 5 ἐξ Ἀ[ἰδεω vel ἐξα[ῖντις vel alia M–W ||
- 6 ἤμε[λλεν inter multa alia prop. M–W ||
- 13 possis μ<ε>ἰδ ut Merk. ||
- 14 εἰ σε- vel εἰς ε- vel εἶσε M–W ||
- 15 γα[ι-? vel γα[μβρ- ? M–W

col. i1233

[0]... “No man was able]
to kill me by his strength and long spear,
[but it was deadly Fate and the son] of Leto who brought [me down.
But, come tell [me these things] fully;
[why] did you come [all this way] down [to Hades].
[and why did Peirithoos], your lo[yal] f[riend follow [you]? [5]
[...] In need of what did you [arrive here a] live?”
[To him spoke f]irst and replied
Theseus, the son of Aigeus, [...] to the shepherd of peoples:
“[Noble-born Mel]eagros, son of wise Oineus, [10]
I will tell you these things in great detail.
The grim goddess Erinys [greatly infatuated Peirithoos]; [9]
] *text nonsensical* [...] noble Persephone 12
] saying that Z[eus] who is pleased in thunder [
and in accordance to the laws of the [immor]tals, in order to dower her as his
wi[fe].

For they say] that they too [woo] their sple[nd]id sisters, [15]
 and have sex with them awa[y from their parents.
 So] he is eager to dower a marriage from among the blessed (gods),
 his own s]ister from the same father; for closer
 he claims to b]e as kin than great Hades
 to Perseph]one, the daughter of fair-haired Demeter; [20]
 for he [himself] says that he [i]s [her] brother from the same father,
 whereas Hades is her uncle.
 [Bec]ause [of this reason] he said that he was going to the murky darkness.”
 [So he spoke;] and the son of Oineus was horror-struck when he heard
 these words,
 [and in re]ply [to him] he addressed him with comforting words: [25]
 [“Theseus] counsellor of the warlike [Athen]ians,
 isn’t it not] that wise [Hippo]dameia was the wi[fe]
 of [g]reat-hearted Peirithoos?
 [com]panion[

Fr. *7 Pausimachos (ap. Philod. *Peri poiematon* 1 col. 123.6 Janko) [= fr. *8 GEF]

ἦ [δὲ με]τὰ φθιμένοισι πολυ[λ]λίστη βασίλεια

ἦ [δὲ West : ἦ [ρά Bücheler: η[N : om. J

[But] she among the dead, the much-sought with prayers Queen.

—

Minyas

Commentary

Title

The title Μινυάς designating an epic poem is attested only by two sources: Philodemos (*Peri eusebeias* B 4922 Obbink: ὁ τῆ[ν Μι]νυάδα γράψ[ας]), and Pausanias who employs it no less than 5 times¹²³⁴ (9.5.9: ἔστιν <ἐπι add. Sylburg> ποιήσεως Μινυάδος, 10.28.2: ποιήσει Μινυάδι ... ἔστι γὰρ δὴ ἐν τῇ Μινυάδι, 10.28.7: καὶ ἡ Μινυάς τε καλουμένη καὶ οἱ Νόστοι, 10.31.3: αἱ δὲ Ἵοιαι τε καλούμεναι καὶ ἡ Μινυάς). The addition of the noun ποιήσις in two of Pausanias' citations (in fact, ποιήσις may be also understood in Paus. 10.28.7)¹²³⁵ aims at drawing the line between the land (χώρα, γῆ) and the epic *Μινυάς*. The addition of ποιήσις aims at clarification. The same phenomenon has been observed with respect to the so-called νεώτεροι, who are first designated solely by this term, but then with the addition of 'explanatory terms', such as ποιηταί, οἱ μεθ' Ὅμηρον, οἱ μεθ' Ὅμηρον ποιηταί.¹²³⁶

The title *Μινυάς* gives the false impression that it is connected to Μινύας,¹²³⁷ the local hero and founder of Orchomenos. The extant fragments of this epic tell a different story, since they have nothing to do with this hero.¹²³⁸ In this light, it is better to focus on a possible association of the epic with Boiotian Orchomenos, a Minyan city attested as early as Homeric poetry (*Il.* 2.511;¹²³⁹ *Od.* 11.284),¹²⁴⁰ and examine whether the epic's title is connected with Minyan Orchomenos.¹²⁴¹ This does not mean that we should postulate some thematic link between the *Minyas* and secondary developments pertaining to the Minyans, such as their Argonautic association.¹²⁴² The *Carmen Naupactium* (*Ναυπάκτια/Ναυπακτικά*) furnishes a good analogy, since the epic's name probably reflects its association with the area of Naupaktos by means of a possible performance context. Could we postulate the same scenario for the *Minyas*? Is it possible that what is 'Orchomenian' in this epic was the fact that the poem was circulating in the area of Orchomenos? Let us not forget that Pausanias, our principal source for the epic's name *Minyas*, uses the same word as an adjective modifying the noun χώρα to designate the area of Orchomenos (9.9.1: ἐκ τῆς Μινυάδος χώρας).¹²⁴³ Like Philodemos before him, he may have found that this term was employed to designate an epic poem current in the area of Orchomenos. This was the epic of the land of Minyas, as the *Ναυπάκτια* was the epic of the Naupaktos area. Neither of them was about the respective geographical region. Such an explanation does not exclude some genealogical material pertaining to this region (perhaps at the very beginning of the epic), but traces a pattern of epic poetry operating on a local and not Panhellenic level.

What about the epic's performance context? Orchomenos was the center, like many other places in Boiotia, of a rich poetic and musical activity from

the 4th century BC onwards, in which rhapsodic performances were also included.¹²⁴⁴ Poetic contests formed part of various other festivals taking place in Boiotia, like the *Ptoia* and *Soteria* in Akraiphia, the *Basileia* and *Trophoneia* in Lebadeia, the *Agrionia*, *Charitesia* and *Homoloia* in Orchomenos etc.¹²⁴⁵ In view of the lack of information concerning rhapsodic contests in Orchomenos before the 4th century BC, we may simply look for poetic performance outside the framework of a poetic-musical competition. In fact, the blossoming of epic in Boiotia during the archaic period, as the example of Hesiodic poetry amply shows, is no light indication for the existence of performance context(s) within which local epic like the *Minyas* must have risen.

Orchomenos was one of Boeotia's most ancient cities and one of the functions the tradition of the Minyans must have acquired in the archaic period was that of denoting remote antiquity, and perhaps status too. The Homeric,¹²⁴⁶ [Hesiodic],¹²⁴⁷ Pindaric,¹²⁴⁸ Hellanikan,¹²⁴⁹ and Pherekydean¹²⁵⁰ references to Orchomenos as 'Minyan', the circulation of genealogical material according to which Minyas was the son of Orchomenos¹²⁵¹ or vice versa,¹²⁵² all this material shows that the 'Minyan' element was at the very kernel of the Boiotian city of Orchomenos and probably stemmed from a remote time, when the realm of the Minyans extended from south Thessaly to Lake Copais in Boiotia. The prestige of Orchomenos must have been considerable at a very early point in Greek history. Pausanias writing in the 2nd century AD selects Minyan Orchomenos next to such cities as Mykenai, Boiotian Thebes, Assyrian Ninos (Nineveh), Egyptian Thebes, Babylon, and Delos as examples of great cities or places (Delos) of the past that have been completely depopulated in his time.¹²⁵³ He also uses eulogistic terminology to refer to its special position among Greek cities.¹²⁵⁴ The inclusion of Orchomenos (called Minyan) in this list shows that even in the Imperial Period the city's prestigious past had still not died out. That Orchomenos had also a 'special' identity within Boiotia is clear from our earliest evidence, e.g. the Iliadic Catalogue of Ships (2.511–16).¹²⁵⁵ Therefore, being 'Minyan' must have contributed to the area's special identity and prestige even after its incorporation into Boiotian territory. Seen from this vantage point, the use of the name *Minyas* as a title for an epic poem may have meant something like 'epic poetry pertaining to ancient Orchomenos, reflecting the prestige and status of this city.'¹²⁵⁶

Author

According to Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* 1.21.131), some say that there was a poem called *Εἰς Αἴδου κατάβασις* ('Descent to Hades') assigned to Prodikos of Samos. The *Suda* reference (ο 654 [III 565.6–7 Adler]) to a poem *Εἰς Αἴδου κατάβασις* by a certain Herodikos of Perinthos has nothing to do with the episode of the descent to Hades that may have featured in the *Minyas*. Müller's emendation of Ἡποδίκου (codd.) to Προδίκου is off the

mark. It is based on his belief that the *Eiς Ἄιδου κατάβασις* and the *Minyas* are one and the same Orphic epic. In order to reinforce this claim, he has to make the information of the *Suda* match the information found in Clement. Since Perinthos was a Samian colony in the Propontis (founded in 559 BC), which would ease the attribution to the Samian or Perinthian Prodikos, a slight change of the letter H into Π seemed to suffice for making the *Suda* ascribe a poem *Eiς Ἄιδου κατάβασις* to this ‘Prodikos’. Thus Müller made two false identifications: after ‘turning’ Herodikos of Perinthos into ‘Prodikos’ of Perinthos, he identified him with Clement’s Prodikos of Samos, and then both of them with Prodikos of Phokaia mentioned by a hesitant Pausanias as the author of the *Minyas*.¹²⁵⁷ On the basis of Clement’s information, it was then argued that we may be dealing with the same poem (since a descent to Hades may have featured in the *Minyas* too).¹²⁵⁸ Other scholars claimed that it is more plausible that there were two distinct poems with different titles but treating the same topic (or, at least, part of the same topic).¹²⁵⁹ Finally, there is the possibility that there was only a single poem, the *Minyas*, and that the confusion was created because one of its episodes, the descent to Hades, was thought to have been an independent poem. All these considerations are based on the fact that a certain Prodikos was the author of the *Minyas*. But it should be stressed that Pausanias, who is our best source of information concerning this epic, regularly avoids to mention the author of this poem, and the one time he gives the author’s name (4.33: Πρόδικος δὲ Φωκαεύς) he makes sure to let us know about his serious doubts (εἰ δὴ τοῦτου τὰ ἐς τὴν Μινυάδα ἔπῃ). Philodemos refers to the author of the *Minyas* without citing the author’s name (ὁ τῇ[ν Μι]νυάδα γράψ[ας]),¹²⁶⁰ which means that he did not know the author of the *Minyas* because his source did not mention him as well. If then the source of Philodemos was some earlier prose summary of epic material, such as what we assume to have been included in the *kyklos* of Dionysios the Kyklograph,¹²⁶¹ then the ignorance concerning the authorship of the *Minyas* may go back at least to an earlier stage of the Hellenistic period. I think that it is more cautious and, perhaps, prudent to claim that there has been a confusion between two, at least, different uses of the term *Eiς Ἄιδου Κατάβασις*, which was employed both for an independent Orphic poem (attributed to various authors like Kerkops the Pythagorean, Herodikos of Perinthos, <Prodikos of Samos>, or Orpheus of Kamarina),¹²⁶² and for an episode of the archaic epic *Minyas*. In this light, it is better to admit that it is not possible to attribute the *Minyas* with certainty to any author. As is the case with other early epics such as the *Phoronis*, the *Danais*, and the *Carmen Naupactium*, it is better to declare our ignorance as to the epic’s authorship.¹²⁶³

Sources

The extant sources for the *Minyas* are Pausanias (4.33.7, 9.5.9, 10.28.2, 10.28.7, 10.31.3) and Philodemos (*Peri eusebeias* B 4922 Obbink). There are

also two papyrus fragments, both without author designation (P.Ibscher col. I and another coming from Pausimachos [in Philodemos' *Peri poiematon* 1 col. 123.6 Janko]), which have been tentatively ascribed to the *Minyas*.¹²⁶⁴

Plot and Style

It is very difficult to reconstruct the plot of the *Minyas*, with the exception of the Underworld scenes mentioned by Pausanias and mainly on the pretext of his description of Polygnotos' *Lesche* in Delphi,¹²⁶⁵ and the long papyrus fragment (P.Ibscher col. i), which can be attributed (see below) either to this epic or to the [Hesiodic] *Περίθου κατάβασις*. We must resist the temptation to postulate a beginning of the epic that would contain genealogical material pertaining to the area of Orchomenos in Boiotia. A potential performance context does not determine the epic's content. Moreover, since 'there were no particular myths about the Minyans as such, or about their eponym *Minyas*' and that the information available to us pertains to scenes in the Underworld, any connection with 'Minyan matters' remains 'entirely obscure'.¹²⁶⁶ Welcker's¹²⁶⁷ suggestion that the *Minyas* treated the victory of Herakles over the Minyans of Orchomenos is not supported by the extant fragments. The same applies to his identification of this epic with the *Phokais*.¹²⁶⁸

We are in no position to decide with certainty whether fr. dub. *6 *EGEF* belongs to the *Minyas* or to the [Hesiodic] poem *Περίθου κατάβασις*.¹²⁶⁹ Perhaps, we should not trouble ourselves with this question, the more so since we have reason to believe that there were two versions relating the same episode.¹²⁷⁰ After all, *katabasis*-literature was quite popular during the archaic period as Odysseus' (*Od.* 11) and Herakles' (Pind. fr. 70b, 346 S-M; Bacch. *Epin.* 5) Underworld episodes show. In different parts of his work (9.31.5 and 10.28.2) Pausanias explicitly tells us that *both* the *Minyas* and an epic of the [Hesiodic] type included the episode of the descent of Theseus and Peirithoos to the Underworld. Moreover, in 10.31.3–4 Pausanias contrasts the Iliadic version of Erinys' curse that caused Meleagros' death with that of the *Catalogue of Women* (fr. 25.1–4 M–W) and the *Minyas* according to which Meleagros was killed by Apollo. P.Ibscher's version (col. I ll. 1–2)¹²⁷¹ of Meleagros' death is in agreement with both the *Catalogue of Women* and the *Minyas*, but since the papyrus fragment relates a *katabasis* by Theseus and Peirithoos, nothing prevents us from considering the possibility that it may come from this [Hesiodic] epic (see Pausanias 9.31.5). West, who argues that the *Minyas* has a stronger claim, adduces as evidence the poem's greater currency (the *Περίθου κατάβασις* is mentioned only one time by Pausanias) and the fact that Meleagros' own reference to his own death (*Min.* fr. dub. *6.1–2 *EGEF*) corresponds exactly with what Pausanias tells us in 10.31.3 (= *Min.* fr. 5 *EGEF*).¹²⁷² This argument can be further strengthened if we take into account that Pausanias (who knows of a [Hesiodic] poem about Theseus and Peirithoos' descent to the Underworld) does *not* mention it as offering the

same version with the *Minyas* about Meleagros' death. Instead he refers to the *Catalogue of Women*, which he classifies to the same category of [Hesiodic] poems with the *Πειρίθου κατάβασις*. Cingano has made the exact opposite claim. He argues that if we have to make a choice between the *Minyas* and the *Πειρίθου κατάβασις* with respect to the attribution of the Ibscher papyrus, then 'the more likely author is Hesiod, for a strong reason related to the very limited (nearly non-existent) number of papyrus fragments of epic poetry (other than the main Homeric and Hesiodic poems) which have turned up in the course of time'.¹²⁷³ In my view, it is impossible to decide between the two epics. I have, therefore, decided to include the Ibscher papyrus in this edition under *fragmenta dubia*. Under this *proviso*, some general observations concerning the poem's plot and style are underway:

1. All the scenes related by the extant fragments pertain to the Underworld.¹²⁷⁴

2. All heroes mentioned in these fragments are marked by a rather negative association with females: Amphion is punished in the Underworld for having insulted Leto and her children (Artemis and Apollo); Thamyris has been punished with the loss of his sight because he thought he could rival the Muses; Orion had raped Merope, the daughter of Oinopion,¹²⁷⁵ and, according to another tradition, Opis who was one of the virgins who had come from the land of the Hyperboreans;¹²⁷⁶ Meleagros has been cursed by his mother Althaia and is (in this version) punished by Apollo; Theseus and Peirithoos, who are notoriously linked to the abduction of Zeus' daughters, have descended to Hades so that Peirithoos abducts Persephone.

3. All heroes mentioned in the extant fragments have insulted the gods: Amphion has insulted Artemis and Apollo and Thamyris the Muses;¹²⁷⁷ Orion had insulted Artemis, who put him to death;¹²⁷⁸ Meleagros must have somehow insulted Apollo, otherwise his punishment by him remains unexplained; Theseus and Peirithoos insult Persephone (and Zeus).

4. It is pointless to try to connect every single figure of this epic with Boiotia. Some scholars¹²⁷⁹ have suggested a link between Amphion, the husband of Niobe, and another Amphion, the son of Iasos who ruled in Minyan Orchomenos and whose daughter Chloris was married to Neleus (*Od.* 11.281–4).

5. If the Theseus-Peirithoos descent to the Underworld really belongs to the *Minyas*, it is possible that it had been influenced by the more famous descent of Herakles. The same claim has been made for a number of later authors. Norden has argued that Virgil knew of a middle sixth-century epic *katabasis* by Herakles.¹²⁸⁰ Lloyd-Jones followed Norden adding that this epic descent by Herakles must have been known to Pindar, Bacchylides, and Aristophanes

as well.¹²⁸¹ It can hardly be a coincidence that knowledge of this sixth-century epic on Herakles' *katabasis* is guaranteed in Boiotia, where the *Minyas* comes from, since Herakles was known in Koroneia as Ἡρακλῆς Χάρων, a name given to him on the basis of his descent to Hades to fetch Kerberos.¹²⁸²

These observations can help us only suggest a general framework for the *Minyas*. If we are to accept its Boiotian (Orchomenian) origin and in the light of what has been said above, it is possible that we are dealing with catalogic poetry of a sort that may have been analogous to what we are familiar with from the *Catalogue of Women*. I am not suggesting a combination of a genealogical organized catalogue system pertaining to men, but of stories of 'insult and punishment' developed around standard common denominators such as females (mortal and immortal), gods, and the Underworld. This may have taken the form of *katabasis*-literature,¹²⁸³ which means that it may have been organized on the basis of the *katabasis* of a hero or heroes (here Theseus and Peirithoos) to the Underworld, where they would have come across others sharing a fate that would soon be imposed to the two friends.¹²⁸⁴

Date

If Pausanias' association of various scenes in Polygnotos' *Lesche* in Delphi with the *Minyas* is accurate, then Polygnotos' *floruit* (460–440 BC) should function as a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the *Minyas*. Greater precision may be achieved on the basis of some *realia*. Charon (fr. 1 *EGEF*), who is described as an old ferryman is not known in this role before the fifth century BC. With the exception of the *Minyas*, his earliest attestation in such a role is in Aischylos (*Sept.* 855–60; a play dated to 467 BC), though he is not mentioned by name, and in Euripides (*Alk.* 254;¹²⁸⁵ a play dated to 438 BC). The same picture is given by the iconographical representations of Charon, which begin in the early classical period and depict him as a ferry-man with white beard indicating his old age, i.e. in the way he is described in the *Minyas* (fr. 1.1–2 *EGEF*: γεραιός / πορθμεύς). This line of interpretation points to a period ranging from the end of the sixth to the beginning of the fifth century BC.¹²⁸⁶

Iconographical representations point to the fifth century too,¹²⁸⁷ though Debiasi is certainly right that we are missing a solid *terminus post quem* for this poem.¹²⁸⁸ But the burden of relevant information points much more to the early fifth century than the late sixth.

Commentary

Fr. 1

The phrase ἐπηκολούθησε δὲ ὁ Πολύγνωτος ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν ποιήσει Μινυάδι ('It seems to me that Polygnotos followed the poem *Minyas*') used by Pausanias

shows that part of what precedes in the Periegete's text must have also featured in the *Minyas*. With respect to the description of the river Acheron¹²⁸⁹ it is not clear whether it also reflects the content of the *Minyas*, though it is possible that some sort of description may have been also included in this epic. What is certain is the presence of the old ferry-man Charon,¹²⁹⁰ who would lead the souls of the dead (but also those who visited the Underworld, like Theseus and Peirithoos) across the river Acheron.¹²⁹¹ Pausanias makes it clear that the *Minyas* included a descent to the Underworld by Theseus and Peirithoos. The picturing of the Underworld in this epic must have been very different from what we are accustomed to in Homer. In contrast to the summoning of the shades of the dead after the sacrifice of a ram by Odysseus in the *Odyssey*, in the *Minyas* Theseus and Peirithoos must have descended to the Underworld through some entrance that led them to Acheron, where they started looking for Charon and his boat to cross over to the world of the dead. There were various entering points to the Underworld, but speculation about the specific entrance Theseus and Peirithoos used to descend to the Underworld is based on thin air: one is tempted to claim that an epic of a regional scope like the *Minyas* may have opted for an entrance point in Boiotia, exploiting local traditions about chasms in the earth that were considered entrance points to Hades,¹²⁹² but on the basis of other descents to Hades there are various alternatives.¹²⁹³ The *Minyas* is our earliest literary source that refers to Charon, but it is a reasonable inference that the figure of Charon as the old¹²⁹⁴ ferry-man¹²⁹⁵ of the Underworld was traditional¹²⁹⁶ and as such easily recognizable by the audience of the *Minyas*.¹²⁹⁷ Although Charon was indeed a metaphor for death, there are strong reasons for believing that he was considered to be a symbol of 'benevolent reception', whose solicitation was regarded as a 'request for an easy death'.¹²⁹⁸ It is also along these lines that we should interpret the representation of Charon as an old ferry-man. Old age symbolized wisdom and as such it may have functioned as a reassuring mechanism aiming at easing, to some extent, the anxiety humans felt when thinking that at some point in the future they will have to meet death face to face. If Polygnotos' *Lesche* functions as a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the *Minyas*, then it is likely (on the basis of iconographical evidence) that Charon was not depicted as an ugly and rough person. Moreover, his designation as a ferry-man (πορθμεύς), i.e. as a person having a regular profession may have also aimed at making this whole process 'more friendly' and easy to cope with for the future dead.

Why did Theseus and Peirithoos not find Charon's boat at its berth? Because he was absent, carrying across Acheron somebody else?¹²⁹⁹ Would this have been significant? Or is it possible that we are dealing with a situation similar to the one we encounter in Aristophanes' *Frogs*, in which Xanthias has to walk around the lake Acherousia?¹³⁰⁰ Although, given the lack of any relevant material, it is impossible to answer these questions, it is still worth making some general remarks. Before quoting two hexameters from the

Minyas, Pausanias describes the old ferry-man in Polygnotos' painting as being 'at the oars' (ἐπὶ ταῖς κώπαις), but the cited verses tell us that Theseus and Peirithoos did not find the boat at its berth, and therefore did not see Charon 'at the oars' waiting to carry them across Acheron. Polygnotos' painting of Charon is consonant with what we find in Euripides (*Alk.* 252–5), where he is depicted waiting for Alkestis with his hands on the pole (ὁρῶ δίκωπον ὁρῶ σκάφος ἐν / λίμναι· νεκύων δὲ πορθμεὺς / ἔχων χέρ' ἐπὶ κοντῶι Χάρων / μ' ἤδη καλεῖ).¹³⁰¹ Huxley argued that in the *Minyas* Theseus and Peirithoos did not make use of Charon's boat, since in the couplet cited by Pausanias it is said that the two heroes did not find Charon's boat at its berth.¹³⁰² I am reluctant to believe that this piece of information tells us that Charon did not feature in the *Minyas*. If that was so, then on what aspect did Polygnotos (as Pausanias made clear just before) follow the *Minyas*? Since Pausanias explicitly tells us that it is on the basis of this (ἐπὶ τούτῳ) that Polygnotos presented Charon as an old man and the phrase ἐπὶ τούτῳ refers to the couplet he cites from the *Minyas*, it is likely that Charon did indeed feature as an old ferryman in the lost epic too. In fact, there is an interesting analogy with the telling of this tale in the epic of *Gilgameš*. Following the advice of Šiduri, Gilgameš goes to the forest where Ūr-šanabi, Ūta-napišti's boatman, is together with the Stone Ones.¹³⁰³ After a victorious fight against Ūr-šanabi and the Stone Ones,¹³⁰⁴ Gilgameš explains to Ūr-šanabi the purpose of his journey and asks for his help. The ferry-man Ūr-šanabi tells him that by smashing the Stone Ones he has made his journey across the ocean very difficult. He advises Gilgameš to make huge punting-poles 'as an alternative means of propulsion',¹³⁰⁵ and the two men embark on the boat. At some point during the journey (when the poles are all gone), Gilgameš uses the ferryman's garment to make a sail with the result that they are finally able to cross the ocean and arrive at the Waters of Death.¹³⁰⁶ We do not need to follow the narrative in greater detail. What is clear is that it is possible to have some sort of retardation of the actual crossing of the water by means of various episodes needed for the particulars of an epic's plot. Something like this may have happened in the *Minyas* too, not through the influence of the *Gilgameš* epic, but simply because of reasons pertaining to the *katabasis* of Theseus and Peirithoos. After all, what the couplet quoted by Pausanias says is only that the two friends¹³⁰⁷ did not find Charon's ship where they expected to find it, not that they never found Charon.

Diction and Meter

1. ἐνθ' ἦτοι is attested only twice in Homer in verse-initial position (*Il.* 16.399, 463). νέα: in Homer the word is attested (in the sing.) only once in verse-initial position (*Od.* 9.283: νέα μὲν μοι κατέαξε Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων).¹³⁰⁸ νεκυάμβατον is a *hapax legomenon* in the whole of Greek literature; on the form ἀμβατός that is used in both epic and lyric, see Hom. *Il.* 6.434 (ἀμβατός ἐστι πόλις καὶ ἐπίδρομον ἔπλετο τεῖχος); Hom. *Od.* 11.316

(ἴν' οὐρανὸς ἄμβατος εἴη); Hes. *Op.* 681 (τότε δ' ἄμβατος ἐστὶ θάλασσα); Pind. *O.* 10.27 (ὁ χάλκεος οὐρανὸς οὐ ποτ' ἄμβατος αὐτῷ). γεραιός / ... ἦγε : see Hom. *Il.* 11.632 (ἦγ' ὁ γεραιός at verse-end). γεραιός is always used instead of γηραιός for old men in Homer with a notion of dignity (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 1.35, 10.164).

2. πορθμεύς: see Hom. *Od.* 20.187 (πορθμῆες); see also Eur. *Alk.* 253 (νεκύων δὲ πορθμεύς); Aischin. 3.158 (οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε εἰ ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς πορθμέας τοὺς εἰς Σαλαμῖνα πορθμεύοντας); Ar. *Ekk.* 1086 (χαλεπαί γ' ἂν ἦστε γενόμεναι πορθμῆς); Kallim. fr. 628 Pf. (πορθμέα νεκρῶν). ἔλλαβεν: this form goes back to **é-slabe*,¹³⁰⁹ see Hom. *Il.* 3.34, 5.83, 8.371, 8.452, 11.402, 14.475, 14.506, 16.334, 16.599, 20.477, 23.468, 24.170, 24.672; Hom. *Od.* 1.298, 18.394, 22.71; *HHymn to Demeter* (2) 40. The doubling of (usually) liquids and nasals *metri gratia* is noted in both papyri and manuscripts of the Homeric text and may well reflect rhapsodic practice;¹³¹⁰ it is also observed in Stesichoros (fr. 97.216 Finglass: παῖδας ἐνὶ μεγάροι),¹³¹¹ Pindar (*P.* 5.42: καθέσσαντο μονόδροπον φυτόν), in another fragment of the *Minyas* (fr. dub. *7 *EGEF*: πολυ[λ]λίστη βασιλεια), and occasionally in inscriptions (see *CEG* 597.5: γήραι ὑπὸ λλιπαρῶι, a fourth-century [330–320 BC] inscribed epitaph from Attica; *GVI* 2074: ἐνὶ μμεγάροισι, a third-century BC verse-inscription from Samos).¹³¹²

Fr. 2

Although this fragment basically tells us what we will *not* find in the *Minyas*, i.e. the demon Eurynomos,¹³¹³ it is also instructive with respect to two issues pertaining to this epic poem. First, it clearly tells us that there were other δαίματα ('terrifying things') in Hades in the *Odyssey*, the *Minyas*, and the *Nostoi*. What could have been these δαίματα? In the *Nekyia* of the *Odyssey*, at the very moment Odysseus is ready to see the 'men of the past', something he really desires, he hears a terrible sound making the 'nations of the dead' gather. Fearing lest Persephone send him Gorgo's head from the depths of Hades, he mounts his ship with his comrades and sails away.¹³¹⁴ This passage is interesting with respect to the *Minyas*, irrespective of whether we treat Hom. *Od.* 11.631 (Θησέα Πειρίθοόν τε, θεῶν ἐρικυδέα τέκνα) as genuine or not, following Hereas of Megara, who according to Plutarch¹³¹⁵ had argued that this verse had been inserted in the text of the *Odyssey* by Peisistratos to gratify the Athenians.¹³¹⁶ Gorgo is a real δαίμα and may well have featured in *katabasis*-epics like the *Minyas*. Did these 'terrifying things' include the punishment and eternal suffering of humans whose arrogance had caused divine anger? This is certainly possible, provided that we interpret the word δαίματα in its broader sense, i.e. as designating both creatures (like Gorgo or Eurynomos) and situations causing fear. In the *Odyssey* (11.582–92) and the *Nostoi* (fr. 3 *GEF*) we hear of the punishment of Tantalos, though different versions of his penalty are given, and the *Odyssey* refers to the sufferings of other notorious wrongdoers, such as Tityos (11.576–81) and Sisyphos

(11.593–600). The second important point with respect to this fragment, which is relevant to the content of the *Minyas*, stems from Pausanias' *citation grammar*. When Pausanias looks for a reference to a mythical figure in various poems, he groups them by means of some feature that they share. For example, in 4.2.1 he looks into the *Ehoiai*, the *Carmen Naupactium*, and the genealogies of Kinaithon and Asios in search of the names of the children of Polykaon and Messene. His selection of these poems must have depended on their genealogical nature, which made them a rather 'reasonable' place to look for genealogical information concerning Polykaon's offspring. The same is the case, *mutatis mutandis*, with respect to the fragment. On the other hand, the analogy should not be taken too far. We are not entitled to argue that since the *katabasis*-material included in the *Odyssey* and the *Nostoi* was only a part of their entire subject-matter, the same may have been the case with the *Minyas*, in which all extant fragments refer to scenes in the Underworld.

Fr. 3A–C

I have decided to group fr. 3–4 (*PEG* = *GEF*) under fr. 3A–B following Davies. This numbering is based on the following methodological principle: since Polygnotos, according to Pausanias, follows in some parts of his *Nekyia* the epic *Minyas*, it is advisable to number as many of the surviving fragments according to the order of their description in the Polygnotan *Lesche* of the Knidians. This methodological principle makes sense only if Polygnotos' Underworld scenes present a 'pictorial narrative', which (as far as the *Minyas* is concerned) may be reproducing the order of scenes as they featured in the original poem. Although, this line of thought pertains only to the description of the Polygnotan *Nekyia*, and therefore it is not 'binding' for other passages (9.5.8–9 and 4.33.7) of Pausanias' work, in which there is a mention to an episode of the *Minyas*, I have decided to include Pausanias' description of the punishment of Thamyris in the Underworld (10.30.8) to the *Minyas*. In this light, it is advisable not only to add a new fragment (3c) under the same number in which 9.5.8–9 and 4.33.7 are rightly placed in Davies' (*EGF*) edition, but also to place 3A (9.5.8–9), 3B (4.33.7), and 3C (10.30.8) before the 'Meleagros' fragment.¹³¹⁷

According to Pausanias (9.5.8–9), Amphion and Thamyris were mentioned 'jointly' in the *Minyas* (see fr. 3A above). Pausanias' phrasing means that they formed part of the same scene and were closely coupled, not just two members within a longer catalogue. True, the *Minyas* may have grouped people punished for their arrogance¹³¹⁸ but Amphion and Thamyris were also connected by their musical/ poetic skills,¹³¹⁹ Amphion being a gifted lyre-player (he had received his lyre from Hermes)¹³²⁰ and Thamyris a famous singer who had rivaled the Muses.¹³²¹ The fact that in 4.33.7 Pausanias mentions Thamyris in the *Minyas* on his own is not against the abovementioned argument, since in 4.33.7 the Periegete's reference to the fate of the Thracian singer is incorporated into his larger discussion of the tale of

Thamyris.

Amphion's punishment is due to his insults towards Leto and her children, Apollo and Artemis. What form these insults took in the *Minyas* is not clear from Pausanias' report. I do not think that the phrasing of Pausanias indicates that there was more than one insult (ὄν) that Amphion made against Leto, Apollo, and Artemis, and it is very likely that the Periegete is referring to the well-known story of Niobe's boast to Leto that she (Niobe) had more children than her (Leto). Amphion's insult follows the one made by his wife.¹³²² When Apollo and Artemis decided to punish Niobe for her arrogance by killing her sons and daughters, Niobe retreated in mourning to Mt Sipylos. On the contrary, Amphion attacked Apollo's temple and was subsequently killed by the god who either shot him with his arrows¹³²³ or sent a plague to his house.¹³²⁴ The reference to Amphion's madness by Loukianos¹³²⁵ must be referring to his attack on Apollo's temple.

The interest of the *Minyas* in Amphion's fate in the Underworld may have been partly triggered by the fact that there was a local, 'Orchomenian' or 'Minyan' Amphion, son of Iasos, king of Orchomenos, who was married to a daughter of Minyas named Persephone.¹³²⁶ This Amphion was the father of Chloris,¹³²⁷ the only female survivor of Niobe's daughters (according to a version reported by Apollodoros¹³²⁸ and Hyginus¹³²⁹). The inclusion of Chloris among Niobe's¹³³⁰ and Amphion's daughters must be later, as well as the 'invention' of her being the only female survivor among the Niobids, since there was a strong and old tradition (known already by the *Odyssey*),¹³³¹ according to which she married Neleus, brother of Pelias.¹³³²

The earliest reference to the punishment of Thamyris is *Il.* 2.594–600, in which it is stated that this gifted Thracian singer claimed that he could defeat the Muses in a singing contest.¹³³³ It is not unthinkable that part of the information found in Apollodoros is quite early.¹³³⁴ According to this version, Thamyris had told the Muses that if he outsang them, then he should be allowed to have sex with all of them, whereas if they outsang him, then they would be allowed to take from him whatever they wished. The version of the contest between Thamyris and the Muses goes back at least to the 5th century BC,¹³³⁵ as can be shown on the basis of intense dramatic and dithyrambic engagement with this topic. Sophokles produced a play with the title *Thamyras*, in which he played Thamyris himself.¹³³⁶ According to the *Σ Hom. Il.* 2.595 (I 311.1–3 Erbse), if Thamyris lost in the contest he would lose his sight, whereas if he won he would marry one of the Muses. Because of his boasting, the Muses made him blind and deprived him of his musical skills. Pausanias says that Thamyris was punished in Hades for his boast to the Muses. If this statement is taken at face value, then we can see a significant difference from the version attested in the *Iliad*. Pausanias speculates (ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν) that Thamyris lost his eyesight because of an illness, which is an effort on the part of the Periegete to rationalize the causes of Thamyris' blindness. This same tendency for rationalization on the part of

Pausanias can be seen in his version of Amphion's death, who perishes not by Apollo's arrows (as in Hyg. *Fab.* 9) but because of a plague (Paus. 9.5.9). Pausanias' reference to a punishment of Thamyras in the Underworld (10.30.8) is probably derived from the *Minyas*.¹³³⁷ The Periegete does not specifically tell us that Polygnotos draws on the *Minyas* with respect to the kind of punishment Thamyras received in the Underworld, but it would have been odd if in the same painting (depicted on the Knidian *Lesche*) the famous painter had followed the *Minyas* with respect to the fact that Amphion and Thamyras had been punished in the Underworld, but had used a different source of inspiration for the depiction of Thamyras' punishment. Thamyras probably had the fate of one of the notorious wrongdoers (Tityos, Sisyphos, Tantalos) of the Odyssean *Nekyia* who suffered endlessly in the Underworld by means of a torment pertaining to their arrogance in the world of the living. He was condemned to eternal blindness even in the Underworld, having next to his feet his lyre,¹³³⁸ which he could not play any more, as the broken arms and strings make clear.¹³³⁹

Did Amphion, who was jointly presented with Thamyras in the *Minyas*, have suffered an analogous punishment in Hades? It may well be the case that Amphion would be tormented in a way recalling his arrogance in the world of the living.¹³⁴⁰

Fr. 4

The presence of Meleagros in the Underworld in the *Minyas* may have been treated in detail,¹³⁴¹ if P. Ibscher (col. i, see below) comes from the same epic. But even if one is unwilling to base an argument on such an assumption, it is likely that the *Minyas* must have included an extended encounter of Theseus and Peirithoos with the dead Meleagros. The point behind this reasoning is that the *katabasis* in the *Minyas* must have been influenced by an earlier *katabasis*-poem, in which Herakles had met (among other dead) Meleagros in the Underworld. Pindar's *Dithyramb* 2 (*Κατάβασις Ἡρακλέους ἢ Κέρβερος Θηβαίους*)¹³⁴² and Bacchylides 5, two poems featuring such an encounter (the latter containing a dialogue between the two heroes) offer a telling analogy. The same is the case with Kritias' drama *Peirithous*, in which Herakles goes to the Underworld to fetch Kerberos and meets with Theseus and Peirithoos.¹³⁴³ With respect to Meleagros' death, different sources emphasize either his killing by Apollo's arrows ([Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 25.12–13 M–W; fr. 4 *Minyas*)¹³⁴⁴ or Althaia's role in burning the brand (Bacch. 5.140–54; Phryn. *Pleuroniai* fr. 6 *TrGF* 1). We do not need to treat Apollo's arrows and Althaia's brand as exclusive alternatives. The brand is not the actual instrument of Meleagros' death; it is a token of his life and its burning opens the way for his killing.¹³⁴⁵

How far would the *Minyas* go with respect to the *katabasis* of Theseus and Peirithoos in the Underworld? Would it have ended with their imprisonment in Hades, both heroes being tied to their seats by means of fetters or by the

rock that grew to their flesh?¹³⁴⁶ Or would it have continued with their (or at least of one of them)¹³⁴⁷ salvation by Herakles, who traditionally goes to Hades to fetch Kerberos as part of the tasks Eurystheus had imposed on him?¹³⁴⁸ Given the material available, it is impossible to tell.

Another interesting aspect of the Theseus-Peirithoos-Meleagros encounter would have been its purpose. In the Herakles-Meleagros episode in Bacchylides, the meeting with the Aitolian hero functioned as the basis for Herakles' travel to Aitolia and marriage with Meleagros' daughter Deidameia (5.165–75). What would, then, be the role of the two friends' encounter with Meleagros in the *Minyas*? In the Herakles-Meleagros encounter Herakles asks Meleagros whether he has any unmarried daughter left in his palace, since he would be willing to marry her.¹³⁴⁹ This is clearly a way to appease the pain of Meleagros who has left behind Deidameia as an orphan. If the *Minyas* had followed a similar narrative line, then it is not unthinkable that Meleagros functioned in this epic too as the 'vehicle' for the narrative unraveling of the theme of marriage, this time of Peirithoos with Persephone, who is after all the reason for which Theseus and Peirithoos are in the Underworld. In fact, Persephone is the topic of their discussion in P.Ibscher col. i, ll. 12–23. We may, then, be facing here a situation in which the meeting with Meleagros was a pivotal point in the journey of the two friends in the Underworld. The Aitolian hero may have even given a piece of advice or a warning to the two friends about the danger inherent in their goal and may have expressed some sort of surprise or even complaint for the fact that Peirithoos had already been married to another woman, Hippodameia or Deidameia,¹³⁵⁰ and that his aim to marry Persephone was wrong.

Fr. 5

Philodemos offers a list of figures killed by the gods because of their arrogant actions or claims. In every single case he mentions his source: a certain figure or figures is/are killed by Apollo (source mentioned but not surviving in the papyrus), Asklepios being thunderbolted by Zeus (Hesiod,¹³⁵¹ Panyassis,¹³⁵² Andron,¹³⁵³ Akousilaos,¹³⁵⁴ Euripides,¹³⁵⁵ the author of the *Carmen Naupactium*,¹³⁵⁶ Telestes,¹³⁵⁷ and the author of the *Nostoi*¹³⁵⁸), and Orion being killed by Artemis' darts (*Minyas*; Pherekydes¹³⁵⁹). To these he adds Cheiron who is killed accidentally by Herakles' arrows.¹³⁶⁰

Orion's death by Artemis' arrows is known as early as the *Odyssey* (5.121),¹³⁶¹ and it is very likely that the *Minyas* followed the same version with respect to the way his death was carried out. This is the logical deduction from the fact that Philodemos' list contains cases (Asklepios and Cheiron) in which death is caused by thunderbolt or arrow-shooting. Orion's example must have conformed to this principle. Other versions known to Homer¹³⁶² and [Hesiod]¹³⁶³ lead to his catasterism.

What was the reason of his death in the *Minyas*? If Orion had featured in a section of the poem including figures punished for their arrogance towards the

gods, like Amphion and Thamyras, and given that Artemis killed Orion by her arrows, then it is possible that he had insulted her directly. If this holds true, then the *reason* (not the manner) of his death may have differed from the Odyssean version, in which the gods punish those goddesses (Eos and Demeter) who have human consorts by killing them (5.121–8). The Eos connection seems unlikely for the *Minyas* and, moreover, the ‘Eos – Artemis stories’ may have been originally unrelated¹³⁶⁴ ‘or doublets of each other’,¹³⁶⁵ the *Odyssey* being the earliest example of an effort to combine them. In this light, it is possible to argue that the *Minyas* would have included a version according to which Orion was killed by Artemis’ arrows because he had arrogantly boasted that he is a hunter second to none, mortal and immortal alike, and he may well have been presented continuing in the Underworld his habitual earthly activity, though as there are no live animals in Hades for him to hunt, he is represented as carrying to a meadow the animals he had killed on earth, as in Hom. *Od.* 11.572–5.

Orion would have been very much at home in an Orchomenian epic like the *Minyas*. His Boiotian connection is by far the strongest one: he was born in Hyria,¹³⁶⁶ was married to a local heroine called Side,¹³⁶⁷ was snatched from Boiotia by the goddess Eos, and according to one version¹³⁶⁸ it was in the same region that Artemis killed him with her arrows.¹³⁶⁹ There may have existed even a cult of Orion in Tanagra, as one can infer from Pausanias’ reference to Orion’s grave in this place.¹³⁷⁰ Orion was also connected to the oracle of Apollo at Ptoon. Korinna gave to Orion, who had already been presented as a son of Hyrieus (the eponymous hero of the local city Hyria) by another Boiotian poet (Hesiod), a local Boiotian filtering. Orion is also linked to Orchomenos through the myth of the self-sacrifice of his daughters Metioche and Menippe. These cut their throats to appease Persephone and Hades who had sent a pestilence against the whole of Boiotia, and were subsequently pitied by these two gods of the Underworld and turned into comets.¹³⁷¹

Was the Attic form Ὠρίωνα, which was cited by Philodemos, used in the *Minyas*? Wackernagel¹³⁷² has discussed the influence of Attic with respect to the substitution of the four-syllable Ὠρίων (observable in Pind. *N.* 2.12, *I.* 3.67, fr. 72.2; Korinn. *PMG* 654, col. iii 38; Kallim. *Hymn to Dianam* (3) 265; Nik. *Ther.* 15 etc.; cf. Korinn. fr. 2.14 *PMG* who has the three-syllable form) by its Attic equivalent Ὠρίων. But it is not clear whether the three-syllable form employed by Philodemos is his own or reflects the *Minyas*.

Fragmenta dubia fortasse ad Minyadem pertinentia

Fr. *6

This papyrus fragment refers to an Underworld encounter between Theseus and Meleagros. It is written in plain epic style and it is rich in Homeric

resonances. It certainly comes from an archaic epic poem.¹³⁷³ The same tale is known by a number of other ancient authors: Apollod. *Epit.* 1.23–4; D.S. 4.63.1–4; Hellan. fr. 168c *EGM*; Σ Ap. Rh. 1.101–4a (p. 15.10–20 Wendel).¹³⁷⁴ Peirithoos was also present in this scene (5: πῖσ[τὸς] ἔ[ταῖρος]) but this does not necessarily mean that he was engaged in conversation with the Aitolian hero in the mutilated part of the papyrus following the surviving text. πρότερος in the verse preceding Theseus' speech (7) 'is logically otiose, but presumably explained by Theseus' replying while Peirithoos remains silent'.¹³⁷⁵ Perhaps Peirithoos engaged in conversation with Meleagros afterwards, which would explain π[ρ]ότερό[ς] as an indication that Theseus replied 'first' and that Peirithoos would speak later.¹³⁷⁶ On the other hand, we cannot exclude the possibility that Peirithoos did not speak at all in the scene. The same is the case with a type of dialogue found in several places in the *Odyssey* that Schadewaldt¹³⁷⁷ coined *Übereckgespräch* ('hypotenuse conversation').¹³⁷⁸ This conversational situation includes three people of whom only two are the interlocutors who speak about the third (present but silent) person. Neither verse 10 (διογενὲς [Μελ]έαγ[ρε, δαῖ]φρονος Οἰνέος ῥιέ) nor verse 26 (Θησεῦ Ἀθην[αίων] βουληφόρε θωρηκτάων) necessitate that Theseus and Meleagros are addressing each other *for the first time*, as it has been suggested.¹³⁷⁹ *Od.* 10.488 and 10.504 clearly show that the whole-verse formula διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ is employed throughout the conversation between Kirke and Odysseus (the first time is Hom. *Od.* 10.401). The same point could be applied to verse 26, despite Merkelbach's observation that the vocative βουληφόρε is used in the *Iliad* by a speaker only the first time he addresses his interlocutor,¹³⁸⁰ which would mean that the person who asked Meleagros about his death (in the part of the papyrus before the extant text) was Peirithoos.¹³⁸¹ What is attested for the formula διογενὲς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχαν' Ὀδυσσεῦ could well apply to βουληφόρε in spite of the lack of relevant examples in Homer. After all, we have no guarantee that the poet of the *Minyas* followed Homeric practice with respect to such dictional minutiae.

The encounter of Theseus and Peirithoos with Meleagros must have been quite substantial in the *Minyas*, though it remains uncertain how extensive this scene actually was. Meetings between the living who visit the Underworld and the dead who reside there seem to follow a typical pattern that is based on the 'death'- and 'descent'-motifs, the order of which can vary: in Hom. *Od.* 11, Odysseus asks Agamemnon how he died ('death-motif') and only then he is asked by Agamemnon why he came to the Underworld ('descent-motif'), whereas Achilles is the first to ask Odysseus about the reason of his descent to Hades ('descent-motif'), since Odysseus does not need to ask Achilles about his death given that he was present when it happened. In this light, we may plausibly argue that in the mutilated part of the papyrus preceding our text, one of the two friends had asked Meleagros about his death ('death-motif'). The beginning of the extant text is part of Meleagros' answer.¹³⁸² As to the

first speaker of this episode, I follow West who opts for Theseus on the basis of two observations: (a) that it is very awkward to have person A (Peirithoos) ask person B (Meleagros) about his death and then person B (Meleagros) ask (in the same speech that begins with his reply) person A (Peirithoos) why person C (Theseus) is with him *but* have person C (Theseus) reply to person A (Meleagros). Moreover, the phrase $\pi\iota\sigma[\tau\acute{o}\varsigma] \acute{\epsilon}[\tau\alpha\tilde{\iota}\rho\omicron\varsigma]$ is more likely to designate the ‘less famous’ member of a pair of heroes, i.e. Peirithoos. We may tentatively reconstruct this entire scene as follows:

- a. Theseus and Peirithoos see the shade of Meleagros in the Underworld.
- b. They all recognise each other, since they all had participated in the Kalydonian boar-hunt.
- c. Theseus asks Meleagros what happened to him since he last saw him and how he died.
- d. Meleagros replies to Theseus telling him that he was killed by Apollo and asks him why he is in the Underworld and why he is followed by his $\pi\iota\sigma[\tau\acute{o}\varsigma] \acute{\epsilon}[\tau\alpha\tilde{\iota}\rho\omicron\varsigma]$ (Peirithoos). Theseus¹³⁸³ replies to Meleagros that Peirithoos has been infatuated by the grim goddess Erinys (v. 9), and that he (*sc.* Peirithoos) claims that Zeus had assented to his marrying Persephone.¹³⁸⁴ This is in accordance to divine law, since the gods too (v. 15: $\kappa\alpha\iota \gamma\grave{\alpha}\rho] \acute{\epsilon}\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$), i.e. like mortals,¹³⁸⁵ are allowed to marry their sisters. Peirithoos’ desire to marry Persephone, his half-sister from the same father (Zeus), amounts to a claim that is presented as more legitimate than her husband’s (Hades’), since Peirithoos is her half-brother, while Hades her uncle.
- e. When Meleagros finds out about the reason of Theseus’ and Peirithoos’ journey, he is horror-struck (v. 24) and asks whether Peirithoos is not already married to another woman, Hippodameia or Deidameia.¹³⁸⁶
- f. Theseus¹³⁸⁷ probably narrated the death of Peirithoos’ wife Hippodameia,¹³⁸⁸ or how Peirithoos ‘put her aside as unworthy of a son of Zeus’.¹³⁸⁹
- g. What happened then? This is, of course, very slippery ground, but if the hypothesis pertaining to the influence of a Herakles-*katabasis* is fully endorsed, then we may (conjecturally) associate the Meleagros-meeting with the very goal of the two friends’ descent.¹³⁹⁰ In Bacchylides 5, the meeting of Herakles with Meleagros has a double function: it reminds Herakles that the gods punish human arrogance, but it also leads to Herakles’ future marriage with Meleagros’ daughter Deidameia. Could the encounter with Meleagros in the *Minyas* have been shaped in a similar manner? Meleagros may have told the two friends that Peirithoos’ aim at marrying Persephone will cause divine

anger and result in the punishment of both Theseus and Peirithoos. Merkelbach, who thinks that Meleagros may have functioned in a similar way in the *katabaseis* of Herakles and Theseus-Peirithoos, has drawn attention to the fact that ‘a specific, typical scene is taken up by another poet in a similar context’.¹³⁹¹

Commentary

0–6 Meleagros relates to Theseus (and Peirithoos who is also present) that he died not by human but by divine action. He, then, asks Theseus to tell him why he has come down to Hades and why Peirithoos has followed him.

0–2 ... οὐ δύνατ’ οὐ τις] / ἀνθρώπων ὀλ]έσαι με βίηφί τε δουρί τε μακρῶι, / ἀλλὰ με Μοῖρ’ ὀλο]ῃ καὶ Λητοῦς ὤλεσε[ν υἱός

The Homeric overtones of these verses are strong. Verses 1–2 end like Hom. *Il.* 18.341 ¹³⁹² and 16.849 ¹³⁹³ respectively. In the latter case the resonance is even stronger, if 16.848 is brought into the picture (πάντές κ’ αὐτόθ’ ὄλοντο ἐμῶι ὑπὸ δουρὶ δαμέντες· / ἀλλὰ με Μοῖρ’ ὀλοῇ καὶ Λητοῦς ἔκτανεν υἱός). The supplement οὐ δύνατ’ οὐ τις] / ἀνθρώπων suggested by Merkelbach is based on the need to express the antithesis introduced by ἀλλὰ in verse 2, provided that the author of the papyrus has imitated the abovementioned Homeric verses. It is to be noted that in the first edition of the papyrus¹³⁹⁴ Merkelbach had read]ι in verse 2. ¹³⁹⁵ On this basis he had supplemented ἀλλὰ με μητρὸς ἀρα]ι. Two years later he added that the reading]η cannot be excluded, since ‘H mit freistehender rechter Hasta ist in diesem Pap. normal’.¹³⁹⁶ Hence the new supplement of the verse by ἀλλὰ με Μοῖρ’ ὀλο]ῃ.¹³⁹⁷ The first reading suggested by Merkelbach (1950) is unlikely to be correct in light of Pausanias 10.31.4, in which Althaia’s curse and the firebrand are not associated with the *Catalogue of Women* and the *Minyas* but with the drama *Pleuroniai* by Phrynichos (fr. 5–6 *TrGF* 1), who is called the first author to have presented this version in literary form.¹³⁹⁸ For the combination of Fate and a specific god or goddess, see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 18.118; Eur. *Her.* 1134–5. It is not possible to know for sure the exact manner of Meleagros’ death, but it is a fair assumption that he was killed by Apollo in the course of the fighting between the Kouretes and the Aitolians.¹³⁹⁹ This is clearly suggested by Pausanias’ phrasing (Ἀπόλλωνα γὰρ δὴ αὐταὶ φασιν αἰ ποιήσεις ἀμῦναι Κούρησιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰτωλοὺς καὶ ἀποθανεῖν Μελέαγρον ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος), with the proviso that we accept that the papyrus fragment comes from the *Minyas*, since it is to this poem (and the *Catalogue of Women*) that Pausanias is referring.

3 ἀλλ’ ἄγε δὴ μοι ταῦτα]: this is the reading of Merkelbach. Page has suggested ἀλλ’ ἄγε δὴ μοι πάντα and Latte ἀλλ’ ἄγε δὴ μοι καὶ σὺ. ἀλλ’ ἄγε δὴ is a standard epic formula that is often placed at verse-initial position (e.g.

Hom. *Il.* 1.62, 3.441; Hom. *Od.* 7.162, 8.492). For the dative after ἀλλ' ἄγε δή, see Hom. *Il.* 23.537: ἀλλ' ἄγε δή οἱ. This formulaic expression and its variants are employed immediately before the beginning of a speech. They function as incentives turning the addressee into a speaker.

3 δι]αμπερέως ἀγό[ρευσον: διαμπερέως is never employed in Homer. διαμπερές is often attested in Homeric poetry but never in the context of speech; instead the speech-introductory formula ἀλλ' ἄγε μοι τόδε εἰπὲ καὶ ἀτρεκέως κατάλεξον is standardly used (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 10.384, 24.380; Hom. *Od.* 1.169, 4.486). For a speech-context use of διαμπερές, see *Th.* 402 (ὥς δ' αὐτως πάντεσσι διαμπερές); *HHymn to Demeter* (2) 162 (εἰπόμεν τάδε πάντα διαμπερές). διαμπερέως has the meaning of 'clearly, in full' (σαφῶς, τελείως: Hesych. δ 1169 [I 437 Latte]) rather than 'exactly, in brief' (ἀκριβῶς, συντόμως: Σ Nik. *Ther.* 495a [p. 197.18 Crugnola]). Meleagros is asking Theseus to tell him in detail the reason for their descent to the Underworld. ἀγόρευσον is employed 8 times in Homer and the *HHymns* in the same speech-introductory formula: καί μοι τοῦτ' ἀγόρευσον ἐτήτυμον, ὄφρ' ἐὺ εἰδῶ.

4 τίπτ' ἄρ' ὁδὸν τοσσή]νδε κατήλυθες [εἰς Αἴδαο: Page's supplement is very probable, since in Homer and the *HHymns* the verb ἔρχεσθαι often governs the noun ὁδόν (acc.); see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 1.151; Hom. *Od.* 15.13; *HHymn to Apollo* (3) 233. The verb κατέρχομαι is employed in a very similar context in *Od.* 11.475 (πῶς ἔτλης Αἰδὸσδε κατελθέμεν), when the soul of Achilles asks Odysseus how he dared to come down to the house of Hades; see also Hom. *Il.* 6.284 (κατελθόντ' Ἀϊδος εἴσω); Hom. *Il.* 7.330 (ψυχὰι δ' Αἰδὸσδε κατήλθον); cf. Hom. *Od.* 11.164 (μῆτερ ἐμή, χρεῖώ με κατήγαγεν εἰς Αἴδαο). For other, less likely, alternatives, see τίπτ' Αἴδαο δόμο]νδε [εὐρώοντα (Merkelbach) and ἡ ἰδίης ἐνθέ]νδε κατήλυθες [εἵνεκα χρεῖης (Latte).

5 τίπτε δὲ Πειρίθοός τοι ἄμ' ἔσπετο πῖσ[τὸς] ἐ[ταῖρος]: The first part of the verse has been supplemented by West. Latte has proposed καὶ τίς σοι ἔρεβόσδε] and Page καὶ τίς ἐὼν οὗτός τοι. In their edition of the Hesiodic fragments Merkelbach and West suggested - συ τίς δέ σοι οὗτός vel. sim. According to the analysis above, the name of Peirithoos fits both the metrical and contextual constraints of verse 5, since Meleagros is addressing Theseus, so the πῖσ[τὸς] ἐ[ταῖρος] must be Peirithoos.¹⁴⁰⁰ The supplements of both Page and Latte presuppose that Meleagros has recognized only one of the two friends and his question aims at finding out who is the other person next to the one he already knows. This is less likely. Meleagros knew both of them through the Kalydonian boar-hunt. The use of πῖσ[τὸς] ἐ[ταῖρος] makes much more sense if the name of one of the two friends had been mentioned in the first missing part of the verse. It is more likely that Peirithoos is designated as πῖσ[τὸς] ἐ[ταῖρος], since this kind of reference is employed regularly for the less famous member of a pair of heroes.¹⁴⁰¹ The repetition of τίπτε in verse-initial position gives an urging tone to Meleagros' inquiry. For the localization of the syntagma ἄμ' ἔσπετο immediately before the terminal adonic, see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 1.158, 3.376; Hom. *Od.* 17.53; *HHymn to Hermes* (4) 440; [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 136.14 M–W. This phrase has in early epic a person or a concrete entity as its subject, not an abstract concept as in Pind. *O.* 6.72 (ὄλβος).¹⁴⁰²

6]η τί κατὰ χρεῶ ζω[ὸς ἰκάνει]ς: Both Bernabé and West read]εἰ but this is hardly likely. Merkelbach has rightly drawn attention to the fact that the tongue stretching from the center of the letter E is never so long.¹⁴⁰³ Inspection of the photograph of the papyrus shows that the tongue of the letter H does not touch the left vertical stroke. If, then, this is an H, various supplements can be made: Page suggested τεθνεώτων τεμέν]η, while Latte opted for ἡ ἐ φίλου μέγα δ]ή. As for the rest of the verse, Merkelbach is probably right to discern the tongue of the letter E underneath a stain in the papyrus. These observations make a reading like χρ<ε>ῶ (Page; rather χρεῶ) or χρέος (Latte) probable, but given not only that χρεῶ designates 'need, necessity, want', while χρέος means 'debt, duty', but also that the former is often employed in

Homer with the verb *ἰκάνειν*,¹⁴⁰⁴ Page's supplement *τί κατὰ χρ<ε>φ̃ ζω[ός ἰκάνε]ις* is much better than Latte's *ἡὲ φίλου μέγα δ[ή] τι κατὰ χρέος, ὡς ἀνύσα]ι* and Maas' *κατὰ χρέ[ο]ς ὤ[δε]*. Page's supplement is further supported by the use of *ζωός* in a similar context (Hom. *Od.* 11.155–6: *τέκνον ἐμόν, πῶς ἤλθες ὑπὸ ζόφον ἡερόεντα / ζωὸς ἐών; χαλεπὸν δὲ τάδε ζωοῖσιν ὀρᾷσθαι*).

7–23 Theseus informs Meleagros about the reason of his and Peirithoos' presence in the Underworld. Peirithoos has come to demand Persephone as his wife. Zeus has assented to Peirithoos' request on the basis of the fact that Peirithoos is her brother by the same father (Zeus) and, therefore, has a stronger claim on her than her current husband, Hades who is her uncle.

7–8 τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέφη π[ρότερό]ς τ' ἀπ[ὸ] μῦθον ἔειπε[v]: The use of *π[ρότερό]ς* indicates that it is Theseus who replies to Meleagros, since the speaker talks about another person who claims Persephone as his wife and who can only be Peirithoos. It also points to the fact that Theseus was probably the one who had asked Meleagros how he died in the text that must have immediately preceded what we have in the papyrus.¹⁴⁰⁵ Merkelbach had initially suggested *Θησεὺς δ' ἀντηύδα π[ρὸς]* as a supplement¹⁴⁰⁶ but in his joint edition of West on the Hesiodic fragments he seems to have changed his mind, since they supplemented *τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέφη π[ρὸς]*. Page's supplement *στῇ δὲ μάλ' ἄλλ' αὐτοῦ* is an effort to cater for the problem (based on his own supplements) of presenting Meleagros as unable to recognize Peirithoos, an assumption that has little to recommend it. The supplement by Merkelbach and West on the other hand is more probable, since it represents a combination of three formulaic expressions, all attested in early hexameter poetry: (a) *τὸν πρότερος προσέειπε(v)* (Hom. *Il.* e.g. 6.122, 6.517), (b) *πρότερος πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπεν* (Hom. *Il.* 5.632, 13.306; see also Hes. *Th.* 24: *τόνδε δὲ με πρώτιστα θεαὶ πρὸς μῦθον ἔειπον*), and (c) *τὸν πρότερος προσέφη* (*HHymn to Hermes* [4] 89, 189). On the phrase *μῦθον ἀποειπεῖν*, see Hom. *Il.* 9.309 (*χρῆ μὲν δὴ τὸν μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀποειπεῖν*) and Hom. *Od.* 1.373 (*ἴν' ὕμιν μῦθον ἀπηλεγέως ἀποείπω*).

8 Θησεὺς Αἰγείδης [ας] ἐξ ποιμένα λαῶν: The name of Theseus may well have been used at the beginning of this verse. According to the critical apparatus on the [Hes.] *Peirithou katabasis* fr. 280 M–W, Merkelbach had also suggested *Θησεὺς* for the beginning of this line, and West has added the patronymic *Αἰγείδης* (see Hom. *Il.* 1.265; [Hes.] *Asp.* 182). The author of this text seems to have a preference for such one-word patronymics (see v. 24: *Οἰνείδης* for Meleagros). Theseus' own name must have appeared at the beginning of this verse, since it can hardly have been used in the previous one, in which the *τ'* requires another verbal form at the first part of verse 7. If that verbal form was *προσέφη*, which is quite likely given the formulaic character of this verse and its frequent use in Homeric poetry, then there is no room for

Theseus' name at the beginning of verse 7, since προσέφη needs an accusative object (τὸν). This line of thought increases the probability of Theseus' name being placed at the first foot of verse 8, since the subject of the two preceding verbal forms needs to be stated. Seen from this vantage point, Latte's ὄμμασιν ἀτρέπτοις βλέψ]ας is possible only as far as the participle βλέψ]ας is concerned; ὄμμασιν ἀτρέπτοις is off the mark, since in this case the subject of the participle would have remained unexpressed. The ας] before ἐς (εἰς *II*) ποιμένα λαῶν makes it likely that we are dealing with a first aorist participle that would probably mean something like 'turned towards', 'looked at', since the ποιμὴν λαῶν can only be Meleagros. In fact this very same formula is used for the Lapith Dryas who is mentioned next to Peirithoos in Hom. *II*. 1.263 (οἶον Πειρίθοόν τε Δρύαντά τε ποιμένα λαῶν). Page has suggested Θησεύς, χεῖρας ὁμοῦ πιτν]ᾶς on the basis of Hom. *Od.* 11.390–2 (ἔγνω δ' αἶψ' ἐμὲ κείνος, ἐπεὶ πῖεν αἶμα κελαινόν¹⁴⁰⁷ / κλαῖε δ' ὃ γε λιγέως, θαλερὸν κατὰ δάκρυον εἶβων, / πιτνᾶς εἰς ἐμὲ χεῖρας, ὀρέξασθαι μενεαίνων), where Agamemnon recognized Odysseus and stretched his hands towards him. Page has entertained the thought that Theseus is stretching his hands towards Meleagros. For this reason he reads in the next verse ἡ μάλα δὴ σ' ἐδάμασσε θ]εὰ δασπλῆτις Ἑρινύς. The problem with this reading is that it would have been extremely awkward for Theseus to stretch his hands towards Meleagros *at this point* of their encounter. Normally something like this should have happened at the *very beginning*, i.e. when Theseus first saw Meleagros. Here, we are in the middle of this encounter and the expression of Theseus' affection towards the Aitolian hero would be odd. In the Odyssean *Nekyia* Odysseus tries in vain to embrace the *eidolon* of his mother *as soon as* he sees her (Hom. *Od.* 11.204–24). Likewise, Agamemnon stretches his hands towards Odysseus *as soon as* the former's soul comes close (Hom. *Od.* 11.387–92). Moreover, it would be quite awkward for a speech not to have in its very first verse the whole-line address formula. Following West, I prefer the speech to begin with the verse-long address to Meleagros (διογεν]ῆς [Μελ]έαγ[ρε, δαῖ]φρονος Οἰνέρος υἱέ) keeping Latte's βλέψ]ας before ἐς ποιμένα λαῶν.

10 “διογεν]ῆς [Μελ]έαγ[ρε, δαῖ]φρονος Οἰνέρος υἱέ: Merkelbach's supplement has gained unanimous approval. διογενῆς, having the meaning of 'noble', is employed 21 times in Homer for Odysseus in the whole-line formula διογενῆς Λαερτιάδη, πολυμήχανε Ὀδυσσεῦ.¹⁴⁰⁸ Although this Odyssean verse seems to have been the model for the whole-verse address to Meleagros (v. 10), the author of the *Minyas* did not compose (like the poet of the *Odyssey*) a 'rising threefolder',¹⁴⁰⁹ since v. 10 is not marked by an impeccable gradual increase in the number of syllables comprising each part (A, 4 syllables: διογεν]ῆς / B, 4 syllables: [Μελ]έαγ[ρε / C, 9 syllables: δαῖ]φρονος Οἰνέρος υἱέ). The use of the periphrastic patronymic Οἰνέρος υἱέ here and the single word patronymic Οἰνεΐδης in verse 24 may reflect the fact

that Meleagros had a long life in early hexameter poetry and that a rich system of denomination had been constructed for him (Μελέαγρος, Οἰνείδης, Οἰνέος υἱός), as is the case e.g. with Diomedes (Διομήδης, Τυδείδης, Τυδέος υἱός) and Achilles (Ἀχιλλεύς, Πηλεΐδης, Πηλεΐων, Πηληϊάδης, Πηλέος υἱός).¹⁴¹⁰ For Meleagros' periphrastic patronymic, see Hom. *Il.* 9.543 (τὸν δ' υἱὸς Οἰνῆος ἀπέκτεινε Μελέαγρος). On δαΐφρων with a periphrastic patronymic, see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.23 (εὗδεις Ἀτρεὸς υἱέ, δαΐφρονος ἵπποδάμοιο;), Hom. *Il.* 4.370 (ὦ μοι, Τυδέος υἱέ δαΐφρονος ἵπποδάμοιο), Hom. *Il.* 15.239 (εὖρ' υἱὸν Πριάμοιο δαΐφρονος, Ἔκτορα δῖον); [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 199.8 M–W (δαΐφρονος Οἰβαλίδαι). On forms in -έος (Οἰνέος instead of Οἰνῆος¹⁴¹¹), see *GHI* 223.

11 τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι ταῦτ[α μάλ' ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω: Merkelbach's supplements τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι and ταῦτ[α μάλ' ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω in the first and second part of the verse respectively are virtually guaranteed by the following Homeric formulas: (a) τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι ταῦτα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω (Hom. *Il.* 10.413 = 10.427 = Hom. *Od.* 24.303 [with πάντα in the place of ταῦτα]) and (b) τοιγὰρ ἐγὼ τοι ταῦτα μάλ' ἀτρεκέως ἀγορεύσω (Hom. *Od.* 1.179 = 4.399 = 14.192). Page supplemented αὐτὰρ ἐγὼ τοι with respect to the beginning of the verse, but there is hardly any antithesis between Meleagros' question and Theseus' answer. This line sheds light on the meaning of διαμπερέως used in verse 3, since it seems that the poet aims at paralleling the phrase διαμπερέως ἀγόρευσον and ἀτρεκέως καταλέξω employed by Meleagros and Theseus respectively. The Aitolian hero asks for accurate information from Theseus with respect to the two friends' presence in the Underworld and Theseus responds with a detailed account.

9 Πειρίθοον μεγάλ' ἄσε θ]εὰ δασπλήτις Ἑρινύς: Following the suggestion of Maas, West placed this line after verse 11 with the supplement Πειρίθοον μεγάλ' ἄσε θ]εᾶ. This works much better than the order of the verses as they are attested in the papyrus, since it would have been odd if the speech-introductory verse (τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέφη π]ρότερό[ς] τ' ἄπ[ὸ] μῦθον ἔειπε[ν] was separated from the beginning of the actual speech (“διογεν]ῆς [Μελ]έαγ[ρε, δαΐ]φρονος Οἰνέος υἱέ) by two other verses (Θησεὺς Αἰγείδης]ας ἔς ποιμένα λαῶν / Πειρίθοον μεγάλ' ἄσε θ]εὰ δασπλήτις Ἑρινύς).¹⁴¹² A different ‘solution’ was put forward by Wyss, who placed verse 9 (in the papyrus) after verse 7, thus reading: τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέφη π]ρότερό[ς] τ' ἄπ[ὸ] μῦθον ἔειπε[ν, / ὃν οἱ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θ]εὰ δασπλήτις Ἑρινύς.¹⁴¹³ Latte and Merkelbach tried to keep the order of the lines as they appear in the papyrus, the former supplying ὥς οἱ ἐνὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θ]εᾶ,¹⁴¹⁴ the latter opting for ἄτην δ' ἐν φρεσὶ θῆκε θ]εᾶ. The basic problem with respect to Latte's and Merkelbach's¹⁴¹⁵ supplements is the curtailment of the beginning of the speech by two lines following the typical speech-introduction, although Merkelbach considered the possibility that v. 9 may have been employed as a ‘Parenthese zwischen *verbum dicendi* und direkter Rede’.¹⁴¹⁶ Page's ἦ μάλα δῆ σ' ἐδάμασσε, seems to me unlikely for two reasons: first, Theseus would

introduce a comment on Meleagros' death that would have been in sharp contrast to the explanation given by the Aitolian hero himself to Theseus a few verses earlier (ἀλλά με Μοῖρ' ὄλο]η καὶ Λητοῦς ὤλεσε[ν υἱός); second, Theseus' speech would not begin with the address to Meleagros. Zerhoch' supplement ὦν μάλα δὴ ῥ' ἐδάμασσε is based both on Merkelbach's suggestion about a 'Parenthese zwischen *verbum dicendi* und direkter Rede' and on Page's suggested phraseology (see above) with a change of ἦ to ὦν and of σ' to ῥ', so that this verse can be expressed by the narrator. This proposal has its own drawbacks: first, it introduces an awkward syntax with a completely unnecessary extension (7–9: τὸν δ' αὖτε προσέφη π[ρ]ότερό[ς] τ' ἄπ[ο] μῦθον ἔειπε[ν / Θησεὺς Αἰγείδης]ας εἰς ποιμένα λαῶν, / ὦν μάλα δὴ ῥ' ἐδάμασσε θ]εὰ δασπλῆτις Ἑρινύς); second, the name of Peirithoos is not stated and has to be somehow implied, since it is the subject of ἐδνώσεϊεν (v. 14); last, there is no a single example in Homer of the particle ῥ(α) placed after μάλα δὴ.

The etymology of δασπλῆτις is obscure. In Hom. *Od.* 15.234 (τὴν οἱ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ δασπλῆτις Ἑρινύς), it is used in the context of the story of Melampous. With respect to δασπλῆτις, Hoesktra¹⁴¹⁷ notes that 'its etymology and meaning are unknown', as is also the case with Erinys' role in this mythical tale. The highly abbreviated form of the reference makes sense only if the audience knew a fully-fledged version of this story. He also notes (247) that '[t]he phrase θεὰ δασπλῆτις Ἑρινύς may be an inadequately represented archaic formula' given that Erinys was known as early as Mycenaean times, having its proper cult in Crete (see tablet KN Fp I in Ventris and Chadwick, *Documents*, no. 200, cf. 208, pp. 411, 476). For an up-to-date presentation of all the relevant suggestions with respect to the etymology of δασπλῆτις, see Kölligan and Macedo (2015) 129–51, who interpret it as a compound **dys-plehlt-* and opt for the meaning 'filling/filled with magic power'; see also Zerhoch (2015) 143–5.

12]. ἐνφωρδε []ἀγαυὴν Φερσεφόνηαν: Merkelbach and West have suggested (vix) εὔζω[fon] for ἐνφωρδε. ἀγαυὴ Περσεφόνηα is attested three times in Homer (*Od.* 11.213, 226, 635), once in the *HHymn to Demeter* (2) 349, twice in *HOroph.* (41.5, 46.6 Quandt), and twice in Orphic fragments (19.8, 20.7), always in verse-terminal position; see also ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνηα (Hom. *Il.* 9.457, 9.569 [in the acc.]; Hom. *Od.* 10.491, 10.564 [in the gen.], 10.534, 11.47 [in the dat.], Hes. *Th.* 768, 774 [in the gen.]) in the same position. The spelling of the name of the queen of the Underworld is always Περσεφόνηα in Homer (e.g. *Il.* 9.457, 9.569; *Od.* 10.491, 10.494) and Περσεφόνηα/Περσεφόνη in Hesiod (*Th.* 913) and the *HHymn to Demeter* [2] (56, 337, 348, 359, 360, 370, 387, 405, 493). But when we turn to the papyri the aspirated forms Φερσεφόνηα/Φερσεφόνη dominate (e.g. P.Ant. III 158 = p486a [Hom. *Il.* 9.457]; P.Oxy. XLIX 3442 = p129 [Hom. *Od.* 11.386]; P.Oxy. 2496 and 2497 fr.1 P.Milan. Vogliano 204 vol. I [[Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 185.4

M–W]); see Richardson (1974) 170 on v. 56; Also Andorlini and Lundon (2015) 5–6, who argue that the aspirated spelling that is regularly given by the papyri ‘is a phenomenon possibly related to the Attic influence on the Homeric text in a given phase of its transmission’ and may reflect a *lectio Aristarchea*, since the famous scholar believed that Athens was Homer’s homeland.¹⁴¹⁸

13]. . . . ας φᾶς .[. . .]αι Δ[ία] τερπικέρανον: West (*GEF*) prints φᾶς γ[εῦθ] αι, but the letter immediately after ΦAC in the papyrus can hardly be N, since the distance between the two vertical strokes of N in this papyrus is much bigger than it is here, in which the upper parts of the two strokes are still visible. Merkelbach suggested φασὶ γ[αμεῖ]ν (see φασὶ in l. 15) or φάσκ’ [εῖν]αι, but the former is a bit long, as Merkelbach himself admitted,¹⁴¹⁹ and moreover the upper part of the letter immediately after ΦAC in the papyrus does not have a downward left direction as is constantly the case with I. As for φάσκ’ [εῖν]αι, the distance between the two vertical strokes of K in this papyrus is shorter than it is in this case, and the remains of the lower left part of the second stroke are much higher than what we would expect for the letter K. Latte’s θεσμῶι θ’ ὄν ποτε] φάσκ’ [ἀρέσ]αι aims to cater for a dative that should have featured in the beginning of line 13, given the existence of τε in ἀθανά]των τε νόμοις in l. 14. There are two problems with Latte’s supplement: first there is hardly a space for four letters (APEC) between ΦAC. and ΑΙ; second, the syntax he suggests means ‘he (*sc.* Peirithoos) used to say that Zeus who delights in thunder once liked the custom and laws of the immortals’, which seems to me nonsensical. What lies behind lines 13 and 14 is probably that Peirithoos, in order to take Persephone as his wife, was saying that Zeus is his father and that the gods approve of marrying one’s half-sister.

14 ἀθανά]των τε νόμοις, ἵνα ἐδνώσειεν ἄκ[ο]ιτιν: Merkelbach’s supplements are the best suggestions made so far, though problems of interpretation remain. τε presupposes another dative in the previous line, though the space available before another word ending in AC, and so not a dative, seems too small. ἐδνώσειεν, which is safely restored from the papyrus, poses new problems. The term ἔδνα/ ἔδνα designates the bride-prices or wedding-gifts given by the bridegroom to the bride’s father.¹⁴²⁰ The verb ἐδνώω means ‘to give a promise for wedding-presents’, ‘to betroth’, and in the middle ‘to dower a wife’.¹⁴²¹ In early hexameter epic, it is regularly employed in this sense in the middle, either for a father dowering his daughter (Hom. *Od.* 2.53: ὃς κ’ αὐτὸς ἐδνώσαιτο θύγατρα) or for a husband paying a bride price for his wife ([Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 190.5: τὰς παῖδες Περσηῖος ἐε[δ]ν[ω]σαντο γυναικας; fr. 200.7: ἐδνώσ[ασθαι] ἄκοιτιν).¹⁴²² Therefore, the use of the active is here conspicuous. Merkelbach tentatively thinks that the use of the active may be secondary, resulting from the author’s aim to avoid the chiasm between ἐδνώσαιτο and ἄκοιτιν.¹⁴²³ In Homer the verb has two ε (ἐδνόομαι) but the author of the papyrus uses the spelling with one ε, as is also the case in

v. 17 (ἐδγώσασθαι). More problems are caused by the syntax. Since the object of the verb is ἄκ[ο]ιτιν, the subject can only be Peirithoos, for if it were Zeus, the object would have been θύγατρα. In order to solve these problems, Maas suggested νόμοισιν ἐδδνώσεσ[θαι] (αεδν- *II*), opting for the much preferable, in accordance with standard epic usage, middle form. By omitting ἴνα and reading ἐδδνώσεσ[θαι], he makes the infinitive depend on a verb of saying, which in this case has to be φάς, since it was Peirithoos who was saying that he would take Persephone as his wife. The erroneous use of A instead of E (αεδν- *II* instead of εδδν-) is also observed in ατρακεως (*II*) instead of ἀτρεκέως (v. 11). Peirithoos' divine parentage¹⁴²⁴ is known as early as Homer (Hom. *Il.* 2.741, 14.318; Hom. *Od.* 11.631); see also Pind. fr. 243 S-M; Hellan. fr. 168c *EGM*; Σ Ap. Rh. 1.101–4a (p. 15.10–11 Wendel).

15 καὶ γὰρ] ἐκείνους φασὶ κασιγνήτας μεγ[ακ]υρδεῖς: either καὶ γὰρ] or πάντας] (Merkelbach). Maas changes the papyrus reading φασὶ into φησὶ, in order to have Peirithoos as the subject. This is not necessary. φασὶ in the sense 'they are said' is standard use. With respect to the verse-end Latte supplies the non-Homeric¹⁴²⁵ μεγ[ακ]υρδεῖς, though Merkelbach notes that the remaining traces before the final EIC do not seem to support Latte's reading YΔ.¹⁴²⁶ I would add to Merkelbach's observation that there is hardly so much space between K and EIC for YΔ. Maas reads μὲν [ἄδε]λφράς, but even if we accept EAC at the end of the verse, the two preceding letters can hardly be ΛΦ. Whatever is the word or words following κασιγνήτας, the meaning is clear: Theseus is reminding Meleagros that it is generally known (φασὶ) that the gods (ἐκείνους) woo their own sisters. The marriage of Ares and Aphrodite, who share the same father (Zeus) but were born to different mothers (Hera and Dione respectively) testifies to the truth of this statement.

16 μνησ[τε]υειν, γαμέειν δὲ φίλων ἀπ'ἀν[ευθε] τοκήων: Merkelbach's supplement in the beginning of the verse is straightforward; see Hom. *Od.* 18.277 (μνηστεύειν ἐθέλωσι καὶ ἀλλήλοις ἐρίσωσιν). On the other hand, there is no need to change the papyrus reading δε by τε (a scenario entertained but not endorsed by Merkelbach), since the second infinitive can be an afterthought, i.e. 'the gods too are said to woo their glo[ri]ous sisters, and make love to them out of sight of their dear [parents]'.¹⁴²⁷ Maas' supplement [ευθε] τοκήων after ἀπ'ἀν is based on two Homeric parallels (Hom. *Il.* 24.211; Hom. *Od.* 9.36), in which the same phrase (ἀπάνευθε τοκήων) is employed at verse-terminal position; see also Hom. *Il.* 21.587 (φίλων τοκέων). The idea that the gods make love to their sisters out of sight of their parents is already attested in Hom. *Il.* 14.295–6 (οἶον ὅτε πρόωιστον ἐμισγέσθην φιλότῃτι / εἰς εὐνὴν φοιτῶντε, φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας), when Zeus recalls the day he made love to Hera for the first time, their parents knowing nothing about it.

17 ὦδε κ]αὶ ἐκ μακάρων γάμον ὄρνυται ἐδγώσασθαι: either ὦδε κ]αὶ or ὦς δὲ κ] α]ι] (Merkelbach) or ὥς ῥα κ]αὶ (Latte). ἐδγώσασθαι takes here two

accusatives, one of the ‘effected’ (γάμον) and one of the ‘affected’ (αὐτοκ]ασιγνήτην) object. The first object indicates the nature of the accomplished action, while the second the person who is affected by it; see Merkelbach (1950) 262, who draws from Kühner-Gerth (I, 320) the following two examples: Eur. *Tr.* 357 (Ἑλένης γαμεῖ με δυσχερέστεον γάμον), Eur. *Andr.* 103 (Πάρις οὐ γάμον ἀλλὰ τιν’ ἄταν ἠγάγετο· εὐναίαν εἰς θαλάμους Ἑλέναν). Maas emends the papyrus reading into ἐγγυάσθαι.

18 αὐτοκ]ασιγνήτην ὁμοπάτριον· ἐγγυτέρω γάρ: Latte’s supplement αὐτοκ]ασιγνήτην is up to the point. It results in a text that echoes the diction of Hades in the *HHymn to Demeter* (2) 84–5 (γαμβρός ἐν ἀθανάτοις πολυσημάντωρ Αἰδωνεύς / αὐτοκασίγνητος καὶ ὁμόσπορος) and 364–5 (οὐ τοι ἐν ἀθανάτοισιν ἀεικίης ἔσσομ’ ἀκοίτης / αὐτοκασίγνητος πατὴρ Διός); see also Hom. *Il.* 24.47: ἥε κασίγνητον ὁμογαστρίον ἥε καὶ υἱόν; [Aisch.] *PV* 559: ὅτε τὰν ὁμοπάτριον ἔδνοις / ἄγαγες Ἑσιόναν πιθὼν δάμαρτα κοινόλεκτρον; Eur. *Phoin.* 136–7: αὐτοκασιγνήται νύμφας / ὁμόγαμος κυρεῖ. Theseus makes clear to Meleagros that Peirithoos has the right to claim Persephone as his wife, since she is his sister from the same father but different mother. What is said here reflects legislation introduced in Athens by Solon, who ‘wrote laws allowing men to marry their paternal but not their maternal half-sisters (fr. 47), regulating the assignment of women to husbands (fr. 48), prohibiting dowries (fr. 71)’.¹⁴²⁸ In the *HHymn to Demeter* (2) Hades tried to reassure Persephone that he would be no unsuitable husband, since he was her father’s brother. γάρ at verse-terminal position is not typical in epic (only in tragedy) and, moreover, its use leaves γεγαῶς conspicuously isolated, meaning ‘with respect to birth’, but no better supplement has been suggested so far.¹⁴²⁹

19 φήσ’ εἶναι γεγαῶς αὐτὸς μεγάλου Ἀἰῖδαο: Latte’s supplement φήσ’ εἶναι is almost guaranteed by the syntax. Peirithoos’ claim that he is a closer kin to Persephone than her uncle Hades is a strong argument but seems a bit strange given that Persephone is already Hades’ concubine. If there was a formal marriage, Peirithoos’ argument would be null and void, but since his half-sister has been abducted by Hades, his claim on her becomes even more legitimate. This line of thought should be seen against the backdrop of other relevant stories pertaining to the troubled lives of Theseus and Peirithoos. Immediately prior to this episode they had abducted Helen from Sparta and brought her to Athens, and it may be that while they are in the Underworld the Dioskouroi, her brothers, are setting her free and taking as slave to Lacedaimon Theseus’ own mother Aithra. The entire framework, then, in which Peirithoos’ claim is expressed is one of abducting women. This time though there is a legitimate argument backing up his desire. Peirithoos aims at taking Persephone from Hades so as to marry her. We do not need to read this as the result of an Athenian filtering aiming at weeding out negative aspects of the two friends’ mythical lore. After all, the core of the argument presented here is that Peirithoos has come to the Underworld to abduct Persephone and

marry her, not to set her free from Hades and allow her to return to her mother Demeter. His stance is an insult towards Hades, and he shall be punished forever.¹⁴³⁰ The genitive of the epithet μεγάλου regularly modifies Zeus (Διός) in archaic Greek epic (12 times). Hades is designated (in the genitive) as πυλάρταο (Hom. *Il.* 8.367, 13.415; Hom. *Od.* 11.277) στυγεροῦ (Hom. *Il.* 8.368; *HHymn to Demeter* [2] 395), κρατεροῖο (Hom. *Il.* 13.415; Hom. *Od.* 11.277), ἰφθίμου (Hes. *Th.* 768, 774),¹⁴³¹ and κρυεροῦ (Hes. *Op.* 153).

20 Φερσεφ[ό]νηι κοῦρηι Δημήτερος ἡῤκόμοιο: The genitive ἡῤκόμοιο is employed 20 times in early hexameter epic, often in verse-terminal position. It mainly designates goddesses (Thetis, Athena, Hera, Kalypso, Doris, Leto, Rhea), but also Helen (who is Zeus' daughter in the *Iliad*), Briseis (Hom. *Il.* 2.689), and Danae ([Hes.] *Asp.* 216). The only time it refers to Demeter in the genitive case is in Archestratos of Gela (fr. 135.1–2 *SH*: μεμνήσομαι ἡῤκόμοιο / Δήμητρος. Demeter is designated as such in the accusative (Δήμητρ' ἡῤκομον) in verse-initial position (*HHymn to Demeter* [2] 1, 316; *HHymn to Demeter* [13] 1). For another epithet belonging to the same semantical realm of 'lovely-haired' that is attributed to Demeter, see Hom. *Il.* 14.326 (Δήμητρος καλλιπλοκάμοιο ἀνάσσης).

21 αὐτὸς] μὲν γάρ φησι κασίγνητος καὶ ὄπατρος: This is the second γάρclause (see v. 18), which further specifies the general framework of the argument presented in vv. 18–20: 'Peirithoos intends to marry Persephone, his half-sister from the same father, for (γάρ) he is closer to her as a kin than the great Hades, since (γάρ) he says that he is her brother of the same father,¹⁴³² whereas Hades is her uncle'. κασίγνητος designates the maternal brother, whereas ὄπατρος the paternal, but here the former is employed in the general sense of brother, as is the case with αὐτο]κασιγνήτην ὁμοπάτριον (in l. 18); see Hom. *Il.* 11.257 (ἦτοι ὃ Ἰφιδάμαντα κασίγνητον καὶ ὄπατρον) and Hom. *Il.* 12.371 (καὶ οἱ Τεῦκρος ἄμ' ἦε κασίγνητος καὶ ὄπατρος). Not being ὁμογάστριος would, in an epic context, point to bastardy, but even there the most important form of kinship is that of the father, on whom rank and status depend; see Hainsworth (1993) 357 on Hom. *Il.* 12.371. On αὐτοκασίγνητος as ὁμογάστριος, see Hom. *Il.* 3.238 (αὐτοκασιγνήτω, τῷ μοι μία γείνατο μήτηρ), Hom. *Il.* 14.156 (αὐτοκασίγνητον καὶ δαέρα, χαῖρε δὲ θυμῶι), Hom. *Il.* 21.95 (μή με κτεῖν', ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὁμογάστριος Ἑκτορός εἰμι), Hom. *Il.* 24.47 (ἦε κασίγνητον ὁμογάστριον ἦε καὶ υἱόν).

22 τῆς ἔμ<ει>εν<αι>, Ἀῖδην δὲ φίλον πάτρωι<α> τετύχθαι: τῆς ἔμ<ει>εν<αι> is an effective supplement by Merkelbach on the basis of ME that is written above EN in the papyrus. ἔμεναι with a single μ is attested in Homer, this spelling becoming attractive for the first part of the verse (see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 5.602: αἰχμητήν τ' ἔμεναι καὶ θαρσαλέον πολεμιστήν). Merkelbach's correction of πατρωια (*II*) into πάτρωα is also correct. The same word is attested as trisyllabic already in Stes. fr. 18.5 (Finglass). Forms like the epithet πατρῷος

are also treated as trisyllabic words as early as Theognis (888) and Pindar (*P.* 4.290, 6.45). Apart from a paternal uncle, *πάτρωζ* can also designate a paternal grandfather; see e.g. Eust. on Hom. *Il.* 971.39–41 (III 591.14–16 van der Valk); Thom. Mag. *Ecl. nom. et verb. att.* τ 361.6–7 (Ritschl). *φίλος* is here employed according to standard Homeric usage denoting possession ('her own').¹⁴³³

23 τοῦδ' ἔν]εκεν φάτο βῆμεν ὑπὸ ζόφον ἡρόεντα: Merkelbach had considered but refuted the reading *κε[λεύσατο*, which would have resulted in Peirithoos commanding Theseus to go with him to the Underworld, something that can hardly be right.¹⁴³⁴ Maas' *τοῦδ' ἔν]εκεν* or *τῶνδ' ἔν]εκεν* suits the meaning and style of the passage. His supplement (NΦΑ) between KE and TO is equal to the space occupied by ΑΙΔΗ immediately above. Page has alternatively suggested *τοῦνε]κ' ἐ[παίγε]το* but the trace before TO suits A, not E.¹⁴³⁵ We have to take *βῆμεν* as an (otherwise unattested) epic infinitive. The standard Homeric form is *βῆμεναι*, but the attestation of a Doric infinitive *βᾶμεν* in Pindar (*P.* 4.39) makes *βῆμεν* a reasonable possibility.¹⁴³⁶ *ὑπὸ ζόφον ἡρόεντα* is a standard formula that is attested 7 times (*ζόφον ἡρόεντα*: 9 times) in verse-terminal position in early hexameter poetry (Hom. *Il.* 23.51; Hom. *Od.* 11.57, 11.155, 13.241 [*ποτὶ ζόφον ἡρόεντα*], *HHymn to Demeter* [2] 80, 447, 465); see also Choer. fr. 928.10 *SH* (*ὑπὸ ζ[όφου ἀρόεντος*).¹⁴³⁷

24–8 Meleagros shudders at the news of Peirithoos' intention to marry Persephone. He asks Theseus whether his friend is married to Hippodameia or Deidameia (only –ΔΑΜΕΙΑ is visible in the papyrus). The papyrus breaks off after this point.

24 ὥς ἔφατ'·] Οἰνεΐδης δὲ κατέστυγε μῦθον ἀκούσας: Merkelbach's supplement is based on common sense (the completion of the speech must be noted) and on Homeric usage (*Il.* 17.694: *ὥς ἔφατ', Ἀντίλοχος δὲ κατέστυγε μῦθον ἀκούσας*). The verse-terminal adonic *μῦθον ἀκούσας* occurs independently from this verse 4 more times in early hexameter poetry (Hom. *Il.* 3.76, 7.54, 19.185; *HHymn to Hermes* 4.212). *Οἰνεΐδης* is a parponymic employed for Diomedes, son of Tydeus in Homer (*Il.* 5.813, 10.497), [Euripides] (*Rh.* 906), Antimachos (*Theb.* fr. 6 Matthews), and Quintus Smyrnaeus (5.253). In [Hesiod] (*Cat.* fr. 122.1 M–W) it is a patronymic of Inachos. The plural *Οἰνεΐδαι* refers to Meleagros and Tydeus, sons of Oineus in Pindar (*I.* 5.31), while in Bacchylides (10.18) it designates the members of an Attic tribe named after Oineus. The *Minyas* is the earliest attestation of *Οἰνεΐδης* as a patronymic for Meleagros.¹⁴³⁸ The use of the verb *κατέστυγε* by Meleagros is indicative of his disapproval of the situation described to him by Theseus. The sexual *παρανομίαι* of Theseus and Peirithoos with respect to their decision to abduct Zeus' daughters were also the subject of Euripides' first *Hippolytos*, in which Phaidra justified her love for her stepson Hippolytos because of Theseus' illegal extra-marital activities. Echoes of this same

attitude can be seen in Ovid (*Her.* 4.109–12) and Seneca (*Phaedra* 91–8), most likely under Euripidean influence.¹⁴³⁹

25 τὸν δ' ἀπ[αμ]ειβόμενος προσεφώνει μελιχίοισιν: Either Ebert's τὸν δ' ἀπ[αμ]ειβόμενος or Merkelbach's μιν ἀμ[ειβόμενος]. It is not necessary to change, following Bernabé the papyrus reading προσεφώνει into προσεφώνεε, despite the ample Homeric parallels (e.g. *Il.* 2.22, 3.389; *Od.* 5.159). In Homer προσεφώνεε is always followed either by its subject (e.g. *Il.* 3.413; *Od.* 14.401) or object (e.g. *Il.* 11.510; *Od.* 4.69) or a word associated with the subject or object of προσεφώνεε (e.g. *Od.* 24.23: ψυχὴ προσεφώνεε Πηλεΐδης). For μελιχίοισιν in verse-terminal position preceded by a verb of speaking in Homer, see προσήύδα μελιχίοισιν (e.g. *Il.* 6.343; *Od.* 20.165, 21.192). The use of μελιχίοισιν in the verse following κατέστυγε is unexpected. Merkelbach speaks of 'Spannung der Gefühle', which does not conform to early epic style and presupposes at least the advent of lyric poetry. He treats this phenomenon as one more sign pointing to the dating of the *Minyas* at the very end of the archaic period.¹⁴⁴⁰

26 “Θησεῦ Ἀθην]αίων βουληφόρε θωρηκτάων: The Homeric use of βουληφόρε is the key to Merkelbach's supplement Θησεῦ Ἀθην] for the first part of the verse. The Homeric parallels (*Il.* 5.180, 5.633, 13.219, 13.255, ¹⁴⁴¹ 13.463, 17.485, 20.83) indicate that βουληφόρε is always preceded by a vocative of the person addressed. Given that Theseus' name has to be used and that what follows looks like the ending of a genitive plural, the supplement Θησεῦ Ἀθην] is self-evident. Although the vocative βουληφόρε is always employed in Homer the very first time a speaker is addressing his interlocutor,¹⁴⁴² this does not apply to the practice of the poet of the *Minyas*, since we would have to assume that Meleagros is addressing Theseus for the first time. In that case, the initial speech by Meleagros would be addressed to Peirithoos, a choice meaning that the πρ[ὸς] ἐ[ταῖρος] (v. 5) would be Theseus. We would then be faced with the awkward situation of Theseus replying to the question Meleagros asked Peirithoos, i.e. the reason of his (Peirithoos') descent to the Underworld. πρ[ό]τερό[ς] (v. 7) indicates either that Theseus replied while Peirithoos remains silent (through the entire episode?)¹⁴⁴³ or that Theseus replied instead of Peirithoos who would later engage in the conversation and probably reply to other questions asked by Meleagros. On θωρηκτάων in verse-terminal position in early epic, see Hom. *Il.* 12.317, 15.689, 15.739, 21.277.

27 ἢ ῥ' οὐχ Ἴππο]δάμεια περίφρων ἦν παρὰ[κοι]τις: Either ἢ ῥ' οὐχ Ἴππο]δάμεια or οὐ γὰρ Δηϊ]δάμεια (Merkelbach-West). Merkelbach had also left room for ἀλλὰ γὰρ or ἀλλ' οὐχ in the very beginning of the verse, while Latte's οὐ νό τοι Ἴππο]δάμεια is unsuitable unless Peirithoos is being addressed. The real difficulty is the choice between Hippodameia and Deidameia.¹⁴⁴⁴ The former is known as Peirithoos' wife as early as Homer (*Il.*

2.742), while the latter is known in this role not earlier than Plutarch (*Thes.* 30.3). There are two reasons why Ἴππο]δάμεια is more likely to be

correct: (a) there are traces in the papyrus of a letter before ΔAMEIA that must be O, since its lower part is much longer than the lower part of the other candidate, i.e. the letter I; and (b) it is Hippodameia who is referred to as Peirithoos' wife in Homer and all early sources, while Deidameia comes much later into the picture.¹⁴⁴⁵ Meleagros' reply is surprising. First, he continues to address Theseus for an issue relating mainly to Peirithoos. There must have been a reason in the *Minyas* for which Meleagros does not address him, though he must have been present at the meeting, as clearly indicated by v. 5 (τίπτε δὲ Πειρίθοός τοι] ἄμ' ἔσπετο πῖς[τὸς] ἐ[ταῖρος;]). The second remarkable feature of Meleagros' answer is that the Aitolian hero does not shudder when he hears of Peirithoos' intention to take from the ultimate king of the Underworld, Hades himself, his concubine Persephone, but because he knows that Peirithoos is married to another woman. In other words, Meleagros' answer continues to be tuned to a 'legal' note, more or less like the argument presented by Theseus a few lines before.

28 μ]εγαθύμου Πειριθόοιο; Merkelbach considered αἰδοίη κεδνή for the first part of the verse in the light of epic diction regularly used in the context of παράκοιτις or ἄλοχος; see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 21.460 (αἰδοίητις ἀλόχοισιν), 21.479 (αἰδοίη παράκοιτις); Hom. *Od.* 1.432 (κεδνῇ ἀλόχοι), 22.223 (ἄλοχον κεδνῇν); Hes. *Th.* 608 (κεδνὴν δ' ἔσχεν ἄκοιτιν); *HHymn to Demeter* (2) 343 (σὺν αἰδοίῃ παρακοίτι); *HHymn to Apollo* (3) 313 (μ' ἄλοχον ποιήσατο κέδν' εἰδυῖαν); *HHymn to Aphrodite* (5) 44 (αἰδοίην ἄλοχον ποιήσατο κέδν' εἰδυῖαν), [Hes.] *Asp.* 14, 46 (σὺν αἰδοίῃ παρακοίτι). On μεγαθύμου Πειριθόοιο, see Hom. *Od.* 21.296 (ἄσ' ἐνὶ μεγάρῳι μεγαθύμου Πειριθόοιο) in the context of the events that took place in the house of Peirithoos immediately before the fight between the Lapiths and the Centaurs. Vecchiato's¹⁴⁴⁶ κουριδίη τ' ἄλοχος tries to cater for the poet's pronounced tendency for repetition of terms pertaining to family and marriage (v. 14: ἐδνώσειεν – v. 17: ἐδνώσασθαι; v. 15: κασιγνήτας – v. 18: αὐτοκ]ασιγνήτην – v. 21: κασίγνητος; v. 18: ὁμοπάτριον – v. 21: ὄπατρος) and is well attested in Homer and the Homeric Hymns (*Il.* 1.114, 7.392, 11.243, 13.626, 19.298; *Od.* 14.245, 15.356; *HHymn to Aphrodite* [5] 127; *HHymn to Aphrodite* [6] 17), but the number of letters seems to me too large for the space available on the papyrus.

29 θερ]ῶποντα; tentative supplement by Merkelbach.

30]. . π[; I see traces of the upper horizontal and left vertical strokes of the letter Π, which seem identical with the traces of letter Π in the immediately preceding line.

31 [οῖσϛκ]: I am not sure whether we have a trace of the beginning of the stroke of the letter K that is looking upwards. Its vertical stroke could well have been a I or the left vertical stroke of an H. The sequence OYΣK in a single word is not attested in Homer, and even in the rest of Greek literature it is extremely rare (with the exception of some names of foreign peoples). If the OYΣK sequence is correct, it must certainly belong to two different words.

32 [ρϛμα]: words with this sequence of letters in early hexameter poetry include ἀτρέμας, some form of the verb κρεμάω, and ἐγρεμάχη.

col. ii

1 ὦς ἔ[φατ': Merkelbach. Is this the beginning of the capping formula indicating the completion of Meleagros' speech?

2 σεμ.]: Traces of the letter N after M (Merkelbach-West). If σεμν-, should we postulate an epithet designating Persephone?

5 ἔξ[α]: ἔξ A[ίδαο Tsagalis; see l. 19; Hom. *Il.* 23.76, Hom. *Od.* 11.625 (for εἰς Αἶδαο in verse-initial position, see e.g. Hom. *Od.* 10.175); ἔξ A[ίδεω or ἔξαυτίς Merkelbach-West (at verse-initial position, see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 16.654)

6 ημε]: Merkelbach-West; see Hes. *Th.* 478, 888 (*k* Chrys. *a*), 898; [Hes.] *Cat.* 54a.5; Theog. 906 (dub. in 259 [μέλλησα]); Kall. *H.* 4.58. Zenodotos read ἤμελλεν in Hom. *Il.* 12.34 (cf. Kall. *Ait.* fr. 12.6 = Ap. Rh. 1.1309; Rengakos 1993, 61–2)

13 μιδ]: This could be a misspelling for μ<ε>ιδ (Merkelbach-West)

14 εισε.]: Either εἰ σε- or εἰς ε- or εἶσε (Merkelbach-West)

15 γα]: γα[ι-? or γα[μβρ-? (Merkelbach-West). The former possibility may have been associated with γαῖα given the placement of this scene below the earth, while the latter pertains to the marriage context of this whole episode.

17 θξη]: Some form of the third person optative.

Fr. *7

The attribution of this otherwise unknown hexameter to the *Minyas* was first made by Janko in his edition and commentary on Book 1 of Philodemos' *On Poems*¹⁴⁴⁷ and subsequently endorsed by West in his edition of epic fragments.¹⁴⁴⁸ The source of this fragment is Pausimachos of Miletos, a radical euphonist whose *floruit* must be placed around 200 BC. His quotation of the line H [. . .]τα φθιμένοισι πολυ[λ]λίστη βασιλεια aimed at highlighting the euphonic nature of the letter λ.¹⁴⁴⁹ The expression πολυλλίστη βασιλεια designating Persephone must have been a formula for the Queen of the

Underworld formed on the basis of the fact that she was much implored by the dead. It is attested three times in the *HOrph.* (32.17, 35,2, 41.9 Quandt). The epithet πολυλλίστη is attested as early as Homer (*Od.* 5.445). It is also used in the *HHymn to Demeter* (2) 28 and the *HHymn to Apollo* (3) 347 (referring in both texts to a temple), in Bacch. 11.41 (to designate an altar),¹⁴⁵⁰ in a hexametric poem of unknown authorship,¹⁴⁵¹ which has been assigned to a *Hymn to Demeter*,¹⁴⁵² in Simias fr. 4.1 *CA* (referring to the head) and in a dedicatory epigram designating Persephone (*API* 327.17: ἴλαθι πᾶσι, μάκαιρα, πολυλλίστη δὲ πόλῃ).

Carmen Naupactium

Text, Critical Apparatus, and Translation

Testimonia

Test. 1 Paus. 10.38.11 (III 187.24–9 Rocha-Pereira)

τὰ δὲ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια ὀνομαζόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἀνδρὶ ἐσποιοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ Μιλησίωι· Χάρων δὲ ὁ Πύθεώ (*FGrHist* 262 F4) φησιν αὐτὰ ποιῆσαι Ναυπάκτιον Καρκίνον· ἐπόμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ δόξει· τίνα γὰρ καὶ λόγον ἔχοι ἂν ἔπεσιν ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου πεποιημένοις ἐς γυναῖκας τεθῆναι σφισιν ὄνομα Ναυπάκτια;

With respect to the epic called *Naupaktia*¹⁴⁵³ by the Greeks, most assign it to a Milesian, but Charon the son of Pythes says that it was composed by the Naupaktian Karkinos. We too follow the opinion of the historian of Lampsakos, for what would be the purpose of placing the title *Naupaktia* to an epic pertaining to women that was composed by a Milesian?

Fragmenta

Fr. 1 Σ (T) in Hom. *Il.* 15.336c (IV 82.43–83.49 Erbse) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

μητρυῆς Ἐριώπιδος· ὁμοίως τῷ ποιητῇ καὶ Ἑλ<λ>άνικος (fr. 121 *EGM*) Ἐριώπην τὴν μητέρα Αἴαντός φησιν· Φερεκύδης δὲ ἐν ε΄ (fr. 24 *EGM*) καὶ Μνασέας ἐν η΄ (fr. 53 incert. sed. Cappelletto) Ἀλκιμάχην, ὁ δὲ τῶν Ναυπακτικῶν ποιητῆς διώνυμον αὐτήν φησι·

τὴν δὲ μέθ' ὀπλοτάτην < . . .

. . . > Ἐριώπην ἐξονόμαζεν,

Ἀλκιμάχην δὲ πατὴρ τε καὶ Ἀδμητος καλέεσκεν.

1 ἑλάνικος TV suppl. V^e ||

1–2 Ἐριώπην τὴν transp. Erbse, qui Ἐριώπιδα τὴν simul proposuit : τὴν Ἐριώπην T ||

2 ἐν ε΄ West : ἐν πέμπτῳ Kinkel : ἐν ε΄-ω^ω Marcksch. : ἐνεω T(V) | η^η-T : ὀγδόῳ Erbse : ἡ cruceam posuit Cappelletto ||

3 Ναυπακτικῶν Bekk. : ναπακτίδων T(V) : Να<υ>πακτίδων West ||

5 δὲ μέθ' codd. : lacunam post ὀπλοτάτην posuit West, qui supplevit <τίκτεν περικαλλέα κούρην, / τὴν δὴ μητροπάτωρ> | δ΄ ἔτεχ' Gärtner ||

6 ἐξονόμαζεν Bekk. (ἐξονόμαζεν cogitat Davies) : ἐξωνόμαζεν T(V) ||

7 καλέεσκεν T : 'cave ne καλέεσκον conicias (cf. Hes. *Th.* 45 et West ad loc.)' sic Davies

Of her stepmother Eriope: like 'the poet' (*sc.* Homer) Hellanikos says that Eriope was the mother of Aias (*sc.* the Lokrian). Pherekydes in Book 5 and Mnaseas in Book 8 say that it was Alkimache, whereas the author of the

Carmen Naupactium says that she had a double name:

And after her, as the youngest, < > called Eriope, but her father and Admetos called Alkimache.

Fr. 2 Herodian. *Peri monerous lekseos* 15 [GG vol. 3, ii.922.1–6 Lentz] (PEG = EGF = GEF)

Φρήν· ... ὅι ὁμοιον δύναιτο ἂν εἶναι καὶ τὸ ῥήν ... ἐν συνθέσει πολύρρην παρὰ τῶι τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ ποιήσαντι·

ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὖν ἀπάνευθε θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο
οἰκία ναιετάασκε πολύρρην πο<v>λυβοώτης.

1 ἐν συνθέσει Bloch : ἐν ἀντιθέσει cod. ||

3 οὖν cod. : οὐκ Lobeck | ἀπάνευθε Lobeck : ἐπινευσὶ cod. : ἐπὶ θινὶ Cramer : ἐπὶ νηυσὶ Dindorf ||

4 οἰκία Dindorf : οἰκίαν codd. | πολύρρην codd. : πολύρρηνος Peppmüller | καὶ suppl. Papazeti ante verbum receptum πολυβοῦτης | πολυβοῦτης Bloch : πολυβοῦτης codd.

Phrēn: ... similar to which could be *rhēn* ... In a compound, *polyrrhēn* in the author of the *Naupaktika*:

but he was living in a house apart from the broad-wayed sea, a man rich in sheep and rich in cattle.

Fr. 3 Σ Ap. Rh. 2.299 (p. 150.14–17 Wendel) [= 3 PEG = 3^A EGF = 3 GEF]

κ ε υ θ μ ὦ ν α Κ ρ ῆ τ η ς· κοιλάδα τῆς Κρήτης κατέδυσαν (*sc.* αἱ Ἄρπυιαι). τοῦτο δέ φησι καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος (*FGrHist* 702 F 4 = fr. 3 Mette [*RhM* 123 (1980) 2]). ὁ <δὲ> τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ ποιήσας καὶ Φερεκύδης ἐν ζ' (fr. 29 *EGM*) φασὶν εἰς τὸ σπέος αὐτὰς (*sc.* τὰς Ἄρπυϊας) φυγεῖν τῆς Κρήτης τὸ ὑπὸ τῶι λόφῳ τῶι Ἀργινοῦντι.

2 δὲ add. Keil ||

3 post τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ ποιήσας lacunam statuit Fowler | δὲ P : om. L | ζ' L, Est. gr. 77 : γ' P, Est. gr. 112 | φασὶν Keil : φησὶν codd.

Hiding place in Crete: they (*sc.* the Harpyiai) went down into a gully in Crete. This is what Neoptolemos says too. The author of the *Naupaktika* and Pherekydes in Book 6 say that they (*sc.* the Harpyiai) fled into the cave in Crete that lies under the hill of Arginous.

Fr. 4 Σ Ap. Rh. 3.515–21 (p. 234.10–12 Wendel) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος τούτους φησὶ προαιρεῖσθαι ζεδῆσαι τοὺς βόας, ὁ δὲ τὰ

Ναυπακτικὰ πάντας ἀριθμεῖ τοὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ φερομένους ἀριστεῖς.

1 ποιήσας post Ναυπακτικὰ add. P ||

2 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ codd. : ὑπ' Ἀργοῦς Robert : ἀπ' Ἄργους Matthews

Apollonios says that these men volunteered to yoke the oxen, while the author of the *Naupaktika* enumerates all the heroes given currency by him.

Fr. 5 Σ (L) Ap. Rh. 3.523–4 (p. 234.13–16 Wendel) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

ἀ λ λ ἄ τ ι ν' ο ἶ ω μ η τ ρ ὀ ς ἐ μ ῆ ς· δύναται, φησὶν (*sc.* Ἄργος), ἡ μήτηρ ἢ ἐμὴ πεῖσαι τὴν Μήδειαν συνεργῆσαι τὸν ἄθλον. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ναυπακτικοῖς Ἴδμων ἀναστὰς Ἴάσονι κελεύει ὑποστῆναι τὸν ἄθλον.

2 Ἴάσονι codd. : Ἰάσωνα Lloyd-Jones ||

3 κελεύει codd. : κωλύει Ribbeck

cf. Σ P *ad loc.*:

ἔτι δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος Ἄργον φησὶν ἐμποδίσαι τοὺς ἥρωας ὑποστῆναι βουλομένους τὸν ἀγῶνα. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ναυπακτικοῖς Ἴδμων ἀναστὰς Ἴάσονι κελεύει ὑποστῆναι τὸν ἄθλον.

‘but I think that from my mother’: my own mother, says Argos, is able to persuade Medeia to contribute to the task. In the *Naupaktika* Idmon stands up and urges Jason to undertake the task (*sc.* of yoking Aietes’ fire-breathing oxen).

And also Apollonios says that Argos prevented the heroes who desired to take part in the contest. In the *Naupaktika* Idmon stands up and urges Jason to undertake the task (of yoking Aietes’ fire-breathing oxen).

Fr. 6 Σ Ap. Rhod. 4.66a, 4.86 (pp. 266.9–14, 266.23–267.5 Wendel); cf. Σ Ap. Rh. 3.240 (p. 227.2–3 Wendel) [fr. 6 PEG = 6–7^{A+B} EGF = 6 GEF]

a. 4.66a: τ ἡ ν δ' (*sc.* Μήδειαν) α ἱ ψ α π ὀ δ ε ς φ έ ρ ο ν· παρὰ δὲ τῷ τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ πεποιηκότι οὐκ ἔστι κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν προαίρεσιν ἐξιοῦσα ἢ Μήδεια, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ἐστίασιν καλουμένων τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν κατ' ἐπιβουλὴν, ἐνστάντος τοῦ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως αὐτῶν καιροῦ, προτραπομένου δὲ τοῦ Αἰήτου ἐπὶ τῆς Εὐρυλύτης τῆς γυναικὸς συνουσίαν, Ἴδμονος ὑποθεμένου τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις ἀποδιδράσκειν, καὶ Μήδεια συνεκπλεῖ.

2 ἐφ' ἐστίασιν Marckscheffel : ἐφ' ἐστίαν codd. : ἐφέστιος Keil ||

3 καλουμένων τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν Wendel : καλουμένη (ἀνακαλ- Keil). οἱ γὰρ Ἀργοναῦται L ||

4 προτραπομένου F : προτρεπομένου L

b. 4.86: φ ε ύ γ ω μ ε ν, π ρ ι ν τ ὀ ν δ ε (*sc.* Αἰήτην) θ ο ῶ ν· ὁ μὲν

Ἀπολλώνιος φησι νυκτὸς πεφευγέναι τὴν Μήδειαν ἐπὶ τὴν ναῦν, Αἰήτου συνέδριον ἔχοντος Κόλχων περὶ διαφθορᾶς τῶν ἡρώων· ὁ δὲ τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ πεποιηκῶς ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης φησὶ τὸν Αἰήτην κατακοιμηθῆναι, ἐπιθυμήσαντα τῇ αὐτοῦ γυναικὶ συγγενέσθαι, δεδειπνηκότων παρ' αὐτῷ τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν καὶ κοιωμένων, διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι αὐτὸν τὴν ναῦν ἐμπρῆσαι·

*δὴ τότ' ἄρ' Αἰήτηι πόθον ἔμβαλε δῖ' Ἀφροδίτη
Εὐρυλύτης φιλότῃ μιγήμεναι, ἣς ἀλόχοιο,
κηδομένη φρεσὶν ἦσιν, ὅπως μετ' ἄεθλον Ἰήσων
νοστήσει οἰκόνδε σὺν ἀγχεμάχοις ἐτάροισιν.*

1 τόνδε F : τῶνδε L : om. P ||

5 Ἀργοναυτῶν Keil : Κόλχων codd. | οὐ post καὶ add. Lloyd-Jones (ap. Davies Carm. Naup. fr. 7^A EGF)

Cf. Σ Ap. Rh. 3.240 (p. 227.2–3 Wendel): σὺ ν ἐ ἦ ι ν α ί ε σ κ ε δ ἄ μ α ρ τ ι (sc. Αἰήτης)· ὁ τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ πεποιηκῶς Εὐρυλύτην αὐτὴν λέγει.

a. 4.66a: ‘her feet carried her (sc. Medeia) swiftly’: according to the author of the *Naupaktika* Medeia does not go out on her own plan, but when the Argonauts were invited to dinner in furtherance of a plot (by Aietes). As the time of their destruction was imminent, and Aietes turned himself to make love to his wife Eurylyte, Idmon advised the Argonauts to escape, and Medeia sailed off with them.

b. 4.86: ‘let us flee, before he (sc. Aietes) with his fast (ships)’: Apollonios says that Medeia had fled to the ship in the night, while Aietes had summoned a council with respect to the elimination of the heroes. The author of the *Naupaktika* says that Aietes was put to sleep by Aphrodite, after desiring to make love to his wife, once the Argonauts had dined with him and were going to bed, because he wanted to set fire to the ship:

*Then divine Aphrodite cast desire upon Aietes to unite in love with his wife Eurylyte. She was concerned inside her mind with how Jason, after his trial, would return home with his combative comrades.*¹⁴⁵⁴

Cf. also Σ Ap. Rh. 3.240 (p. 227.2–3 Wendel): ‘he (sc. Aietes) lived with his own wife’: The author of the *Naupaktika* calls her Eurylyte.

Fr. 7 Σ Ap. Rhod. 4.86 (p. 267.10–13 Wendel) [fr. 7 PEG = 7^A EGF = 7 GEF]

ὁ δὲ Ἴδμων συνῆκε τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ φησι·

‘φενγέμεναι μέγαροιο θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν’.

τὴν δὲ Μήδειαν τὴν ποδοσοφίαν ἀκούσασαν¹⁴⁵⁵ ἀναστᾶσαν συνεξορμῆσαι.

λέγει δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος (fr. 53 *EGM*) ταῦτα.

2 φευγέμεναι codd. : φευγέμεν ἐκ Meineke ||

4 ταῦτα codd. : τὰ αὐτὰ P : ταῦτὰ Davies

And Idmon understood what happened and said:

‘Flee from the palace, through the swift black night’.

And Medeia, having heard the noise made by their feet, got up and went away with them. This story is also told by Herodoros.

Fr. 8 Σ Ap. Rh. 4.87 (p. 267.14–21 Wendel) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

δ ὥ σ ω δ ἐ χ ρ ὺ σ ε ι ο ν· ὁ μὲν Ἀπολλώνιος μετὰ τὸ φυγεῖν τὴν Μήδειαν ἐκ τοῦ Αἰήτου οἴκου πεποιήται ὑπισχνουμένην τὸ κῶας τῷ Ἰάσονι· ὁ δὲ τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ γράψας συνεκφέρουσεν αὐτὴν τὸ κῶας κατὰ τὴν φυγὴν, κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον κείμενον {τοῦ Αἰήτου}· ὁ δὲ Ἡρόδοτος (fr. 52 *EGM*) μετὰ τὴν ἀνάξουζιν τῶν ἀγρίων ταύρων ἀποσταλῆναι τὸν Ἰάσονα ὑπὸ τοῦ Αἰήτου ἐπὶ τὸ κῶας, τὸν δὲ πορευθέντα φονεῦσαι τε τὸν δράκοντα καὶ τὸ κῶας ἀπενεγκεῖν πρὸς Αἰήτην, τὸν δὲ δόλωι καλέσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.

3 κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ L : om. P A ||

4 τοῦ Αἰήτου codd. : del. Wendel ||

5 ἀγρίων ταύρων Müller : Ἀργοναυτῶν codd.

‘I will give [you] the golden [fleece]’: Apollonios has made Medeia promise Jason the fleece after fleeing from Aietes’ house, whereas the author of the *Naupaktika* [has made] her [*sc.* Medeia] carry the fleece with her as she was fleeing, since it had been lying in his house. And Herodoros [has said] that Jason was sent by Aietes to get the fleece after the yoking of the wild oxen, and that he [*sc.* Jason] went and killed the dragon and carried back the fleece to Aietes, and that he [*sc.* Aietes] invited them to dinner by guile.

Fr. 9 Paus. 2.3.9 (I 115.3–8 Rocha-Pereira) [= PEG = EGF = GEF]

ἔπη δὲ ἔστιν ἐν Ἑλλησι Ναυπάκτια ὀνομαζόμενα· πεποιήται δὲ ἐν αὐτοῖς Ἰάσονα ἐξ Ἰωλκοῦ μετὰ τὸν Πελίου θάνατον ἐς Κόρκυραν μετοικῆσαι καὶ οἱ Μέρμερον μὲν τὸν πρεσβύτερον τῶν παίδων ὑπὸ λεαίνης διαφθαρήναι θηρεύοντα ἐν τῇ πέραν ἡπείρῳ· Φέρητι δὲ οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐς μνήμην προσκείμενον.

There is an epic called *Naupaktia* among the Greeks, and it is written in it that after Pelias’ death Jason moved from Iolkos to Korkyra and that Mermeros, the elder of his sons, was killed by a lioness while hunting in the land across the sea. There is nothing recorded about Pheres.

Fr. 10^{A-C} Philod. *Peri eusebeias* B 6736, B 4912 (Obbink) and Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.3 (pp. 141.18–142.3 [Wagner]) [= fr. 10–11 *PEG* = 10^{A-C} *EGF* = 10 *GEF*]

10^A Philod. *Peri eusebeias* B 6736 (Obbink)

Ἀσκληπιὸν δὲ Ζεὺς ἐκεραύνωσεν, ὥς μιν ὁ τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ συγγράψας [ἐν τῇ Ἀσκληπιῶν Τελέστῃς (*PMG* 807) καὶ Κινησίῃς] ὁ μελοποιός (*PMG* 774), ὅτι τὸν Ἱππόλυτον [παρα]κληθεὶς ὑπ' Ἀρτέμιδος ἀνέστησεν, κτλ.

10^B Philod. *Peri eusebeias* B 4912 (Obbink)

τὸν Ἀσκληπιὸν δ' ὑπὸ Διὸς κα[τακτα]θῆναι γέγραπεν Ἡσίοδος (fr. 51 M–W) ... καὶ ὁ τὰ Ναυπάκτια ποιήσας].

10^C Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.3 (pp. 141.18–142.3 [Wagner])

εὗρον δὲ τινες λεγομένους ἀναστῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ), Καπανέα καὶ Λυκούργον, ὥς Στησίχορος (fr. 92a Finglass) φησιν ἐν Ἐριφύλῃ, Ἱππόλυτον ὡς ὁ τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ συγγράψας.

Zeus thunderbolted Asklepios according to the author of the *Naupaktika*, and Telestes in his *Asklepios* and Kinesias the lyric poet, because he (*sc.* Asklepios) raised from the dead Hippolytos after being asked to do so by Artemis.

Hesiod has written that Asklepios was thunderbolted by Zeus ... and the author of the *Naupaktia*.

I found that some said to have been raised from the dead by him: Kapaneus and Lykourgos, according to Stesichoros in the *Eriphyle*; Hippolytos, according to the author of the *Naupaktika*.

Fr. 11 Paus. 4.2.1 (I 273.16–20 Rocha-Pereira) [= fr. 12 *PEG* = test. 3 *EGF* = fr. 11 *GEF*]; see Kin. fr. 5

Carmen Naupactium

Commentary

Title

The title of this epic is attested in two different forms: *Ναυπακτι(α)κά* and *Ναυπάκτια*.¹⁴⁵⁶ The title *Ναυπακτι(α)κά* is the most widely attested, in sum 11 times: 7 in the Σ Ap. Rh.: 2.299 (p. 150.15 Wendel), 3.240 (p. 227.2–3 Wendel), 3.515–21 (p. 234.11–12 Wendel), 3.523–4 (p. 234.14–16 Wendel), 4.66a (p. 266.9–10 Wendel), 4.86 (p. 267.1 Wendel), 4.87 (p. 267.16 Wendel); once in Philodemos (*Peri eusebeias* P.Hercul. 1609 V 7–8, p. 52 Gomperz), once in Herodian *Peri monerous lekseos* 15 [*GG* vol. 3, ii.922.4 Lentz]), once in Apollod. (*Bibl.* 3.10.3), and once in Σ (T) Hom. *Il.* 15.336c (IV 83.2–3 Erbse).¹⁴⁵⁷ The form *Ναυπάκτια* (sc. ἔπη) is reported twice by Philodemos (*Peri eusebeias* P.Hercul. 247 IV^b 16–17, p. 17 and 247 V^b 1–2, p. 18 ¹⁴⁵⁸ Gomperz) and three times by Pausanias (2.3.9, 4.2.1, 10.38.11). The titles *Ναυπάκτια* and *Ναυπακτι(α)κά* are amply attested by different sources and they conform to an expected pattern of title-variation, which is also attested with respect to the *Κύπρια/Κυπριακά*.¹⁴⁵⁹ We don't have to decide between *Ναυπάκτια* and *Ναυπακτι(α)κά*, since both were found acceptable in antiquity. What is certain is that the epic's title does not refer to its content. It may well indicate that this poem 'was current in the Naupactus area or believed to originate from there'.¹⁴⁶⁰ The term *Ναυπακτι(α)κός* designates things pertaining to the city of Naupaktos, as *Κορινθιακός* refers to things concerning Corinth. The same observation applies to various historical works whose titles are based on the country, region, or city they deal with: *Ἀργολικά*, *Ἀρκαδικά*, *Ἀττικά*, *Βιθυνικά*, *Ἑλληνικά*, *Λακωνικά*, *Λυκιακά*, *Περσικά*, *Σαμιακά*, *Τρωικά*.¹⁴⁶¹ Since the content of the poem does not focus on matters pertaining to Naupaktos, we may postulate that the title *Ναυπακτι(α)κά* was formed under the influence of titles of historiographical works pertaining to other cities because it had some special relation to Naupaktos. This may allow us to move further. A poem was 'current' in a specific area, although its content had hardly anything that would entail a special link with this region, only if it was either composed in that place or if its poet came from that area or city. The latter scenario is less likely, as will become clear in the next section. We are, therefore, left with the possibility that the *Carmen Naupactium* was composed and/ or systematically performed in the area of Naupaktos. Since Pausanias referred to the epic's special association with women,¹⁴⁶² Huxley has suggested that the *Carmen Naupactium* was 'well suited to recitation at a festival of Ariadne'.¹⁴⁶³ This performance scenario is based on the theory of the existence of a genealogical 'school' of epic poetry active in the region of Naupaktos.¹⁴⁶⁴ The case of the festival of Ariadne for the performance of this kind of poetry may be a highly conjectural hypothesis, but this does not mean that this 'school' was not real,

perhaps competing against Orchomenos in Boiotia, the more so since both cities claimed to have in their territory the grave of the greatest representative of genealogical epic in the archaic period, Hesiod himself.¹⁴⁶⁵ It is to be noted that the city of Thespiiai in Boiotia argued that Orchomenos' claim that Hesiod's body was brought back to Orchomenos was not accurate and that the poet's body had remained hidden at the precinct of Zeus Nemeios in western Lokris.¹⁴⁶⁶ According to a similar view, a real rivalry must have existed between Chalkis and Naupaktos, the former having been the place in which Hesiod had risen victorious against Homer.¹⁴⁶⁷ With respect to our inquiry, it is likely that here we have traces of a performance context for early genealogical poetry, in which the *Carmen Naupactium* would have had its proper place. A different line of interpretation has been suggested by Debiasi,¹⁴⁶⁸ who argues that the *Carmen Naupactium* may have taken its name by means of the building of the Argo. This explanation is less probable, since our sources explicitly tell us that (a) it was the city of Naupaktos (and not any epic poem) that was named after the building of the fleet either of the Herakleidai or of the Lokrians,¹⁴⁶⁹ and (b) it was the city of Pagasai, not Naupaktos, that was named after the building of the Argo.¹⁴⁷⁰ Charon's evidence tends to confirm the natural assumption that the epic *Ναυπάκτια*/*Ναυπακτι(α)κά* was connected with the city of Naupaktos.¹⁴⁷¹

Authorship

The only source referring to the epic's author is Pausanias (10.38.11), according to whom Charon of Lampsakos, a historian of the late fourth century BC, assigned it to Karkinos of Naupaktos.¹⁴⁷² Pausanias, who countersigns this assumption, tells us that this view was not shared by the majority of ancient authorities who ascribed this epic to some Milesian whom he does not name. Pausanias follows Charon by asking himself what would be the reason for giving the name *Carmen Naupactium* to a poem concerning women, if it had been composed by a Milesian.¹⁴⁷³ Since Pausanias does not give his readers any clue concerning the reasons Charon assigned the *Carmen Naupactium* to Karkinos, in contrast to most other sources ascribing it to some Milesian poet, we are left to infer that Charon must have based his opinion on the epic's fame.¹⁴⁷⁴ Pausanias' argument about the attribution of this poem to Karkinos reflects his own reasoning, which is grounded on showing that a rival tradition attributing it to a Milesian was false. In other words, Pausanias' method of deciding this issue is a sort of *reductio ad absurdum* (expressed in the Greek text in the form of a rhetorical question): since ἔπη πεποιημένα ἐξ γυναικας bearing the name *Ναυπάκτια* cannot possibly be the work of a Milesian poet, then the only scenario of authorship we are left with is that of Charon, who assigns the epic to Karkinos of Naupaktos.¹⁴⁷⁵ Charon's opinion is further strengthened by both the fact that he is the only source to give us a name for the author of the *Carmen Naupactium* and that he is a well known source. These two factors (a known source and a poet 'with flesh and

bones') stand in sharp contrast to a vaguely described Milesian poet and the unnamed sources ascribing to him the *Carmen Naupactium*.¹⁴⁷⁶ Although these considerations seem to turn the scales in favor of Karkinos, Charon's and Pausanias' verdict has serious drawbacks. Charon's viewpoint does not seem to have been based on some solid piece of information about the authorship of the *Carmen Naupactium*. If it was, Pausanias would have used it, since it was directly relevant to his argument. Charon's opinion must have been formed as a differentiation from the common view known to him, i.e. that the poem's author was some Milesian poet. The main reason for his differentiation from this view was probably the one mentioned by Pausanias, i.e. that he could find no logical connection between a Milesian authorship and a poem called *Carmen Naupactium* that contained women's genealogical poetry, though we cannot exclude the possibility that this was Pausanias' own reasoning. Pausanias himself, though concurring with Charon's opinion, consistently refers to this epic by the formula (τὰ) ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια without mentioning Karkinos' name (2.3.9; 4.2.1). Different suggestions have been made with respect to the identity of the unnamed Milesian, to whom some ancient authorities (referred to by Pausanias without further specification) had ascribed the *Carmen Naupactium*. A textual mistake in Σ Ap. Rh. 2.299 [p. 150.14–17 Wendel] made scholars consider the Hellenistic epic poet Neoptolemos as the author of the *Carmen Naupactium*.¹⁴⁷⁷ Even Arktinos of Miletos has been thought of as a possible candidate, on the basis of his Milesian origin, dating in the archaic period, and activity as an epic poet (*Aithiopsis*, *Iliou persis*).¹⁴⁷⁸ The similarity between the names of ΑΡΚΤΙΝΟΣ and ΚΑΡΚΙΝΟΣ in Greek is also suspicious. On the other hand, as Marckscheffel has observed,¹⁴⁷⁹ if Arktinos was the unnamed Milesian who was thought to be by many ancient authorities the author of the *Carmen Naupactium* (as Pausanias reports), then his name would have been known to Pausanias who would not have designated him by the vague expression ἀνὴρ Μιλήσιος ('a man from Miletos'). In addition, it would have been quite odd, to say the least, to attribute to Arktinos a genealogical poem of the Hesiodic type.¹⁴⁸⁰ Wilamowitz, who has briefly discussed the name of another Milesian, Kerkops, since various poems had been assigned to him or Hesiod,¹⁴⁸¹ especially the *Aigimios*, suggests caution, the more so since there are 'too many uncertain factors'¹⁴⁸² in this sort of argument. Other scholars have attempted to explain Pausanias' reference to multiple anonymous sources designating some Milesian as the epic's author in the wake of the association between the poem's Argonautic flavor and potential Milesian interest in such a myth. Since the vigorous Milesian colonizing activity seems to be in tune with this kind of reasoning, scholars have tentatively suggested that a Milesian wandering poet 'could have come to compete' with an Argonautic epic¹⁴⁸³ 'in a festival at Naupaktos, perhaps against local poets like Karkinos'.¹⁴⁸⁴ There may be some truth in this last scenario, especially given the information that Hesiod has as a fellow guest a Milesian, when he

visited western Lokris.¹⁴⁸⁵ Be that as it may, it is fair to say that both the ‘claim for Milesian authorship’¹⁴⁸⁶ and for Karkinos as the poet of the *Carmen Naupactium* have their proper pros and cons and leave the question of the epic’s author undecided.

These observations aside, the poet of this epic is designated as ὁ τῶν Ναυπακτίων ποιητής (Σ (T) Hom. *Il.* 15.336c [IV 83.2 Erbse]), ὁ τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ ποιήσας (Herodian *Peri monerous lekseos* 15 [*GG* vol. 3, ii.922.4 Lentz]); Σ Ap. Rh. 2.299 [p. 150.15 Wendel]), ὁ τὰ Ναυπακτικά πεποιηκώς (Σ Ap. Rh. 3.240 [p. 227.3 Wendel], 4.66a [p. 266.9–10 Wendel], 4.86 [267.1 Wendel]), ὁ τὰ Ναυπακτικά γράσας (Σ Ap. Rh. 4.87 [p. 267.16 Wendel]), ὁ τὰ Ναυπακτικά συγγράσας (Philod. *De piet.* P.Hercul. 1609 V 7–8, p. 52 Gomperz; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.3). Pausanias, who concurs with Charon’s opinion that Karkinos is the author of the *Carmen Naupactium* (10.38.11), refers twice to this poem without mentioning the author’s name (2.3.9; 4.2.1). There are also some uncertain cases (Σ Ap. Rh. 3.515–521 [p. 234.10–12 Wendel]).¹⁴⁸⁷

Sources

For the sources for the *Carmen Naupactium* (a single testimonium and 11 fragments), see under ‘Title’ and ‘Authorship’ (above).

Plot

The reconstruction of the plot of the *Carmen Naupactium* will be based only on the extant fragments. Although it is always tempting to add more information on the basis of potential analogies between the content of this epic and relevant material attested in other authors (Herodoros being a typical example), I will refrain from doing so and thus concentrate solely on cases in which the ascription is guaranteed.¹⁴⁸⁸

The poem must have included a list of the Argonauts and their families somewhere close to its beginning. We cannot possibly know what the exact synthesis of the Argonautic crew would have been but on the basis of fr. 1 *EGEF*, in which the wife of Oileus and two other names are piled up in only two verses, we may postulate a rather detailed list. The epic also treated the episode of Phineus and the Harpyiai, whom the Boreads chased away from Phineus’ abode. We do not know whether they actually killed them, but only that the Harpyiai tried to escape and hid themselves in a Cretan cave under the hill Arginous (fr. 3 *EGEF*). When the Argonauts arrived in Kolchis, king Aietes set at least one (but possible the fleece too) task for Jason, i.e. the yoking of the fire-breathing oxen (fr. 4 *EGEF*). The seer Idmon, the only μάντις taking part in the expedition, played an active role by urging Jason to undertake this task (fr. 5 *EGEF*). Aietes organized a banquet for the Argonauts, in which he was planning to deceive them and burn the Argo while they would be sleeping. Aphrodite intervened by changing Aietes’ mind who under the goddess’ spell went to bed in his desire to make love to his

wife (fr. 6 *EGEF*). At the crucial moment, Idmon realized what was taking place and urged the Argonauts to go (fr. 7 *EGEF*). Medeia heard the noise of their feet as they were escaping from the palace, took the fleece, and run away with the crew (fr. 8 *EGEF*). The Argonauts must have returned following the same course they took on their way to Kolchis, but lost Idmon (the steersman Tiphys too?)¹⁴⁸⁹ who died on the way home. Jason returned with the fleece, the Argonauts, and Medeia to Iolkos, but after Pelias' death he migrated to Korkyra, only to loose Mermeros, one of his sons to Medeia, who was killed by a lioness while hunting in Thesprotia (fr. 9 *EGEF*). Things become vague at this point. We only know that the epic featured the death of Asklepios by Zeus' thunderbolt because the former, a son of Apollo, raised Hippolytos at Artemis' pleading (fr. 10^{A-C} *EGEF*). The context of this event remains unknown.

Style of the Poem

The *Carmen Naupactium* is thought to have been a genealogical poem, but it also contained important narrative sections and fascinating episodes, as we can postulate on the basis of the events in Kolchis. The task(s) set by Aietes, Jason's ability to overcome all hardships, Aietes' plan to burn the Argo, Aphrodite's intervention, Idmon's premonition, and the dramatic escape of the entire Argonautic crew together with Medeia and the fleece from Kolchis point to much more than a simple genealogical epic. The poem's surviving fragments may be scanty, but they reveal a fully-fledged epic composition.

Date

As in the case of the *Phoronis* and the *Danais* we are basically in the dark because of the lack of any solid piece of evidence. On the other hand, some features may allow us to construct a general time frame:

1. Fragment 9 *EGEF* reports that after Pelias' death Jason left Iolkos and settled in Korkyra. Since we need to assume that the colonization of Korkyra was known to the poet of the *Carmen Naupactium*, then we may consider the middle of the eight century BC to be a *terminus post quem* for the composition of this epic.¹⁴⁹⁰

2. The genealogical¹⁴⁹¹ nature of the *Carmen Naupactium* points to the period between the seventh and sixth centuries BC, when genealogical epic was flourishing in the Greek world. The fact that Pausanias mentions the *Carmen Naupactium*'s genealogical structure next to other genealogical poems, such as the *Catalogue of Women*, and the genealogies of Kinaiathon and Asios (4.2.1), shows that he considered these epics to belong to the same chronological framework.¹⁴⁹²

3. Since the *floruit* of Charon of Lampsakos was in the middle of the fifth

century BC (450–440), then his naming Karkinos of Naupaktos as the epic’s author gives us a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the *Carmen Naupactium*.

4. The same line of reasoning applies to the influence of the *Carmen Naupactium* (fr. 1 and 3 *EGEF*) on Pherekydes (fr. 24 and 29 *EGF*), whose *floruit* is around 465 BC. If so, then we have another *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the *Carmen Naupactium*.¹⁴⁹³

If all these observations are taken into consideration, then it is possible to postulate a date of composition either in the seventh or the sixth century BC.

Commentary

Fr. 1

The first issue that needs to be discussed with respect to this fragment is whether there is a *lacuna* after ὀπλοτάτην. The arguments supporting its existence are decisive. τὴν δὲ μέθ’ is a typical expression¹⁴⁹⁴ that must be retained in the text and ὀπλοτάτην can hardly make any sense when constructed with ἐξονόμαζεν, since what is needed for a term meaning ‘last’ is a verb meaning ‘give birth to’.¹⁴⁹⁵ In fact ὀπλότερος/ὀπλότατος is never constructed in archaic Greek epic with the verb ἐξονομάζειν. On the contrary, it often depends on verbs like τίκτειν, γίγνεσθαι, μίγεσθαι or is employed in a list.¹⁴⁹⁶ West who argued for the existence of the *lacuna* supplemented as subject of ἐξονόμαζεν Eriope’s maternal grandfather (<τὴν δὴ μητροπάτωρ> Ἐριώπην ἐξονόμαζεν).¹⁴⁹⁷ This would mean that Minyas had named the youngest daughter of Oileus and (Peri)klymene Eriope. Of course, this interpretation requires that a new subject is introduced for ἐξονόμαζεν, hence West’s supplement <τὴν δὴ μητροπάτωρ>. Irrespective of the supplements devised for this *lacuna*, this is the best solution available. Other suggestions have serious drawbacks. Huxley had argued that the subject of ἐξονόμαζεν is Oileus (Eriope’s husband),¹⁴⁹⁸ but it is unlikely that a husband would name his wife. Gärtner’s emendation of τὴν δὲ μέθ’ into τὴν δ’ ἔτεχ’, which requires the more economical change of only two consonants (ΔΕΜΕΘ > ΔΕΤΕΧ) is not convincing, since (a) the child would have to be named already in the preceding verse (as Eriope, Alkimache or otherwise?), and (b) it is unlikely that the subject of ἐξονόμαζεν was her mother, Periklymene or Klymene, given that it is not for a woman to name a child.¹⁴⁹⁹ All said and done, the epic’s author may have developed these genealogical lines further, given the fact that the majority of the Argonauts were called Minyans and the strong Argonautic filter of the *Carmen Naupactium*.¹⁵⁰⁰

The Homeric scholium itself is revealing with respect to the double naming offered by the author of the *Carmen Naupactium*. Homer had only the name Eriopis. He was followed by Hellanikos who shifted the name from the

third to the first declension (Eriope), though Erbse seems to entertain the correction Ἐριώπιδα τήν.¹⁵⁰¹ The poet of the *Carmen Naupactium* with his genealogical drive added or used either from a local source or, less likely, from an earlier Argonautic tradition a second name for Eriope, Alkimache. He may have tried to reconcile two different traditions, the Homeric (Eriopis) and the non-Homeric one (Alkimache). Pherekydes¹⁵⁰² employed only the non-Homeric, new name used in the *Carmen Naupactium*, and was followed by Mnaseas (fr. 53 incert. sed. Cappelletto) and Porphyry (*Catal.* fr. 9 Schrader)¹⁵⁰³ who both opted for the less known name.¹⁵⁰⁴

We are in no position to reconstruct the exact context of this fragment, but ὀπλοτάτην points to some sort of list or catalogue, in which Eriope/Alkimache may have received special attention, as is the case with the last member of a list. A reasonable expansion of this lemma cannot be excluded.¹⁵⁰⁵ The nickname, which usually follows the main name, is often etymologized or explained by the poet, the more so when it is derived from a specific feature pertaining either to the person in question or to his/her father. The martial characteristics of the name Alkimache (also attributed to a maenad and Athena)¹⁵⁰⁶ are difficult to explain due to the lack of more information.

Diction and Meter

1. ὀπλοτάτην: see Hes. *Th.* 137; [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 26.31 M–W; *Epig.* fr. 1 *GEF* (ὀπλοτέρων); *Cypr.* fr. 10.1 *GEF* (τοὺς δὲ μέτα τριτάτην) ἐξονόμαζεν is always used in Homer in tmesis within the formula ἔπος τ' ἔφατ' ἔκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν, e.g. Hom. *Il.* 7.108; 14.232, 297; Hom. *Od.* 3.374; 4.610; 5.181. As here, it is placed at verseterminal position.

2. πατήρ ... καλέεσκε: see Hes. *Th.* 207 (τοὺς δὲ πατήρ Τιτῆνας ἐπὶ κλήσιν καλέεσκε). For the iterative καλέεσκε, see also ναιετάασκε (*Carm. Naup.* fr. 2.2 *EGEF*). The hiatus between καὶ and Ἄδμητος allows for an epic correction of καί.

Fr. 2

The incomprehensible ἐπινευσι of the manuscripts has caused considerable trouble to scholars, who have attempted to remedy it in four different ways:

a. Lobeck¹⁵⁰⁷ was the first to emend ἐπινευσι into ἀπάνευθε, though he did not explain at all how he arrived at this emendation. He also replaced the οὖν of the manuscripts by οὐκ, with the result that the emended text reads as ἀλλ' ὃ μὲν οὐκ ἀπάνευθε θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο ('but he [had his home] not apart from the broad-wayed sea').

b. Marckscheffel¹⁵⁰⁸ corrected ἐπινευσι into ἐπὶ νηυσί.

c. Cramer¹⁵⁰⁹ proposed ἐπὶ θινὶ on the basis of Homeric examples like *Od.*

4.432 (παρὰ θῖνα θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο). His proposal was adopted by both Bernabé (*PEG ad loc.*) and Davies (*EGF ad loc.*) and has been also used in various other publications that have appeared both before and after the two aforementioned critical editions of the fragments of Greek epic poets.¹⁵¹⁰

d. West¹⁵¹¹ adopted Lobeck's emendation of ἐπινεῦσι into ἀπάνευθε but kept the manuscript reading οὖν instead of Lobeck's suggested emendation into οὐκ, with the result that the text he prints means exactly the opposite from that of Lobeck (and the other editors).

Overall, the four suggested readings can be subsumed in the following meanings:

a. The unstated subject of the clause made his home close to the sea (Lobeck: 'not apart from the broad-wayed sea').

b. The unstated subject made his home 'on the ships of the broad-wayed sea' (Marckscheffel). This is simply nonsensical.

c. The unstated subject made his home 'on the beach of the broad-wayed sea' (Cramer, Bernabé, Davies et al.).

b. The unstated subject of the clause made his home 'apart from the broad-wayed sea' (West).

From the point of view of parallel phrases in epic, the situation is rather disappointing, since neither (οὐκ) ἀπάνευθε¹⁵¹² nor ἐπὶ θινί¹⁵¹³ are ever attested together with the verb ναίειν or ναιετάειν. But since ἐπὶ θινί can only mean 'on the beach' it is really implausible that a man, who is described as 'rich in sheep, rich in cattle' and has in his possession a considerable amount of pastureland, would have his home 'on the beach'. Cases like Hom. *Il.* 9.154 = 9.296 (ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύρρηες, πολυβοῦται)¹⁵¹⁴ and Hom. *Od.* 11.256–7 (... Πελίδης μὲν ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ Ἰαολκῶι / ναῖε πολύρρηος, ὁ δ' ἄρ' ἐν Πύλῳι ἡμαθόεντι), in which the relevant cities are all situated ἐγγὺς ἁλός ('close to the sea': Hom. *Il.* 9.153 = 9.295), are not against the argument presented above, since (if ἐπὶ θινί is adopted), then the subject would have his house not just 'near the sea' but 'on the beach'.¹⁵¹⁵

From a palaeographical point of view, the change of ΕΠΙΘΙΝΙ into ΕΠΙΝΕΥΣΙ is extremely hard to explain. On the contrary, the shift from ΑΠΑΝΕΥΘΕ to ΕΠΙΝΕΥΣΙ is more easily explained: the prefix ἀπ- is frequently confused with ἐπ-,¹⁵¹⁶ which would have made a scribe think that what he had in front of him was the preposition ἐπί. As for the rest, ΝΕΥ would have remained unchanged, while the letters Θ and C are often confused.¹⁵¹⁷ The final letter I may have resulted from a scribe's false impression that he is dealing with the preposition ἐπί followed by some dative plural of a third-declension noun.

Lobeck's emendation of οὖν into οὐκ, which is possible from a paleographical standpoint since the letters N and K are often confused¹⁵¹⁸ and would mean that the subject had his home 'not apart from the sea', is not completely implausible on the basis of the following examples:

ἐπτά δέ οἱ δώσω εὖ ναιόμενα ππολίεθρα,
Καρδαμύλην Ἑνόπην τε καὶ Ἰρήν
ποιήεσσαν
Φηράς τε Ζαθέας ἥδ' Ἀνθειαν βαθύλειμον
καλήν τ' Αἴπειαν καὶ Πήδασον
ἀμπελόεσσαν.
πᾶσαι δ' ἐγγὺς ἀλός, νέαται Πύλου
ἡμαθόεντος,
ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύρρηγες (Hom. // 9.149–54 = 9.291–6)
πολυβοῦται

... Πελὶς μὲν ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ Ἰαωκῶι
ναῖε πολύρρηγος, ὃ δ' ἄρ' ἐν Πύλῳι (Hom. Od. 11.256–7)
ἡμαθόεντι

The only disadvantage of Lobeck's emendation of οὖν into οὐκ would be a very 'restricted' interpretation of οἰκί' ναιετάσκει as opposed to ναίω (used in the examples above), the former meaning specifically 'have an estate/palace/home', the latter just 'inhabit'.

Seen from this vantage point, West's οὖν ἀπάνευθε (adopting Lobeck's emendation but keeping the manuscript reading οὖν) seems the best possible solution, the more so since οὖν is regularly placed at this position, i.e. at the beginning of the second foot of the hexameter.¹⁵¹⁹

What is, then, the context of this fragment? The earliest suggestion known to me is that of Diehl, who argued that the fragment refers to king Aietes' palace in Kolchis.¹⁵²⁰ On the basis of the fact that the *Carmen Naupactium* featured Jason settling in Korkyra after the death of Pelias and his son Mermeros, the latter being killed by a lioness while hunting in the mainland,¹⁵²¹ it has been suggested that our fragment may be referring to the region of Thesprotia lying opposite to Korkyra.¹⁵²² This suggestion would entail a change in the fragment order, since this event must have taken place after the completion of the Argonautic expedition and the death of Pelias. Matthews objects that *Carm. Naup.* fr. 9 *EGEF* does not say that Mermeros lived in Thesprotia, but that he only went there hunting,¹⁵²³ but it would not be impossible to have father and son part ways, one living in Korkyra, the other in Thesprotia.¹⁵²⁴ Matthews also adds, again against Huxley's suggestion,¹⁵²⁵ that it is not certain at all that Mermeros is the subject hidden in ὁ μὲν.¹⁵²⁶ On the other hand, the verse ἐν δ' ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύρρηγες, πολυβοῦται¹⁵²⁷ ([Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 240.3 M–W), following a reference to Ellopia in Epiros, works as a valid parallel to Huxley's placement of the episode in Thesprotia.¹⁵²⁸ Most of Matthews' other alternatives¹⁵²⁹ must be excluded a priori since they are based on the impossible meaning necessitated by ἐπὶ θινὶ

θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο,¹⁵³⁰ meaning that the subject had some sort of beach hut. Arkadia and Arkadian Orchomenos (both designated as ‘rich in sheep’ in [Hes.] *Cat.* 23a.32 M–W and Hom. *Il.* 2.605 respectively) do lie inland but this argument seems to me rather weak. Many places are called like this.

We are thus left with a single location, Thesprotia.¹⁵³¹ On the basis of what is said in our fragment, the place designated must fulfill the following prerequisites: (1) it must be away from the sea; (2) it must be a location *both* ‘rich in sheep’ and ‘rich in cattle’; (3) it must be connected to a wealthy individual,¹⁵³² possibly a king who had a large estate amid pastureland. Mermeros hardly fits the third criterion.

Deciding about the location of οἰκί’ ναιετάασκε is a matter interrelated with the question pertaining to the identity of the unstated subject of the clause. The use of the cluster ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν indicates that ὁ δέ will follow creating an antithesis between the two clauses. Since the former refers to someone making his home away from the sea, it is a fair assumption that the latter would designate another person who lives by the sea. These two figures may be related by kinship. They can be father and son (as in Hom. *Il.* 14.119) or brothers,¹⁵³³ as it is often the case after a father’s death, when one of the sons leaves his fatherland and settles in another place.

But all these are nothing more than general interpretive clues. Our incomplete understanding of the content of the *Carmen Naupactium* makes this entire issue extremely speculative. One thing that needs to be added is that the answer to the problem concerning the subject of ναιετάασκ(ε) and the location of his home may result in a considerable change with respect to the placement of this fragment. As things stand, I will keep the order followed by other editors but only for convenience.

Diction and Meter

1 On εὐρύπορος modifying θάλασσα at verse-terminal position in early epic, see: Hom. *Il.* 15.381 (μέγα κῦμα θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο); Hom. *Od.* 4.432 (παρὰ θῖνα θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο), 12.2 (κῦμα θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο); see also Aisch. *Pers.* 109 (εὐρυπόροιο θαλάσσης).

2 On οἰκία ναιετάασκε, see Hom. *Il.* 17.308 (οἰκία ναιετάασκε), *HHymn to Hermes* (5) 555 (οἰκία ναιετάουσιν). On πολύρρηνος, see Hom. *Od.* 11.256–7: ... Πελὶς μὲν ἐν εὐρυχόρῳ Ἰαωλκῶι / ναῖε πολύρρηνος, ὁ δ’ ἄρ’ ἐν Πύλῳι ἡμαθόεντι. On the combination of ναίω, πολύρρην, and πολυβούτης, see Hom. *Il.* 9.154 = 9.296 = [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 240.3 M–W (ἐν δ’ ἄνδρες ναίουσι πολύρρηνες πολυβούται). On πολύρρην and πολυβούτης at verse-end, see Aristaeas fr. 5.3 PEG = 2 (ii) 3 EGF (πολύρρηνας πολυβούτας). πο<υ>λβούτης is a *hapax*. See also Ap. Rh. 3.1086 (ἐύρρηνός τε καὶ εὐβοτός).¹⁵³⁴

In Apollonios Rhodios (2.273–300) the Boreads Zetes and Kalais chased the Harpyiai to the Strophades islands because they were annoying Phineus. After swearing that they would leave him alone, they fled to Crete and vanished into a cave (2.298–9). Given the Argonautic flavor of the *Carmen Naupactium*, it is a fair assumption that their flight into a cave in Crete under the hill of Arginous was the result of the Boreads pursuit. But did the Harpyiai first go to the Strophades islands in the *Carmen Naupactium* too? Huxley,¹⁵³⁵ who argues likewise, takes the Strophades as identical to the Echinades islands, which are not far from the coast of Akarnania and so within the regional aspect of a poem performed in Naupaktos. This line of thought does not square well with the available material, since it would require a manipulation of the epic's plot to suit local interest.¹⁵³⁶ Moreover, the placement of the Strophades (whether they are identical or not with the Echinades) off the coast of Akarnania is questionable.¹⁵³⁷ In fact, the assumption on which this whole line of thought is based, i.e. that these islands featured in the *Carmen Naupactium* on which Apollonios Rhodios is drawing, is very speculative.

Perhaps there is some credit in the fact that both the *Carmen Naupactium* and Pherekydes are in agreement with respect to the two geographical locations associated with the Harpyiai's attempt to escape from the Boreads, i.e. the Cretan cave and the hill Arginous.¹⁵³⁸ If Pherekydes is drawing on the *Carmen Naupactium* with respect to this episode, then it is plausible that his reference to the pursuit of the Harpyiai through the Aegean and Sicilian seas (fr. 28 *EGM*) is equally derived from the *Carmen Naupactium*. No reference is made in Pherekydes to the Strophades and so any attempt to include or exclude them from the text of both this historian and of the *Carmen Naupactium* is conjectural.¹⁵³⁹ In contrast to our ignorance with respect to the Strophades in the *Carmen Naupactium*, we know for certain that they featured in [Hesiod] (*Cat.* fr. 156 M–W), Antimachos (*Lyde* fr. 71 Matthews), and Apollonios Rhodios (2.296).

A relevant issue concerns whether the Boreads killed the Harpyiai in the *Carmen Naupactium*. On the basis of Σ Ap. Rh. 2.296–7b [p. 150.3–13 Wendel], we know that the three aforementioned authors fostered a version in which the Boreads did *not* kill the Harpyiai.¹⁵⁴⁰ According to Matthews, the author of the *Carmen Naupactium* and Pherekydes represent another tradition in which the Harpyiai were killed by the Boreads. This is just an assumption that could or could not be true, as is the case with the Strophades islands.

There is no point in discussing the badly mutilated text of Philodemos' *Peri eusebeias* 247 V^b 1–10 (p. 79 Schober). Since the supplements to this text are uncertain, all arguments amount to mere guesswork. In an attempt to have this fragment not contradict his view that in the *Carmen Naupactium* and Pherekydes the Harpyiai *were killed*, Matthews went so far as to suggest that these two works differed from Aischylos, Ibykos, and Telestes in the manner in which the Harpyiai perished or with respect to their killer.¹⁵⁴¹ The argument goes that if the text reads Αἰσ[χ]ύλος δ' [ἐν Φινεΐ καὶ Εἰβ[υ]κος καὶ

Τε]λέστης [ποιοῦσιν] τὰς Ἀρπ[υίας θνησκ] ούσας ὑπ[ὸ τῶν Βορέου παί]δων,¹⁵⁴² then what preceeds (if indeed it refers to the author of the *Carmen Naupactium* and Pherekydes)¹⁵⁴³ would be opposed to it, i.e. it would say that the Harpyiai were *not* killed by the Boreads. Davies (*Naup.* fr. 3^B *EGF*) includes this fragment to the *Carmen Naupactium* (excluded from both *PEG* and *GEF*), but warns the reader about the ‘daring’ supplements of Gomperz.¹⁵⁴⁴

Fr. 4

The only serious problem with respect to the meaning of this passage is caused by the manuscript reading ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ, which has troubled scholars since the time of Robert,¹⁵⁴⁵ who emended it into ὑπ’ Ἀργοῦς. Matthews¹⁵⁴⁶ had criticized Robert’s emendation by drawing attention on the practice of the Σ to Apollonios Rhodios to use the article before the word Ἀργώ.¹⁵⁴⁷ Matthews, then, proposes that we should read ἀπ’ Ἄργου or ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἄργου (since this word is attested in the Σ to Apollonios Rhodios ten times without the article¹⁵⁴⁸ and six times with the article).¹⁵⁴⁹ In this light, the scholium would be referring to ‘all the heroes who came from Argos’, a much smaller and more likely number than the entire crew of Argonauts.¹⁵⁵⁰ Sadly, the underlying premise on which both Robert’s and Matthews’ emendations are based is false. Both these scholars wrongly took φερομένους in the sense of ‘brought/carried by’ and ‘coming from’, and so thought of the ship Argo and the place Argos respectively. But the verb φέρειν can also mean ‘to carry or have in the mouth, i.e. to speak of’ and φέρεται has also the sense of ‘is carried about, i.e. it is said’ or ‘it is reported, it is mentioned’.¹⁵⁵¹ In this light, ὁ φερόμενος can mean ‘the one given currency’. The meaning, therefore, of the manuscript reading ὁ τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ ποιήσας πάντας ἀριθμεῖ τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ φερομένους ἀριστεῖς would be ‘the author of the *Naupaktika* enumerates all the heroes given currency by him’.¹⁵⁵² Davies is not convinced either by Robert’s and Matthews’ emendations or by Lloyd-Jones’ interpretation of φερομένους (rightly adopted by West in *GEF*). He considers this a *locus desperatus* and prints ὃπ’ αὐτοῦ†. In my view, we can keep the manuscript reading and interpret φερομένους ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ as ‘those given currency by him (*sc.* the poet of the *Naupaktika*)’, which would result in having the entire Argonautic crew (not just a few heroes as in Apollonios Rhodios)¹⁵⁵³ volunteer¹⁵⁵⁴ for the task. Such a large number of would-be participants can be explained by means of the genealogical nature of the *Carmen Naupactium*, which may have been marked by a certain fondness for catalogues and lists. There are quite lengthy lists in both narrative-¹⁵⁵⁵ and catalogue-based epic.¹⁵⁵⁶

Fr. 5

Neither Ribbeck’s nor Lloyd-Jones emendation is convincing. Ribbeck’s emendation of κεύει into κώλует is based on his belief that the scholium is

juxtaposing two different versions, one by Apollonios Rhodios and another by the author of the *Carmen Naupactium*, with respect to what person is preventing the heroes from undertaking the task, Argos in Apollonios Rhodios, Idmon in the *Carmen Naupactium*.¹⁵⁵⁷ But what the scholium really does is to bring to the limelight the different roles of Argos and Idmon in the *Argonautika* and the *Carmen Naupactium* respectively. Whereas the former prevented the heroes from undertaking the task of yoking Aietes' fire-breathing oxen, the latter urged Jason to carry it out. As for Lloyd-Jones's emendation of Ἰάσονι to Ἰάσονα,¹⁵⁵⁸ it is hard to explain why the less frequent, but well attested, syntax of κελεῖν with dative of person would have been changed into the more common syntax with an accusative. I do not see any pressing reason to change the manuscript reading.¹⁵⁵⁹

Idmon must have played a prominent role in the *Carmen Naupactium*. His appearance in three of the extant fragments indicates that he was present in Kolchis and that his advice was crucial. He must have been the epic's only seer, as is the case in Eumelos' *Korinthiaka* (fr. 22 *EGEF*) and in Pherekydes (fr. 108 *EGM*). Pindar (*P.* 4.190–1) has only Mopsos. Apollonios Rhodios seems to have combined an earlier version with Idmon and a later one with Mopsos,¹⁵⁶⁰ with the result that he has two seers in his *Argonautika*, a rather odd combination. He also has both of them killed by animals (a boar and a snake respectively), Idmon before the Argonauts reached Kolchis (2.815–34), Mopsos during the journey home (4.1502–36). Matthews attempts to draw further information on Idmon's role in the *Carmen Naupactium* on the basis of material found in Apollonios Rhodios, but this is speculation. For example, he contends that Herodoros' information (fr. 44 *EGM*) that Idmon's father was Abas, whereas Pherekydes designates Idmon as son of Apollo and Asteria, daughter of Koronos (fr. 108 *EGM*) and Apollonios Rhodios not as a son of Abas but of Apollo (1.142–4), 'may reflect the *Naupaktia*, since Abas was the son of Melampous, son of Amythaon'.¹⁵⁶¹ This is, of course, not unthinkable, but it would make Idmon younger than Jason by two generations, since Jason was the son of Aison, whereas Idmon would be the great-grandson of Amythaon, brother of Aison.¹⁵⁶² Seers are wise men, and wise men are, generally speaking, older than the main protagonist.¹⁵⁶³ Hyginus (*Fab.* 14) makes him son of Apollo and the nymph Kyrene and records a version (adopted by other sources that he does not mention by name) having Abas as Idmon's father. Σ Pind. *P.* 4.338a (II 143.20 Drachmann) also refers to him as son of Abas, whereas Valerius Flaccus (1.228) says that he was son of Apollo, while the 'Orphic' *Argonautika* (187) that he was a bastard son of Abas.

Idmon is a *nomen loquens*. It means 'the knowing one' (< Fῖδ-, οἶδα) and appropriately fits a seer. He seems to be the opposite of Amphiaraios, since both these two seers knew that they would die in the Argonautic and Theban expeditions respectively, but while the former joined in eagerly, the latter tried to avoid it (in vain).¹⁵⁶⁴ Fowler is right to explain Dei(l)ochos' information (fr. 2 *EGM*) that it was Amphiaraios and not Idmon who joined the Argonautic

expedition in light of their antithetical role in the tradition.¹⁵⁶⁵

Idmon's urging of Jason to undertake the task of yoking Aietes' fire-breathing oxen shows that he played an active role in the *Carmen Naupactium*. On the basis of his emendation ἀπ' Ἀργούς,¹⁵⁶⁶ Matthews suggests that Idmon prevented the six heroes coming from Argos (Idmon's own place of origin) from undertaking this dangerous deed (being afraid that his countrymen would die) and urged Jason to stand up to the task.¹⁵⁶⁷ As argued above, this was not the case. Idmon urged Jason probably at the moment when the rest of the crew had volunteered. If the participle ἀναστάς is pressed more, then we may postulate a scene in which Idmon's intervention in the midst of the entire crew would have had a certain impact. His intervention was obviously based on his knowledge of the future and was meant to underline the fact that it was fated that Jason alone should undergo Aietes' trials and succeed. His authority must have not been disputed. We are in no position to ascertain whether the list of Argives among the Argonautic crew in Apollonios Rhodios¹⁵⁶⁸ is taken wholesale from the *Carmen Naupactium*, as Matthews thinks.¹⁵⁶⁹ The genealogical material found in Apollonios Rhodios' list of Argive Argonauts leaves open the possibility that it also featured in the *Carmen Naupactium*, but the argument is rather circular, since genealogical information of this sort is highly expected to creep up in lists and catalogues and could well have resulted from various sources exploited by Apollonios Rhodios. That the *Carmen Naupactium* was one of his sources is likely, but what exactly he took from this epic with respect to the catalogue of the Argonauts is almost impossible to determine.

Herakles is a special case. In contrast to a large number of sources,¹⁵⁷⁰ Herodoros who seems to be drawing on the *Carmen Naupactium* says that Herakles did not sail with the Argonauts (fr. 41 *EGM*). Apollonios Rhodios includes him in the list of Argives who took part in the expedition but both the way his participation is explained and the fact that he left the Argo midway to Kolchis indicate that Apollonios Rhodios' version complies with earlier sources¹⁵⁷¹ that had included the great Argive hero in the Argonautic crew at the outset of the journey.¹⁵⁷² That Herodoros had 'invented' a version not containing Herakles in the Argonautic legend is unlikely. The hypothesis that this is the version of the *Carmen Naupactium* is a legitimate one.¹⁵⁷³

Fr. 6

This is a marked difference between the story as known by Apollonios Rhodios and the version given by the *Carmen Naupactium*. In the latter epic, Medeia does not take the initiative of telling the Argonauts that they should escape because they are in danger, but decides to leave with them only when they are in the process of abandoning Kolchis.¹⁵⁷⁴ The scholiast is, in this case, quite generous with his information, with the result that we are able to reconstruct with a fair amount of certainty the entire scene: Aietes invited all the Argonauts to a banquet. His plan was to offer to them a sumptuous feast,

so that when they went to sleep after eating and drinking, he could set fire to Argo, and thus trap them forever in Kolchis. This plan was cut short by the intervention of Aphrodite, who protected Jason and the Argonauts by cancelling Aietes' plan. As a goddess of love, she instilled desire (πόθος) to the Kolchian king for his wife Eurylyte. Aietes forgot his plan of burning the Argo and withdrew to his chamber with his wife. It was at this point that the seer Idmon understood Aphrodite's plan and advised the Argonauts to depart in the middle of the night. Medeia heard the noise made by their feet and joined them.

The conclusions drawn from this plot are that the *Carmen Naupactium* focused more on the role of Idmon than Medeia with respect to the survival of the Argonautic crew. As his name testifies, he was able to comprehend the sign of divine intervention and advise his comrades accordingly.¹⁵⁷⁵ We can also see that Aphrodite played a more direct role than the one she had in Apollonios Rhodios' epic where she had been persuaded by Hera to make Medeia fall in love with Jason.¹⁵⁷⁶ We are not explicitly told whether it was Aphrodite who made Medeia fall in love with Jason in the *Carmen Naupactium*, but that is a likely scenario (as her role in this episode shows). In the scene of the banquet Hera is absent and Aphrodite takes the initiative. It is always risky to generalize on the basis of a single scene or episode, but Matthews' suggestion that Aphrodite, not Hera, may have been the actual 'protectress of the expedition' is to be taken seriously.¹⁵⁷⁷ As he notes, Hera is not mentioned at all in the extant fragments of the *Carmen Naupactium*, while Aphrodite, whose cult is also attested in Thessaly,¹⁵⁷⁸ is. I am not sure, though, that the Thessalian element should be overemphasized. If the scenario for a performance context of this epic at Naupaktos is valid, then we should bear in mind that Aphrodite's cult is also attested in Phokis and in Ozolian Lokris.¹⁵⁷⁹ In fact, there was a cult of Aphrodite in Naupaktos, and what is even more important is that it took place at very close distance from a sanctuary of Asklepios.¹⁵⁸⁰ The dating of the sanctuary may be later than that of our poem, in which Asclepios also featured, but the association should not pass unnoticed.

As for Eurylyte, wife of Aietes, the *Carmen Naupactium* differed from the Hesiodic tradition and Apollonios Rhodios, in which her name is Ἰδυῖα/Eιδυῖα and she is an Okeanid.¹⁵⁸¹

Diction and Meter

The diction of this four-verse passage is highly traditional, conforming to all the rules and restrictions attested in Homeric epic.

1. δὴ τότε ἄρ': for this cluster in verse-initial position, see Hom. *Od.* 8.381; for δὴ τότε in the same place, see Hom. *Il.* 5.114, 10.271; Hom. *Od.* 3.343. For the construction 'dat. of person + acc. of emotion/ mental or physical quality + ἔμβαλε', see Hom. *Il.* 4.444 (... σφιν ... νεῖκος ὁμοῖον ἔμβαλεν μέσσωι), 16.529 (μένος δέ οἱ ἔμβαλε θυμῷ), 17.118 (... σφιν φόβον ἔμβαλε Φοῖβος

Ἀπόλλων); δι' Ἀφροδίτη: in verseterminal position (Hom. *Il.* 2.820, 3.389, 3.413, 5.370; Hom. *Od.* 2.68).

2. φιλότῃτι μιγήμεναι: see *HHymn to Pan* (19) 33–4 (πόθος ... / φιλότῃτι μιγήναι); *HHymn to Aphrodite* (5) 150 (φιλότῃτι μιγήναι); see also Hom. *Il.* 6.161 and 6.165 (φιλότῃτι μιγήμεναι); Hes. *Th.* 306 (μιγήμεναι ἐν φιλότῃτι); [Hes.] *Asp.* 36 (φιλότῃτι μίγη). On ἤς ἀλόχοιο at verse-terminal position, see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.292; Hom. *Od.* 3.235; [Hes.] *Megalai Ehoiai* fr. 257.2 M–W. Epic correction in μιγήμεναι ἤς, the αἰ being shortened. The digamma is neglected before ἤς.

3. φρεσὶν ἦισιν: see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.213, 13.558, 18.430; Hom. *Od.* 1.444, 5.74, 8.368, 10.553, 10.557, 13.320, 18.345, 21.301. The digamma is neglected before ἦισιν.

4. νοστήσας οἰκόνδε: see Hom. *Il.* 5.687; cf. Hom. *Od.* 14.87, 16.350 (οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι). σὺν ἀγχεμάχοις ἐτάροισιν: see Hom. *Il.* 16.248 (ξὺν πᾶσι καὶ ἀγχεμάχοις ἐτάροισιν); cf. Hom. *Il.* 16.272, 17.165 (ἀγχεμάχοι θεράποντες). The digamma is ‘present’ before οἰκόνδε.

Fr. 7

Matthews has defended the manuscript reading φευγέμεναι against Meineke’s¹⁵⁸² emendation φευγέμεν ἐκ by arguing that ‘the closer Homeric parallels to φευγέμεν ἐκ, namely φεύγοντ’ ἐκ ποταμοῦ (Hom. *Il.* 21.52) and φεύγων ἐκ πόντοιο (Hom. *Od.* 5.446) ... unlike φευγέμεν(αι), cannot be lengthened to the unit – – (= υυ) –, so that another metrical solution, in this case the addition of ἐκ, becomes necessary’.¹⁵⁸³ This is certainly correct but it does not rule out the possibility of φευγέμεν ἐκ, since Homer has ἐλθέμεν ἐκ μεγάροιο (Hom. *Od.* 19.533). The problem with φευγέμεν ἐκ is that it is much more common than φευγέμεν + gen. (e.g. Hom. *Od.* 1.18; [Hes.] *Megalai Ehoiai* fr. 257 M–W; Soph. *Phil.* 1044), which means that it is unlikely that it was changed from the more familiar φευγέμεν ἐκ. Furthermore, paleographically the change of EK to AI is hard to explain.¹⁵⁸⁴

The expression θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν is regularly attested in Homer (Hom. *Il.* 10.394, 10.468, 24.366, 24.653) and Hesiod (*Th.* 481) together with a verb indicating motion.¹⁵⁸⁵ West has observed that the attribution of the epithet θοή (‘swift’) to νύκτα (‘night’) is awkward, since it is not immediately evident why the night must be ‘swift’.¹⁵⁸⁶ By referring to Buttmann,¹⁵⁸⁷ West draws attention to a secondary association of ‘night’ with terror and danger. This meaning agrees admirably with all the abovementioned Homeric and Hesiodic passages, as well as the *Carmen Naupactium*. Another interpretation put forward by West is based on the idea that the phrase ἰέναι θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν may have originally meant ‘go swiftly through the dark night’, with ὁδόν probably to be understood after θοὴν (hence the feminine), and only later

was thought to be modifying νύκτα.¹⁵⁸⁸ There are also other suggestions. All four Iliadic attestations of the formula seem to be connected with the theme of ‘ambush’,¹⁵⁸⁹ as is the case with the *Carmen Naupactium* passage but not with that of Hes. *Th.* 481 and some other occurrences of θοή as a modifier of νύξ. Hainsworth has suggested that the formula θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν has been constructed by analogy to the formula θοὴν ἐπὶ νῆα μέλαιναν, given that the latter displays higher levels of flexibility (being attested in the dative with other prepositions).¹⁵⁹⁰ Moreover, there is an analogy between νυκτὶ θοῇ (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 12.463, 14.261 [Νυκτὶ θοῇ]) and νηὶ θοῇ (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 1.389).¹⁵⁹¹

The context of this fragment is related to the previous one. Idmon realized what was going on and that Aphrodite was acting on the part of the Argonauts, and advised them to leave the royal halls immediately in the middle of the night. Medeia heard the noise made by their feet as they were getting out of the palace and left too, taking the fleece with her. This must have been an interesting scene altogether. The realization of the danger the Argonauts were facing, the role of Idmon, Medeia’s decision to join them, her taking of the fleece, their speedy return to the Argo, all these features must have increased the narrative tension.

Since Idmon played such an active role in Kolchis in both the *Naupaktika* and Herodoros¹⁵⁹² and his death occurred among the Mariandynoi¹⁵⁹³, i.e. as in Apollonios Rhodios, it is a reasonable inference that in Herodoros, he died in the homeward journey (again in contrast to Apollonios Rhodios’ version).¹⁵⁹⁴ That this was also the version followed by the author of the *Naupaktika*, we are in no position to know, though certain scholars are right to underline the fact that the adoption of such a deviation from all extant versions is more likely to have originated in an epic poem than in a logographer. Herodoros (*floruit ca.* 400 BC) did not make the Argonauts return home by some other route,¹⁵⁹⁵ although he could have done so in the manner of earlier authors opting for a fantastic journey of return (Hek. fr. 18 EGM; Pind. *P.* 4).¹⁵⁹⁶ But he did the exact opposite, which means that he must have found that version somewhere. The *Carmen Naupactium* may have been such a source.¹⁵⁹⁷

Fr. 8

Wendel’s omission of τοῦ Αἰήτου immediately after κατὰ τὸν αὐτοῦ οἶκον κείμενον is justified, since the phrase τοῦ Αἰήτου has been mistakenly repeated by a scribe on the influence of ἐκ τοῦ Αἰήτου οἴκου a little above. Müller’s¹⁵⁹⁸ emendation of the manuscript reading Ἀργοναυτῶν into ἀγρίων ταύρων is based on the fact that the genitive depends on ἀνάξενξιν, which regularly designates the yoking (of the oxen).¹⁵⁹⁹ αὐτοὺς in τὸν δὲ δόλωι καλέσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον seems nonsensical, since the only plural noun this pronoun may be referring to are the wild oxen (τῶν ἀγρίων ταύρων). This ‘oddity’ has been caused either by a scribe’s change of αὐτὸν into αὐτοὺς

under the influence of the preceding Ἀργοναυτῶν or by an *ad sensum* ‘expansion’ of the references to Jason to the whole Argonautic crew.

We are in no position to ascertain whether Jason had himself brought the fleece to Aietes’ palace or the fleece was *always* kept there; the former alternative would become more likely, if we assume that Herodoros (who has Jason kill the dragon before bringing the fleece to Aietes)¹⁶⁰⁰ is following the *Carmen Naupactium*. He is after all certainly doing that in the case of Aietes’ banquet, since the king’s guile¹⁶⁰¹ against the Argonauts is a standard motif in both sources.¹⁶⁰² The phrase μετ’ ἄεθλον may refer not just to Jason’s greatest exploit, i.e. the killing of the dragon and the bringing of the fleece to Aietes, but to the entire task imposed on him by Pelias.¹⁶⁰³

Fr. 9

Pausanias, who is the only source *explicitly* telling us where Jason went after leaving Iolkos,¹⁶⁰⁴ does not explain the reason for Jason’s migration after Pelias’ death. Eumelos is a different case, for in his *Korinthiaka* Jason’s migration results from his following Medeia to Corinth, after she inherits the throne there.¹⁶⁰⁵ He later on parted ways with her, once he had found out that she was trying to make their children immortal, and returned to Iolkos. There is no extant information in the *Korinthiaka* that would allow us to infer that Jason left Iolkos for a second time and that he went to Korkyra.¹⁶⁰⁶ As for the *Carmen Naupactium*, it is unlikely that the expression μετὰ τὸν Πελίου θάνατον (‘after Pelias’ death) refers to ‘violent death’, which would imply murder.¹⁶⁰⁷ Moreover, that Pausanias’ μετοικῆσαι does not imply exile (as φεύγειν) can be seen from the fact that in 2.1.1 (= Eum. *Kor.* fr. 20 *EGEF*) he employs μετοικῆσαι together with φεύγοντα ἀνομίαν καὶ ὕβριν to designate Marathon’s resettling in Attica so as to escape the lawlessness and hybris of his father Epopeus. Later authors such as Diodoros Sikelos (4.53) and Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1.9.27) explain Jason’s and Medeia’s exile from Iolkos as a result of Pelias’ murder (by Medeia), but it is unlikely that their accounts reflect the plot of the *Carmen Naupactium*.¹⁶⁰⁸ Diodoros’ account is a *mélange* of two older versions (independent one from the other), since he combines both the murder element and the free offer of the throne to Akastos. In an effort to downplay the negative tradition of Pelias’ murder by Medeia, Diodoros has Jason give the throne to Akastos, take care of Pelias’ daughters by arranging their weddings with men of high status, and then depart from Iolkos. Apollodoros, who is not following the tradition in which Jason is the legitimate heir to the throne, uses a different reason altogether to explain Pelias’ murder. Jason is avenging the murder of his father Aison and his baby brother Promachos by Pelias.¹⁶⁰⁹

In the *Carmen Naupactium*, the reason for Jason’s departure from Iolkos after Pelias’ death may have been ‘to allow the new king a free hand’,¹⁶¹⁰ the more so since Akastos was one of the Argonauts. Alternatively, it is not impossible that Jason left Iolkos since he had no rightful claim to the throne

and no future there. In the early tradition (Hes. *Th.* 995–6;¹⁶¹¹ Mimn. fr. 11 *IEG*¹⁶¹²) Pelias was depicted as a despotic ruler and legitimate king.¹⁶¹³ Another clue against the view that Pelias’ murder did not feature in the *Carmen Naupactium* is offered by the widespread diffusion of the theme of the funeral games in honor of Pelias in the archaic period.¹⁶¹⁴ Jason’s participation in them does not square at all with the murder version.¹⁶¹⁵ His motive for undertaking the expedition to Kolchis may have been the pursuit of glory or an oracle determining that Pelias will lose the throne or be killed by a man wearing one sandal (Pind. *P.* 4.75, 71–8; Pher. fr. 105 *EGM*). The earliest source referring to Pelias’ usurpation of the throne is Pindar (*P.* 4.106–15).¹⁶¹⁶ Pelias’ murder by means of Medeia’s involvement was also employed in tragedy (Eur. *Peliad.* test. *iiia¹, iiib, *iiic *TrGF* 5.2; Soph. *Rhiz.* fr. 534 *TrGF* 4; Aphareus *Peliad.* fr. 1 *TrGF* 73; Diph. *Peliad.* fr. 64 *PCG*).¹⁶¹⁷

Why did Jason go to Korkyra?¹⁶¹⁸ The most reasonable explanation seems the epic’s interest in the northwest. There must have been some local Epirotic figure called Mermeros, who was affiliated to Jason and was subsequently dragged into the *Carmen Naupactium*, when Jason became associated with Korkyra.¹⁶¹⁹ As for Medeia’s and Jason’s children,¹⁶²⁰ Pausanias informs us that there was an episode about Mermeros in the *Carmen Naupactium* and that he died while hunting in the land opposite to Korkyra. There is no other material available for Pheres, the younger of the two sons of Jason (as indicated by the comparative τὸν πρεσβύτερον [τῶν παίδων] that is employed for Mermeros). We only know that he had the same name with king Pheres, brother of Aison and Amythaon, i.e. uncle of Jason. According to Pausanias (2.3.6), the names Mermeros and Pheres were also employed in Corinth in reference to Medeia’s children, a fact which shows that they were not particular to the *Carmen Naupactium*. The *Odyssey* knows of both an Ilos, son of Mermeros, whom Odysseus had visited to get poison for his arrows (1.259–62) and of an Ephyre,¹⁶²¹ the place where Telemachos was thought of going in search of his father (2.328–30). Since this means that one could obtain poison in Ephyre,¹⁶²² a connection with Medeia the sorceress has been developed. This would require that Mermeros, the son of Jason and Medeia had settled there, that he was endowed with his mother’s skills, and that his son Ilos would have ‘continued the family business’.¹⁶²³ I am sceptical about this explanation, since it puts too much weight on the influence of an oral Argonautic tradition on the *Carmen Naupactium*. Such a tradition did exist and had already left its mark on the *Odyssey*,¹⁶²⁴ but this does not necessitate by any means its influence on the *Carmen Naupactium*. Given that possession and use of poison does not require magical skills, we’d better dispense of the Medeia link. Mermeros may well have been a local king or figure, who was brought into this story at the time the version of having Jason move to Korkyra was shaped.

The two passages from Philodemos' *Peri eusebeias* treat two related but distinct themes pertaining to the fate of Asklepios: the first is a catalogue *de causis mortis*, the second a catalogue *de morte*. Münzel was right in stressing the different function of the two catalogues, but wrong in assigning only the first one to the grammarian Apollodoros.¹⁶²⁵ It is now generally accepted that his work *Peri theon* is the ultimate source¹⁶²⁶ lying behind the entire *Zitatennest* of sources¹⁶²⁷ narrating the punishment of Asklepios by Zeus for resurrecting the dead.¹⁶²⁸ Apollodoros was not interested in mythological variants concerning the resurrection of the dead by Asklepios. He was rather aiming at presenting testimonies about his death.¹⁶²⁹

Asklepios' death by Zeus' thunderbolt is attested in various sources:¹⁶³⁰ e.g. [Hesiod] (*Cat.* fr. 51 M–W), Stesichoros (*Eriphyle* fr. 92a Finglass), Akousilaos (fr. 18 *EGM*), Pherekydes (fr. 35 *EGM*), Pindar (*P.* 3.55–8; see also Σ Pind. *P.* 3.96 [II 75.14–76.3 Drachmann]), Panyassis (fr. 19 Matthews),¹⁶³¹ Andron (fr. 17 *EGM*), Eur. (*Alk.* 3–4) Diod. Sik. (4.71.3), Staphylos (*FGrHist* 269 F3), [Eratosthenes] (*Katast.* fr. 6 [Olivieri]), Virg. *Aen.* 7.765–73, Hyg. (*Fab.* 49).¹⁶³² All these sources agree both on the way of Asklepios' death and the reason that caused Zeus' punishment.¹⁶³³ The person raised from the dead varies widely, depending on the content of the work in which this episode belonged. In Stesichoros, it is Kapaneus and Lykourgos (two of the Seven who die at Thebes) who are raised from the dead, in Panyassis it is Tyndareos, in the Orphics Hymenaios (Orph. fr. 365 *PEG* 2.1), while according to Amelesagoras it is Glaukos, the son of Minos (fr. 2 *FHG* II, p. 22).¹⁶³⁴ The author of the *Carmen Naupactium*, Staphylos (*FGrHist* 269 F3), [Eratosthenes] (*Katast.* fr. 6 [Olivieri]), and Hyginus (*Fab.* 49) designate Hippolytos, son of Theseus, as the person raised from the dead by Asklepios.¹⁶³⁵ According to the *Carmen Naupactium*, Asklepios raised Hippolytos after Artemis' pleading, but the Σ Pind. *P.* 3.96 [II 75.14–18 Drachmann] that highlights Asklepios' bribing (χρυσῶι δέλεασθεῖς) presupposes a human agent (Theseus?).¹⁶³⁶

How did Asklepios and Hippolytos fit in the plot of the *Carmen Naupactium*? Since the epic treated the Argonautic expedition, we should be looking for possible associations between these two figures and Argonautic myth. Asklepios is associated with the Argonautic legend by healing certain people who featured in the Argonautic saga. A typical example is one or two of the sons of Phineus.¹⁶³⁷ The problem is that Hippolytos did not participate in the expedition, though in some versions his father Theseus did. Eumelos is probably the earliest such source.¹⁶³⁸ In Apollodoros¹⁶³⁹ and Statius¹⁶⁴⁰ Theseus is equally a member of the Argonautic crew. Hyginus¹⁶⁴¹ adds to the list of Argonauts his friend Peirithoos.¹⁶⁴² We are in no position to know for certain whether Theseus was a member of the Argonautic crew in an early oral Argonautic epic nor is it possible to make that sort of argument in reference to the *Carmen Naupactium*. Since Philodemos (*Peri eusebeias* B

6736 [Obbink]) specifically tells us that Asklepios raised Hippolytos from the dead at Artemis' pleading ([παρα]κληθεῖς ὑπ' Ἀρ[τέμι]δος),¹⁶⁴³ it would have been interesting to know 'whether Archaic narratives regarded him as unfairly destroyed and hence meriting this resurrection',¹⁶⁴⁴ as is the case with later authors.¹⁶⁴⁵

Fr. 11

This fragment is identical with Kin. fr. 5 *EGEF* and Asios fr. 12 *EGEF*, on which see the analysis on Kin. fr. 5.

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Phokais

There is one testimony for the existence of an archaic epic under the name of *Phokais*. It comes from [Hdt.] *Vita Homeri* 16 (202–10 Allen) and is cited as the single testimony in both *PEG* and *EGF*:¹⁶⁴⁶

διατρίβων παρὰ τῷ Θεστορίδῃ ποιεῖ Ἰλιάδα τὴν ἐλάσσω ... καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Φωκαΐδα, ἣν φασιν οἱ Φωκαεῖς Ὅμηρον παρ' αὐτοῖσι ποιῆσαι. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν τε Φωκαΐδα καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα παρὰ τοῦ Ὁμήρου ὁ Θεστορίδης ἐγράψατο, διανοήθη ἐκ τῆς Φωκαΐδης ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι, τὴν ποίησιν θέλων τοῦ Ὁμήρου ἐξιδιώσασθαι.

While staying with Thestorides he composed the *Lesser Iliad* ... and the poem called *Phokais*, which the Phokaians say Homer composed among them. Now when Thestorides had written down for himself at Homer's dictation the *Phokais* and all the rest, he formed the plan of going away from Phokaia, because he wanted to appropriate Homer's poetry.¹⁶⁴⁷

According to Welcker,¹⁶⁴⁸ the *Phokais* should be identified with the *Minyas* that is thought to have dealt with the destruction of the city of Orchomenos in Boiotia by Herakles,¹⁶⁴⁹ although none of the extant fragments contains any information supporting this interpretation.¹⁶⁵⁰ The reason for Welcker's suggestion is based on Pausanias' reference to a Prodikos of Phokaia as author of the *Minyas*. The identification of the *Phokais* with the *Minyas* has been strongly contested by Càssola,¹⁶⁵¹ who has shown the fallacy of believing that titles of archaic epic poems are associated with the origin of their authors.¹⁶⁵² On the analogy of the *Iliad*, the *Ilias parva*, the *Cypria*, Eumelos' *Korinthiaka*, and the *Carmen Naupactium* it can be plausibly argued that an epic bearing the title *Phokais* would either include matters pertaining to Phokaia or be circulating in this area or believed to have originated from it.¹⁶⁵³ The existence of a *Phokais* and of two Phokaian poets indicates poetic activity at Phokaia at some point, more probably before the evacuation of the city at 540 BC than later. Conversely, one cannot exclude the possibility that the *Phokais* is a pseudo-archaic epic created in the Hellenistic period, and that the early poet Thestorides is pure fiction.¹⁶⁵⁴

That said, Càssola attempts to locate material with an epic tint¹⁶⁵⁵ pertaining to the foundation¹⁶⁵⁶ of Phokaia and quoted by various authors. He cites (in addition to the testimony of the *Vita Homeri Herodotea* that contains an ascription) no less than 4 fragments to the *Phokais*.¹⁶⁵⁷ The attribution of these passages, which are all deprived of ascription but pertain to Phokaian history and myth, to the *Phokais* is highly speculative. There is simply no way to prove that this material goes back to an archaic epic poem. Davies' statement of purpose in the introduction to his *EGF* ('*erunt fortasse qui me plura quamvis incerta inclusisse praetulissent: pro mea parte omittendo errare malui quam includendo dubia (ne dicam spuria) accumulare*')¹⁶⁵⁸ is worth citing on this occasion.

Phoronis

Text, Critical Apparatus, and Translation

Fragmenta

Fr. 1 Clem. Strom. 1.102.5–103.2 (II 66 Stählin) (= PEG = EGF = GEF)

ἦν δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα κατὰ μὲν Φορωνέα τὸν μετὰ Ἰναχον ὁ ἐπὶ Ὠγύγου κατακλυσμὸς καὶ ἡ ἐν Σικυῶνι βασιλεία, πρώτου μὲν Αἰγιαλέως, εἶτα Εὐρώπος, εἶτα Τελχῖνος καὶ ἡ Κρητὸς ἐν Κρήτῃ. Ἀκουσίλαος γὰρ (fr. 23a EGM) Φορωνέα πρῶτον ἀνθρώπων γενέσθαι λέγει· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ τῆς Φορωνίδος ποιητῆς εἶναι αὐτὸν ἔφη

πατέρα θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων

ἐντεῦθεν ὁ Πλάτων ἐν Τιμαίῳ (22a) κατακολουθήσας Ἀκουσίλαῳ γράφει· “καὶ ποτε προαγαγεῖν βουλευθεὶς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων εἰς λόγους τῶν τῇδε τῇ πόλει τὰ ἀρχαιότατα λέγειν ἐπιχειρεῖ, περὶ Φορωνέος τε τοῦ πρώτου λεχθέντος καὶ Νιόβης καὶ τὰ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν”.

In Greece in the time of Phoroneus who lived after Inachos the flood occurred during the reign of Ogygos. In Sikyon it was Aigialeus who was the first king, then Europs, then Telchis; in Crete Kres was the king. For Akousilaos says that Phoroneus was the first of men; whence the author of the *Phoronis* says that he (was)

the father of mortal men

Thence Plato in the *Timaios*, after following Akousilaos, writes: “and once in his desire to lead them into a discussion of the city’s past, he attempts to speak about its remotest antiquity, concerning Phoroneus, who was called the first man, and Niobe and what happened after the flood”.

Fr. 2 Σ Ap. Rh. 1.1126–1131b, “Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαῖοι” [pp. 101.8–102.9 Wendel] (= PEG = EGF = GEF)

ἐκατέρους πέντε φασὶ τούτους εἶναι, δεξιὸν μὲν τοὺς ἄρσενας, ἀριστεροὺς δὲ τὰς θηλείας. Φερεκύδης (fr. 47 EGM) δὲ τοὺς μὲν δεξιὸν κ’ λέγει, τοὺς δὲ εὐωνύμους λβ’. γόνητες δὲ ἦσαν καὶ φαρμακεῖς, καὶ δημιουργοὶ σιδήρου λέγονται πρῶτοι καὶ μεταλλεῖς γενέσθαι· ἀριστεροὶ μὲν αὐτῶν, ὥς φησι Φερεκύδης (fr. 47 EGM), οἱ γόνητες, οἱ δὲ ἀναλύοντες δεξιοί. ὠνομάσθησαν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς Ἰδης, ὥς <δὲ> Ἑλλάνικός (fr. 89 EGM) φησι, Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι ἐκλήθησαν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἰδῇ συντυχόντες τῇ Ῥεῖ ἐδεξιώσαντο τὴν θεὸν καὶ τῶν δακτύλων αὐτῆς ἦψαντο. ὥς δὲ Μνασέας ἐν τῷ α’ Περὶ Ἀσίας (fr. 30 Cappelletto), Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι λέγονται ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Δακτύλου καὶ τῆς μητρὸς Ἰδης. ὁ δὲ τὴν Φορωνίδα συνθεὶς γράφει οὕτως·

ἔνθα γόνητες

Ἰδαῖοι, Φρύγες ἄνδρες, ὀρέστερα οἰκί’ ἔναιον,

Κέλμις Δαμναμενεύς τε μέγας καὶ ὑπέρβιος Ἀκμων,
εὐπάλαμοι θεράποντες ὀρείης Ἀδρηστείης,
οἱ πρῶτοι τέχνης πολυμήτιος Ἥφαίστιο
εὔρον ἐν οὐρείησι νάπαις ἰόντα σίδηρον
ἐς πῦρ τ' ἤνεγκαν καὶ ἀριπρεπὲς ἔργον ἔδειξαν.

5 ἀναλύνοντες codd. : μεταλλεύοντες Wendel ||

11 ἔνθα P : ἐνθάδε L ||

12 ὀρέστερα West : ὀρέστεροι codd. ||

15 τέχνης West : τέχνην codd. ||

17 ἐς πῦρ τ' ἤνεγκαν codd. : ἤνεγκάν τ' ἐς πῦρ Wilamowitz | ἔδειξαν codd. : ἔτευξαν Wendel

They say that they are five in each group, and that the male are the right, whereas the females are the left. Pherekydes says that the right ones are 20 and that the left are 32. They were sorcerers and magicians and are said to have been the first inventors of iron and that they were metalworkers. The left ones among them, as Pherekydes says, were the sorcerers, those who break the spell¹⁶⁵⁹ were the right ones. They got their names from their mother Ida. According to Hellanikos, they were called Idaian Daktyloi, because after coming across Rheia on Ida, they greeted her and touched her fingers. According to Mnaseas in Book 1 *On Asia*, they are called Idaian Daktyloi from their father Daktylos and their mother Ida. And the composer of the *Phoronis* writes as follows:

... where the sorcerers of Ida,
Phrygian men, lived in their mountain homes:
Kelmis and great Damnameneus and mighty Akmon,
ingenious servants of Adrasteia of the mountains,
who first discovered, by the craft of wise Hephaistos,
dark iron in the mountain glens,
and brought it to the fire, and made known their distinguished
accomplishment.

Fr. 3 Strab. 10.3.19 [III 234.39 Radt] (PEG = fr. 2^A EGF = GEF)

ὁ δὲ τὴν Φωρωνίδα γράψας ἀλλητὰς καὶ Φρύγας τοὺς Κουρήτας λέγει.

The author of the *Phoronis* calls the Kouretes pipers and Phrygians.

Fr. 4 Clem. Strom. 1.164.1 [II 102 Stählin] (fr. 4 PEG = 3 EGF = 4 GEF)

πρὶν γοῦν ἀκριβοθῆναι τὰς τῶν ἀγαλμάτων σχέσεις, κίονας ἰστάντες οἱ παλαιοὶ ἔσεβον τούτους ὡς ἀφιδρύματα τοῦ θεοῦ. γράφει γοῦν ὁ τὴν Φωρωνίδα ποιήσας·

Καλλιθόη κληιδοῦχος Ὀλυμπιάδος βασιλείης,

*Ἥρης Ἀργεῖης, ἣ στέμμασι καὶ θυσάνοισιν
πρώτη ἐκόσμησε<ν> πέρι κίονα μακρὸν ἀνάσσης.*

2 ἀφιδρύματα Victorius : ἀμφι- L ||

3 κληιδούχος West : κλειδοῦχος codd. ||

5 ἐκόσμησε<ν> West : ἐκόσμησε codd. : κόσμησε<ν> Kinkel | πέρι West : περὶ codd.

Before investigating thoroughly the forms of statues, men of old set up pillars and honored them as representations of god. At any rate, the author of the *Phoronis* writes:

Kallithoe, the keyholder of the Olympian queen, Argive Hera, who first adorned the high pillar of the Queen round about with wreaths and tassels.

Fr. 5 EGen.^B [teste Alpers] (= fr. 4 EGF = 5 GEF) et EM s.v. ἐριούνιος [374.18–26 Gaisford] (= fr. 5 PEG = 5 GEF)

ἐ ρ ι ο ὗ ν ι ο ς : χθόνιος, ἀγαθός, πολυωφελής, κλέπτης, μέγας. ἔστι δὲ ἐπίθετον Ἑρμοῦ· εἴρηται δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλων ἀπλούστερον. παρὰ τὸ ἐρι ἐπιτατικὸν καὶ τὴν ὄνησιν, ἐριόνιος, ὁ μέγα ὠφελῶν· ὠφελιμώτατος γὰρ ὁ Ἑρμῆς· καὶ πλεονασμῶι τοῦ Υ. ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐρευνήσεως. καὶ γὰρ ὁ τὴν Φορωνίδα γράψας φησίν·

*Ἑρμείαν δὲ πατὴρ ἐριούνιον ὠνόμασ' αὐτόν·
πάντας γὰρ μάκαράς τε θεοὺς θνητοὺς τ' ἀνθρώπους
κέρδεσι κλεπτοσύνησι τ' ἐκαίνυτο τεχνήσσαις.*

5 αὐτόν Gaisford : αὐτός ST : αὐτ D ||

7 κλεπτοσύνησι τ' ἐκαίνυτο Düntzer : κλεπτοσύνησιν ἐκαίνυτο Heyne : κλεπτοσύνης αἷς τ' ἐξαίνυτο EGe^B, κλεπτοσύναις ἐξαίνυτο EM

ἐριούνιος: the one beneath the earth, good, very useful, thief, great; it is an epithet of Hermes. It is also for other gods in a simpler manner. (It is formed) by the intensive prefix *eri* and *onesis* ('benefit'), *erionios*, the one who is most beneficial, since Hermes brings the greatest benefit; the letter Y is redundant. Or (he is called *eriounios*) because of investigation. For the author of the *Phoronis* too says:

And the father named him Hermes eriounios, since he outdid all the blessed gods and mortal men in making profit and crafty stealing.

Fr. 6 P.Oxy. 2260 i 3–7 (PEG = 5 EGF = GEF)

Καὶ ὁ τὴν Φορ[ωνίδα] πεποικώς, ἐν ο[ἷ]ς φη]σιν·
οὐδέ τι κούρ[η]
ἀρκέσει ἐγρεμάχη [δο]λιχάορος ἀγρομέ[νοισιν].

2 οὐδέ τι West (probabile cred. Lobel) : οὐδ' ἔτι Lobel : ουδετι pap. || κούρ[η West (vel κούρ[οις vel κούρ[αις probable cred. Lobel) : κούρ[pap. ||

3 ἀγρομέ[νοισιν vel ἀγρο[μένησιν suppl. Lobel : .. ἡρκομε[pap.

And so the author of the *Phoronis*, where he says:

*Nor will the battle-rousing maiden of the long sword be enough to save them when they gather(?).*¹⁶⁶⁰

—

Phoronis
Commentary

Title

The title *Phoronis* has been modeled on the Tirynthian local hero Phoroneus and not on his sister Io, whose nickname was also Phoronis.¹⁶⁶¹ In fact, it is not clear whether the story of Io was even included in this epic.¹⁶⁶² The same title was used by Hellanikos¹⁶⁶³ in his work dedicated to Argive local history. The myth of Phoroneus had already attracted the interest of Akousilaos,¹⁶⁶⁴ whose presentation of Phoroneus as the first man and ancestor of Sparta, the mythical founder of Sparta, reflected Argive propaganda. It may have also been employed by Demetrios of Salamis in book 2 of his *Argolika*.¹⁶⁶⁵ All three authors had used the epic *Phoronis*.¹⁶⁶⁶

Authorship

No information survives about the poem's author, who is consistently designated in our sources as ὁ τὴν Φορωνίδα πεποιηκώς,¹⁶⁶⁷ ὁ τῆς Φορωνίδος ποιητής,¹⁶⁶⁸ ὁ τὴν Φορωνίδα ποιήσας,¹⁶⁶⁹ ὁ τὴν Φορωνίδα συνθείς,¹⁶⁷⁰ ὁ τὴν Φορωνίδα γράψας.¹⁶⁷¹

Sources

With the exception of P.Oxy 2260 col. i 3 (2nd c. AD), all other sources for the *Phoronis* come from indirect tradition: two fragments from Clement (*Strom.* 1.102.5–103.2, 1.164.1–2), one from the Σ in Apollonios Rhodios (1.1126–1131b), one from Strabo (10.3.19), and one from the *EGen*^B (s.v. ἐπιούριος [*teste* Alpers]) and *EM* (374.18–26 Gaisford). Thirteen complete hexameters survive, as well as smaller parts of three more verses (one after the penthemimeral caesura, and two terminal adonics).

Plot

The *Phoronis* must have started with the birth of Phoroneus, father of mortal men, whose parents were the river-god Inachos and Okeanid Melie (fr. 1 *EGEF*). The epic may have continued with Phoroneus' offspring and his gifts to mankind, special emphasis being given to fire. The reference to the Idaian Daktyloi (fr. 2 *EGEF*) and the Phrygian Kouretes (fr. 3 *EGEF*) was probably presented in the context of the invention of fire-working and its importance for metallurgy. The author of the *Phoronis* may have, then, turned his focus on Phoroneus' establishing a *synoikismos* in Argos and subsequently becoming its king, as well as on being the first man who offered sacrifices to Hera (Hyg. *Fab.* 143). Along these lines, the epic also referred to the foundation of the first temple of Hera by one of his descendants, whose daughter was Kallithoe,

the temple's first priestess (fr. 4 *EGEF*; Plut. *De Daed. Plat.* fr. 158 [Sandbach]). We are in no position to know what exactly was the role of Hermes in the *Phoronis* (fr. 5 *EGEF*), apart from suggesting that the three verses quoted by the *EM* seem to belong to the context of his birth by Maia on Mt Kyllene in Arkadia. The reference to Athena's inability to save humans (fr. 6 *EGEF*) only indicates that some sort of threat must have existed for them, although any suggestion concerning its nature would be mere speculation.

Reception

The influence of the *Phoronis* in later literature was weak. The fact that some material featuring this early epic was used by such mythographers as Hellanikos, Akousilaos, and Demetrios of Salamis only shows that the *Phoronis* was important for reconstructing the early history of Argos. If early Argive local tradition aimed at making Phoroneus replace Prometheus and Deukalion,¹⁶⁷² who stood at the very beginnings of the Greek conception of humankind, then it utterly failed. For the impact of Phoroneus in non-Argive sources is very limited.¹⁶⁷³

Date

Local Tirynthian patriotism, genealogical organization of material, interest in innovations (εὐρήματα) and first beginnings,¹⁶⁷⁴ as well as knowledge of iconic divine representation instead of earlier column worshipping,¹⁶⁷⁵ all these features taken together suggest a date between the late 7th and 6th c. BC.¹⁶⁷⁶ In particular, the emphasis on the πρῶτος εὐρετής, a central motif for the conception adopted by the *Phoronis*, points more to the 6th c. BC, when a special interest in questions pertaining to tradition and continuity of certain social and religious aspects of life began to develop among the Greeks.¹⁶⁷⁷ Less certain, but not impossible, is a fifth-century dating, on the basis of the idea of human evolution from an uncivilized state (provided that Hyg. *Fab.* 143 reflects the epic; see also fr. 2).

Commentary

Fr. 1

From Clement's passage it becomes clear that the poet of the *Phoronis* treated Phoroneus as the *Stammvater* of all humankind. The combination πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον of the context with πατέρα that appeared in the actual text of the *Phoronis* shows that Phoroneus was placed before the various 'Fathers' of individual races, nations, and tribes of men, as well as that he was human¹⁶⁷⁸ and not a god. We can assert with a fair amount of certainty that, although the expression πρῶτον ἄνθρωπον technically belongs to the context of the quotation and not the actual half-verse that is quoted, it must have featured in some form or another in the poetic text of the *Phoronis*, since first beginnings and πρῶτοι εὐρεταί ('first inventors') were constantly treated in this epic.¹⁶⁷⁹

Since Phoroneus was the first man and father of all men, his own father or

mother or both must have been a god or gods.¹⁶⁸⁰ The river-god Inachos flowing in this region is the best candidate for Phoroneus' father: (a) Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.1.1), (b) Pausanias (2.15.5), (c) Σ in Lyk. *Alex.* 177 (II 86.22–3 Scheer), and (d) P.Oxy. 1241, col. 4.3–5 supply us with this information that may well reflect the *Phoronis*:

a. Ὀκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος γίνεται παῖς Ἴναχος, ἀφ' οὗ ποταμὸς ἐν Ἀργεὶ Ἴναχος καλεῖται. τούτου καὶ Μελίας τῆς Ὀκεανοῦ Φορωνεύς τε καὶ Αἰγιαλεὺς παῖδες ἐγένοντο.

Inachos is born to Okeanos and Tethys, hence the river in Argos is called Inachos. Of him and Melia, daughter of Okeanos, Phoroneus and Aigialeus are born.

b. Φορωνέα δὲ ἐν τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ γενέσθαι πρῶτον, Ἴναχον δὲ οὐκ ἄνδρα ἀλλὰ τὸν ποταμὸν πατέρα εἶναι Φορωνεῖ.

[They say] that Phoroneus was the first man to exist in this land and that Inachos, who was Phoroneus' father, was not human but a river.

c. Ὀκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος Ἴναχος, Ἰνάχου καὶ Μελίας τῆς Ὀκεανοῦ Φορωνεύς καὶ Αἰγιαλεὺς ἄπαις, ἀφ' οὗ Αἰγιάλεια ἡ χώρα.

Inachos is born to Okeanos and Tethys. Of Inachos and Melia, the daughter of Okeanos, Phoroneus is born and Aigialeus who was childless, after whom the land was named Aigialeia.

d. [ἐδίδαξε] δὲ τοὺς ἐμφυλίους [πρῶτος δικασ]τήριον ποιήσας [Φορωνεύς] ὁ Ἰνάχου.

[Phoroneu]s, son of Inachos, was [the first] to institute a [court of law] and [act as judge] for civil strife.

With respect to his mother, there is basically one candidate, who plays this role in many different sources. She is Melia, the daughter of Okeanos and Tethys.¹⁶⁸¹ His wife is given by the following sources with slight or significant variation: Apollodoros designates her as Teledike,¹⁶⁸² the Σ Lyk. *Alex.*¹⁶⁸³ and the Σ Pl. *Tim.*¹⁶⁸⁴ call her Telodike, the Σ Eur. *Or.* name her as Peitho,¹⁶⁸⁵ and Pausanias as Kerdo.¹⁶⁸⁶ In all these versions she is a nymph. Concerning the creation of the first humans, the *Phoronis* must have dealt, at least to a limited extent, with Phoroneus' offspring. Phoroneus and his wife have various children: Apis, Niobe, Europa, Pelasgos, Iasos, Agenor, Kar, and Lyrkos.¹⁶⁸⁷ The fact that it is from Phoroneus' daughter Niobe (and Zeus) that Argos¹⁶⁸⁸ (and Pelasgos, according to Akousilaos)¹⁶⁸⁹ was born is indicative of the changes caused in the mythological stemma. We would expect Niobe to have featured as daughter of Inachos,¹⁶⁹⁰ not daughter of Phoroneus. By

making her the daughter of the first man, and the first mortal lover of Zeus,¹⁶⁹¹ the poet of the *Phoronis* shows how crucial the theme of the first beginnings was for his epic.¹⁶⁹²

Fr. 2

As far as the collective naming Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι (Idaian Daktyloi)¹⁶⁹³ is concerned, ancient sources offer various interpretations with respect to both Ἰδαῖοι and Δάκτυλοι.¹⁶⁹⁴ Concerning Ἰδαῖοι, there is obviously the connection to Ida, a mountain in Phrygia¹⁶⁹⁵ or in Crete,¹⁶⁹⁶ or to their mother Ida.¹⁶⁹⁷ Zeus commanded his own nurses to take dust from Mt Ida and throw it back, with the result that the beings born from it were called Ἰδαῖοι.¹⁶⁹⁸ In this same version the Idaian Daktyloi are born to Zeus by the nymph Ida and the text seems to hint at an association between Zeus' own nurses (ἰδίας) and the name Ἰδαῖοι.¹⁶⁹⁹ As to the term Δάκτυλοι, some authors explain it on the basis of their number, since they are, like the fingers of one hand, five,¹⁷⁰⁰ or of the two hands, ten;¹⁷⁰¹ others because they came across Rheia on Ida, they greeted her and touched her fingers¹⁷⁰² or because they did everything for her, the fingers being 'the craftsmen and workers of all things';¹⁷⁰³ another version explains the name Δάκτυλοι by means of their way of birth, for their mother, the nymph Anchiale, grasped the ground during the pain of labor with her fingers,¹⁷⁰⁴ the children 'flowing through her hands'.¹⁷⁰⁵

The term γόητες ('sorcerers') attributed to the Idaian Daktyloi points to the fact that the smith's craft was considered so mysterious, demanding, and to some extent hard to grasp, that it was thought to be a kind of magic.¹⁷⁰⁶ According to Ephoros,¹⁷⁰⁷ the γόητες dealt with spells, celebrations and mysteries. He also reports that when they stayed in Samothrace they caused considerable fear to the locals and adds that it was during this time that Orpheus became their student and was the *first* to introduce celebrations and mysteries to the Greeks. The stress on the 'first inventor', which is typical of the *Phoronis*, is to be noted here too. The Idaioi Daktyloi are designated as Φρύγες ἄνδρες ('Phrygian men').¹⁷⁰⁸ Both words are significant: first, the scene is more likely to be placed in Phrygia,¹⁷⁰⁹ in the laboratory of Hephaistos, than in Crete;¹⁷¹⁰ second, since these workers are called 'men' (ἄνδρες), they must be mortal, and we have to assume that they were born after Phoroneus who is the first man.¹⁷¹¹

Their names present interesting variations in the extant sources: in Aristotle (fr. 924 [Gigon]) we hear of 'the Lydian Skythes',¹⁷¹² while Theophrastos (fr. 731 Fortenbaugh *et al.*) refers to a Delas from Phrygia. Clement (*Strom.* 1.16.75) conforms with the Σ Ap. Rh. 1.1126–1131b (p. 102.5 [Wendel]) with respect to two of them (Kelmis and Damnameneus), whereas there is a divergence with respect to the name of the third Idaian Daktyl, who is fittingly called Akmon ('Anvil') by the poet of the *Phoronis* (fr. 2.3 *EGEF*)¹⁷¹³ but Delas by Clement.¹⁷¹⁴ The name Kelmis is probably related to κελμάς glossed by Hesychios as θερμη ('heat')¹⁷¹⁵ or to σκέλλομαι

(‘render hard’), especially if we equate Κέλμης to (Σ)κέλμης, one of the Idaian Daktyloi in Soph. *Κωφοὶ Σάτυροι* fr. 365 *TrGF*.¹⁷¹⁶ As for Δαμναμενεύς, he must have been something like Tom Thumb, despite the fact that in the *Phoronis* he is characterized by the rather typical epithet μέγας (‘great’).¹⁷¹⁷ The number of the Idaian Daktyloi is not standard: in the *Phoronis* they are three, in Sophokles (*Κωφοὶ Σάτυροι* fr. *366 *TrGF*)¹⁷¹⁸ they are ten, five male and five female, in Pherekydes (fr. 47 *EGM*) who divides them into right-handed (male) and left-handed (female),¹⁷¹⁹ the former are 20 and the latter 32, while Diodoros Sikelos (5.64.3) offers two different numbers for them (one hundred and ten respectively).

The Idaian Daktyloi are presented as servants of the Mother Goddess Adrasteia.¹⁷²⁰ Stesimbrotos makes them the offspring of a Cretan nymph.¹⁷²¹ The same is the case with Apollonios Rhodios, who names their mother as Anchiale (1.1130). According to a thematic pattern followed by the author of the *Phoronis* concerning first inventors, the Daktyloi became so closely associated with mountains that this link ‘accompanied’ them whenever they were mentioned, irrespective of author and period.¹⁷²² The constant references (2: ὀρέστερα; 4: ὀρείης; 6: οὐρείησι) to the mountainous habitat of the Daktyloi may be indicative of a mythical substratum underwriting their provenance and indirectly related to the confusion about their connection to Phrygia, Cyprus, Crete and other locations. According to this myth, there was such an intense forest fire in the mountains that it melted the minerals hidden under the surface of the earth. The result was that the ores flowed down the mountain and rested in cavities on the surface of the ground, taking their shape. This is how humans were drawn to this material and discovered the casting of metals.¹⁷²³ This myth tallies well with the material provided by another set of ancient sources¹⁷²⁴ associating the toponym Ida with ἰδη (‘wooded area in the mountains’).¹⁷²⁵ The invention of iron-working was considered an important step in the evolution of human civilization, and it has left its imprint on the difference between the Bronze and Iron Age myths of ancient Greece too.¹⁷²⁶

Since Phoroneus is the mythical inventor of fire, he must have given it to the Idaian Daktyloi, making the manufacture of iron possible for them.¹⁷²⁷ But why and how was the link effectuated between the Tirynthian/Argive hero and these Phrygian men? This is not clear at all, especially since there is no trace of cultic practice with respect to the Idaian Daktyloi in Argolis.¹⁷²⁸

It has been argued that iron and metal in general were used in ‘competitive elite display in the interstate sanctuaries. Argos was an early and outstanding participant in these practices, establishing the first non-Elean workshops at Olympia and enjoying a long reputation for the production of highly crafted goods’.¹⁷²⁹ Blakely proposed a model for the relationship of metal-manufacturing, ritual, and political power admirably suiting the scope of the *Phoronis*.¹⁷³⁰ This early epic is informed by the dynamics of Hera’s Pan-Argive power. The placement of her sanctuary (Ἡραῖον) within the triangular

area between Mykenai, Argos, and Tiryns was a timely decision with rich cultural and political overtones. The selection of such a prominent position that would make the Heraion visible at a distance fits commendably its cultural and political significance: as processions would cross the fertile Argive plain, blessed by the waters of the river Inachos, the ascendance to the sanctuary would have been an effective means of promulgating Argive might.¹⁷³¹ In this light, it is possible that iron¹⁷³² votive offerings at Hera's cult site would have acquired a special value, especially if the invention and refinement of the material by which they had been made was traced back to legendary smiths such as the Idaian Daktyloi. According to an anthropological model¹⁷³³ that Blakely has applied to metallurgical demons like the Idaian Daktyloi, *antiquity*, *foreign ethnicity*, and *exceptional skill* function as 'indices of value that affirm the king's ability to control the critical boundaries in space and time that define his realm'.¹⁷³⁴ This model of analysis tallies with the condition of the Argive state in the Archaic period. Argos began metal-casting at Olympia well before all the other Peloponnesian states, which indicates the special role of metallurgy instead of ceramic for this particular city-state. If metallurgy, then, had become a symbol of Argive identity, the emphasis given to it in a pan-Argive epic like the *Phoronis* is perfectly understandable. Like the mythical Argive hero Phoroneus, Argos as a city was credited with the status of *πρῶτος εὐρετής* in the field of metallurgy, at least within the Peloponnese. Seen from this angle, this model of interpretation effectively explains the value-adding triad of (a) the Idaian Daktyloi as legendary skilled smiths, (b) their belonging to a distant past, and (c) their foreign ethnicity, Phrygian identity being consonant to Phrygia's rich geological resources and a population that exploited them with great skill.¹⁷³⁵

Diction and Meter

- 1: γόης is attested here for the first time in Greek literature.
- 2: For the expression οἰκία ναίειν, see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 6.15, 7.221. Perhaps οἰκία ναῖον should be also considered here, in the light of Hom. *Od.* 20.288 (οἰκία ναῖεν).
- 3: The style is catalogic¹⁷³⁶ with three names squeezed in the same verse, the second and third being accompanied by typical epic epithets (μέγας and ὑέρβιος).
- 4: εὐπάλαμοι is not attested in Homer.
- 5: West suggests τέχνης (see 1966, 395 on Hes. *Th.* 865), which is supported by [Hes.] fr. 282 M–W (in Clem. *Strom.* 1.16.75: Κέλμις τε αὖ καὶ Δαμναμενεὺς οἱ τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων πρῶτοι σίδηρον εὔρον ἐν Κύπρῳ, <ὥς δὲ Ἡσίοδος ἐν Κρήτῃ M–W> Δέλας δὲ ἄλλος Ἰδαῖος εὔρε χαλκοῦ

κρᾶσιν, ὥς δὲ <Ἀριστοτέλης M–W : Ἡσίοδος codd.>, Σκύθης), in which the expression πρῶτοι σίδηρον εὔρον makes it tempting to take ἰόντα σίδηρον as the object of εὔρον in *Phoronis* fr. 2, thus changing the manuscript reading τέχνην to τέχνης. Gärtner (2008, 32) keeps the manuscript reading τέχνην and punctuates with a semicolon after εὔρον, arguing in favor of an explanatory asyndeton that is in line with the nuance of the *Neuerfindung* inherent in ἔδειξαν. This line of thought is flawed, since it is nonsensical to say that the Idaian Daktyloi invented (εὔρον) Hephaistos' skill (τέχνην).

6: οὐρείησι has a metrical lengthening of the initial syllable to fit the meter (contrast 2.4: ὀρείης); for the expression οὐρείησι νάπαις, see Hes. *Th.* 865 οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησι. In ἰόντα it is better to take the ι as short than opt for a synizesis of οε.

7: The digamma is neglected in ἀριπρεπὲς ἔργον. I see no justification for Wilamowitz's ἦνεγκάν τ' ἐς πῦρ (adopted by Davies), while Bernabé and West follow the tradition that gives ἐς πῦρ τ' ἦνεγκαν. ἔδειξαν is the manuscript reading, which is approved by both Davies and West, whereas Wendel's correction into ἔτευξαν has been adopted by Stoessl, Huxley and Bernabé. Although (a) ἔργον τεύχειν/ τεύχεσθαι is attested much more¹⁷³⁷ than ἔργον δεικνύναι,¹⁷³⁸ (b) expressions like ἀριφραδέα δὲ τέτυκται and σιδήρεα πάντα τέτυκται¹⁷³⁹ seem to support Wendel's emendation, and (c) the work of smiths (like the Idaian Daktyloi) is regularly described in epic by means of τεύχειν (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 5.60–1; 18.610; 18.611; 18.613), I opt for the manuscript reading ἔδειξαν due to the meaning of this particular passage: the Idaian Daktyloi did *not* manufacture iron; they 'brought iron to the fire and promulgated their achievement'. Moreover, if ἔτευξαν was the authentic reading, there would be no reason for anyone to change it into the much less used ἔδειξαν, especially since the former is widely attested with ἔργον/¹⁷⁴⁰ ἔργα.

Fr. 3

This fragment belongs to an extended part of Strabo's discussion of the Kouretes in Book 10 of his *Geographika*. The reference to the *Phoronis* is placed immediately after a quotation of a Hesiodic fragment (10a.17–19/10b M–W) designating the Kouretes as 'gods, game-loving dancers', born at the same time with the Nymphs and Satyrs. After the *Phoronis* Strabo turns to other sources designating the Kouretes as γηγενεῖς ('earth-born') and χαλκάσπιδες ('bearing bronze shields'). He adds that others refer to the Kouretes as Cretans and to the Korybantes as Phrygians, and that they put on bronze armor first in Euboea, which explains their being called 'Chalcidians'.

Bethe's¹⁷⁴¹ attempt to identify the Idaian Daktyloi with the Kouretes is off the mark.¹⁷⁴² The Phrygian Kouretes of the *Phoronis* are pipers (in [Hesiod] they are the offspring of 'Hekateros?' and Phoroneus' daughter)¹⁷⁴³, whereas the Idaian Daktyloi are smiths. Moreover, in Hesiod the Kouretes are born

directly from Phoroneus, and in addition to this they are not connected to the invention of metals (cf. P.Oxy. 1241 col. iv 26–9).¹⁷⁴⁴ This is not to say that such groups as the Idaian Daktyloi, the Kouretes, the Korybantes, the Kabeiroi, and the Telchines did not share certain activities and characteristics ('craftsmanship; sorcery; initiation; foreignness; primitivism; monstrosity or physical oddity; peculiar genealogies; a relationship with orgiastic cult and mysteries'),¹⁷⁴⁵ which at some point led to their identification in certain contexts.¹⁷⁴⁶ This is not the case with the *Phoronis*.

In what context, then, would the poet of the *Phoronis* refer to the Kouretes and, moreover, designate them as Phrygian pipers? The Kouretes mentioned by the poet of the *Phoronis* must have belonged to Argive lore and should be separated from the birth of Zeus.¹⁷⁴⁷ Since the epic's plotline may well have started with Phoroneus himself, the father of mortal men (*Phor.* fr. 1 *EGEF*), which means that the birth of Zeus had happened long ago, it is a reasonable inference that this event was not narrated in the poem. Fowler thinks that these must have been regional Kouretes 'like those of the Kalydonian legend'.¹⁷⁴⁸ But since they are called 'pipers' and Phrygian, they must have played their *auloi* for the Great Mother in Phrygia. Although this would bring them very close to the Idaian Daktyloi, identification is problematic, since there is nothing to suggest that the Idaian Daktyloi described in *Phor.* fr. 1 *EGEF* were pipers or associated with music. Strabo (10.3.22) reports a tradition according to which the Idaian Daktyloi are placed on Mt Ida in Phrygia (their names being Kelmis, Damnameneus, Herakles, and Akmon), and are described as sorcerers and inventors of iron-working. This description is remarkably similar to the *Phoronis* (with the exception of Herakles being an Idaian Daktyl).¹⁷⁴⁹ Behind an initial φασι ('they say') used by Strabo¹⁷⁵⁰ may lie a number of authors, among whom is Sophokles, since he is mentioned by name. Another one may be Demetrios of Skepsis, who is mentioned immediately before 10.3.11, though, if that is the case, we have to assume that he probably thought that the Kouretes and the Korybantes were the same.¹⁷⁵¹

One possible explanation for the presence of the Kouretes in the *Phoronis*, given their Phrygian context and musical activity, pertains to their role as pipers in honor of the Great Goddess. Phrygian music was well known in Greece¹⁷⁵² and, according to a fragment of the epic *Danaïs*,¹⁷⁵³ the Kouretes were attendants of the Mother of Gods.¹⁷⁵⁴ Their presence in the plot of the *Phoronis* must have been somehow associated with the mentioning of the Idaian Daktyloi in Phrygia.¹⁷⁵⁵

Fr. 4

Kallithoe or Kallithye was the first priestess of Hera at Argos. A relevant piece of

information is given by Plutarch via Eusebios:¹⁷⁵⁶

Ἡ δὲ τῶν ξοάνων ποιήσις ἀρχαῖον ἔοικεν εἶναι τι καὶ παλαιόν, εἶγε ξύλινον μὲν ἦν τὸ

πρῶτον εἰς Δῆλον ὑπὸ Ἐρυσίχθονος Ἀπόλλωνι <πεμφθέν> ἐπὶ τῶν Θεωριῶν ἄγαλμα, ξύλινον δὲ τὸ τῆς Πολιάδος ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων ἰδρυθέν, ὃ μέχρι νῦν Ἀθηναῖοι διαφυλάττουσιν. Ἦρας δὲ καὶ Σάμιοι ξύλινον εἶχον ἔδος, ὡς φησιν Καλλίμαχος (fr. 100 Harder).

οὕτω Σκέλμιον ἔργον ἐύξοον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τεθμὸν
δηναιὸν γλυφάνων ἄξοος ἦσθα σανίς.
ὥδε γὰρ ἰδρύοντο θεοὺς τότε· καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνης
ἐν Λίνδῳι Δαναὸς λιτὸν ἔθηκεν ἔδος.

Λέγεται δὲ Πείρας ὁ πρῶτος Ἀργολίδος Ἦρας ἱερὸν εἰσάμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα Καλλιθυίαν ἰέρειαν καταστήσας, ἐκ τῶν περὶ Τίρυνθα δένδρων ὄγχην τεμὼν εὐκτέανον, Ἦρας ἄγαλμα μορφῶσαι.

The making of *xoana* seems to be an ancient and old habit, if indeed the first statue in honor of Apollo that was sent by Erysichthon to Delos on the occasion of a *theoria* was wooden, as well as the statue of Polias established by the indigenous inhabitants, which the Athenaeans preserve until now. The Samians too have a wooden seated statue of Hera, as Kallimachos (fr. 100 Harder) says:

not yet the smooth work of Skelmis¹⁷⁵⁷ but, in the old-fashioned way, a mere plank unchipped by the chisel is what you were: that's how they set up their gods in olden time. Danaos, you know, left a plain Athena at Lindos.¹⁷⁵⁸

Peiras is said to be the first who established a temple of Argive Hera and dedicated his own daughter Kallithyia as a priestess. After cutting from the trees in the area of Tiryns straightgrained pearwood, he is said to have given shape to Hera's statue.

If Peiras/Peirasos is the same person as Peiren, who is one of the sons of king Argos and Evadne¹⁷⁵⁹ and brother of Tiryns,¹⁷⁶⁰ then Plutarch's information (citing Kallimachos fr. 100 Harder) is very close to the passage under discussion of the *Phoronis*, since in both cases Kallithyia/Kallithoe is designated as the first priestess of Hera.¹⁷⁶¹ The Kallimachos fragment may well be the basis for a Hesychian gloss on Ἰὼ Καλλιθύεσσα ('Io the fair runner'),¹⁷⁶² the more so since the unexpected reference to Athena instead of Hera could be explained as a visual slip caused by the mention of Athena (καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνης) in Hesychios' source (Kallim. fr. 100.3 [Harder]).

The point of Kallimachos' fragment is that Hera's wooden statue at Samos (brought from Argos in the past) was unworked, since during those remote times people were not advanced in the art of sculpture.¹⁷⁶³ Clement (*Protr.* 4.46.3) reports that according to Aethlios (fr. 3 EGM) the statue of Samian Hera was a σανίς ('timber', 'plank') and it was only when Prokles was king that it was shaped into a statue. He also adds (*Protr.* 4.47.5) that Demetrios of Salamis in Book 2 of his *Argolika* says that the xoanon of Hera in Tiryns was made of ὄγχην ('pearwood') by Argos.¹⁷⁶⁴ This is strong indication that the Tirynthian tradition was taken over by the Argives.¹⁷⁶⁵ With respect to a possible etymological connection between Πείρασος and a root seen in Latin *pirum* ('pear'), it has been argued that Πείρασος means 'pear-man', a fitting explanation within the aforementioned mythical tale.¹⁷⁶⁶ A link with water (in light of the spring Peirene in Corinth and the stream Peiros in Achaia) is more

likely, given the almost inbuilt association between the πολυδίμιον Ἄργος ('thirsty Argos') and the watery element (Inachos, Amymone).¹⁷⁶⁷ The same report with the one given by Clement (having as his source Aethlios fr. 3 *EGM*) is also attested in Arnobius (*Adv. Nat.* 6.11). According to Harder,¹⁷⁶⁸ Aethlios could have been Kallimachos' source on the basis of specific verbal similarities between their accounts. Pausanias also connects Samian and Argive Hera, bringing in the Argonauts who carried the ἄγαλμα of Argive Hera to Samos.¹⁷⁶⁹ He also adds that it was made of ἀχράς ('wild pear'), and in very ancient times it was dedicated to Tiryns from Peirasos the Argive, only later to be brought to the temple of Hera at Samos by the Argives who sacked Tiryns (460 BC).¹⁷⁷⁰ This piece of evidence makes the 'Tirynthian' link even stronger. In this light, Kallithoe must have been in the *Phoronis* the daughter of Peiren (= Peirasos), provided that Kallimachos' fr. 100 (Harder) agrees with this epic. Peiren/ Peirasos is credited with the establishment of the Heraion and the dedication of his daughter to the goddess as her priestess.¹⁷⁷¹ If then Peiren/Peirasos and Tiryns are brothers, as in Σ in Eur. *Or.* 932 (I 189.20 Schwartz), then the *Phoronis* may have included the following stemma:¹⁷⁷²

Inachos



Phoroneus



Niobe – Zeus



Tiryns (?)

–

Peiren



Kallithoe

From a narrative point of view, it is then likely that Kallithoe was the daughter of Peiren/Peirasos who had established the Heraion not in Argos proper but in the triangular area between Tiryns, Mykenai and Argos. Peiren/Peirasos was also the one who may have dedicated his own daughter to Hera's temple as the first priestess. The epithet Ἀργεῖη that is attributed to Hera in *Phor.* fr. 4.2 *EGEF* may well designate not the city of Argos, since Hera's temple was not in the Argos proper, but 'the grove of the hero Argos, near Tiryns, which Kleomenes I of Sparta caused to be burned down (Herodotos 6.76–80)'.¹⁷⁷³

Diction and Meter

1. κλειδοῦχος starts to be systematically attested in the Imperial period. West's κληιδούχος is in tune with its frequent use in Attic tragedy. In Aisch. *Suppl.*

291–2 the form κληιδούχος is employed in a context remarkably similar to that of the *Phoronis*, i.e. in reference to the first Argive priestess of Hera: κληιδούχον Ἡρας φασὶ δωμάτων ποτὲ / Ἰὼ γενέσθαι τῇδ' ἐν Ἀργεῖαι χθονί.¹⁷⁷⁴ See also Eur. *Hipp.* 540 (φιλιτάτων θαλάμων κληιδούχον, οὐ σεβίζομεν); *IT* 131 (κληιδούχου δούλα πέμπω); *Hyps.* fr. 1, iv, l. 28 (Bond = fr. 752h28 *TrGF* 5.2: κληιδούχος ἐστὶ τοῦπιχωρίου Διός); Aristoph. *Thesm.* 1142 (κληιδούχος τε καλεῖται).

2. The noun-epithet cluster Ἡρῃ Ἀργεῖῃ is employed in archaic Greek epic either at verse-initial position (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 4.8, 5.908: Ἡρῃ τ' Ἀργεῖῃ) or split between verse-terminal and verse-initial position (Hes. *Th.* 11–12: Ἡρην / Ἀργεῖην).

Both στέμματα and θύσανοι are already attested in Homer mostly in the plural: e.g. στέμματα: Hom. *Il.* 1.14, 1.373; θύσανοι: Hom. *Il.* 2.448, 14.181, but never in the *Odyssey*.

3. The manuscripts give the unmetrical form ἐκόσμησε. The addition of <v> *ephelekystikon* is necessitated by the meter. West follows the manuscript tradition with the augmented form ἐκόσμησε<v> opting for a dactylic first foot. Other editors (Kinkel, Bernabé, Davies) prefer the unaugmented form κόσμησε<v> with a spondaic first foot. Of the 12 other attested verses of the *Phoronis*, 7 begin with a spondaic first foot and 5 with a dactylic. That would give a slight advantage to the unaugmented form, but the scales are turned in favor of the augmented one, since we have three certain cases in which the syllabic augment is used in the extant verses of the *Phoronis* (2.2: ἔναιον; 2.7: ἔτευξαν/ἔδειξαν; 5.3: ἐκαίνυτο) and none with a syllabically unaugmented past tense.

περί is used adverbially, and so needs to be printed with the accent on the penultimate syllable (πέρι).¹⁷⁷⁵ Herodian, following Aristarchos, rightly rejected the view of Tyrannion and Ptolemaios, who both thought that this should apply only to ἄπο and πέρι when they were used adverbially in the sense of ‘at a distance’ and ‘exceedingly’ respectively.¹⁷⁷⁶

The expression κίονα μακρόν is attested already in Homer: e.g. Hom. *Od.* 8.66 = 8.473; but see Hom. *Od.* 1.127 = 17.29 (ἔγχος μὲν ῥ' ἔστησε φέρων πρὸς κίονα μακρὴν) and Hom. *Od.* 23.90 (ὁ δ' ἄρα πρὸς κίονα μακρὴν), in which κίονα is employed as a feminine noun.

Fr. 5

Huxley argued that the poet of the *Phoronis* attempts to offer his own etymology to the obscure meaning of the epithet ἐπιούσιος.¹⁷⁷⁷ He explains it (γάρ) as referring to Hermes' preeminence among both immortals and mortals with respect to his profiteering ability and crafty stealing skills. This etymology is based on the intensive force of the prefix ἐπι- and the forms οὔνης or οὔνιος, which are both glossed in Hesychios as ‘thief’ (among other interpretations):

Hesych. ο 1791a+b (III 795 Latte)

a) οὔνης· κλέπτῃς. b) ...· κλεπτοσύνη, ἴφαιρα (κλεπτῶν συνηφάραια Η)

Hesych. ο 1794 (III 795 Latte)

οὔνιος, οὔνης· δρομεύς, κλέπτῃς

The double formation in -οὔνης and -οὔνιος corresponds to the Homeric forms ἐριούνης and ἐριούνιος, which are solely employed as epithets of Hermes.¹⁷⁷⁸ This etymology, albeit false,¹⁷⁷⁹ seems to have been adopted by the poet of the *Phoronis*, who tried to explain Hermes' naming by Zeus in terms of the former's outstanding ability in profit-making and thievery. Huxley has thought that the appropriate context for Zeus naming his son would be the latter's birth to Maia in Mt Kyllene in Arkadia. This is a reasonable guess, but Huxley's argument concerning Arkadia's close distance from Argos is invalid. Moreover, the Io-connection¹⁷⁸⁰ is out of place for the *Phoronis*. This is not to say that her story would not have been included in this epic.¹⁷⁸¹ Kallithoe/Kallithyia may have played more or less an analogous role. In fact, it seems that Kallithoe/Kallithyia is virtually identified with Io, and so the Tiryinthian substratum of our epic would have laid emphasis on Phoroneus and his line, rather than Io and Danaos who would have been the focus of attention in the *Danaïs*. Kallithoe/Kallithyia and Io share some common features: they are both associated with running (Io is a typical wanderer and Kallithoe/Kallithyia's name means 'good runner') and they are both priestesses of Hera.¹⁷⁸² We do not know the details of Kallithoe's life but there may have existed some analogy with the thematic pattern followed in the case of other maiden-priestesses (like the Proitids and Hypermestra, another daughter of Danaos).¹⁷⁸³

What was the function of Hermes in this epic? We should not forget that the emphasis the *Phoronis* puts on Phoroneus in an attempt to establish him as a Prometheus and Deukalion at the same time,¹⁷⁸⁴ i.e. the first man to bring fire to humankind, would have required a stress on his crucial role for the beginning of civilization. To this extent, the following excerpt from Hyginus (*Fab.* 143) is illuminating:

Inachus Oceani filius ex Argia sorore sua procreavit Phoroneum, qui primus mortalium dicitur regnasse. Homines ante saecula multa sine oppidis legibusque vitam exegerunt, una lingua loquentes, sub Iovis imperio, sed postquam Mercurius sermones hominum interpretatus est, unde hermeneutes dicitur esse interpret (Mercurius enim Graece Hermes vocatur; idem nationes distribuit), tum discordia inter mortales esse coepit, quod Iovi placitum non est. itaque exordium regnandi tradidit Phoroneo, ob id beneficium quod Iunoni sacra primus fecit.

Inachos, son of Okeanos, fathered Phoroneus by his own sister Argia. He, they say, was the first mortal to be a king. For many generations before Phoroneus, men lived their lives without cities or laws, speaking a single language and being under Jupiter's authority. But once Mercury interpreted the languages of men-this is why a

translator is called in Greek a *hermeneutes* (Mercury is called Hermes in Greek; he also divided men into different nations)-discord arose among mortals, and this did not please Jupiter. So he made Phoroneus the first king because he was the first to make a sacrifice to Juno.¹⁷⁸⁵

We do not know what is Hyginus' source for this story but if it is ultimately drawing, at least partly, on the *Phoronis*, then the abovementioned passage is of key importance for understanding not only the role of Hermes in this epic but also the bare-bones of the *Phoronis*' plotline.

It is a reasonable hypothesis that a number of later testimonies pertaining to Phoroneus, such as (a) that he is credited with the giving of fire to men, (b) that he made them live together in cities, and (c) that he established courts of law so as to put an end to civil strife and disputes, go back to the ancient *Phoronis*.¹⁷⁸⁶ Phoroneus emerges as a Prometheus and a Deukalion or an Ogygos or even an Alalkomeneus.¹⁷⁸⁷ Hyginus adds the important detail that Phoroneus became Zeus' first successor *because* he was the first to offer sacrifices to Hera.¹⁷⁸⁸ Since kingship and establishment of courts of law go hand in hand, this detail may be also reflecting the *Phoronis*.¹⁷⁸⁹ Hyginus' tale presents a phase in human history during which men spoke a single language and did not live in cities and according to laws. In this light, we can postulate a Paradise-like situation: men lived under the rule of Zeus in a world similar to that of the golden age, where there were no laws and cities *because they were not needed*.¹⁷⁹⁰ There were no disputes, no wars, no troubles. This is a reasonable assumption, since the establishment of courts by Phoroneus is *the result* of men's living together in cities. As such it does not symbolize the evolution of human civilization but a necessary means to deal with problems that arose only after a profound change in their lives, i.e. only after Zeus passed the kingship to Phoroneus. Unfortunately, the text of Hyginus seems to have suffered a loss after *sed postquam <homines ... et> Mercurius*,¹⁷⁹¹ since there is no explanation whatsoever for the reasons that led to the shift from the single-language state of being to a multilingual world. Hyginus' text refers to Hermes' role as ἑρμηνευτής of *sermone hominum*, a phrase the meaning of which remains obscure. If it is taken at face value, then we have to assume that Hermes had the ability to translate or understand the various languages men started speaking. Since translators are always intermediaries between two persons not speaking the same language, we have to assume that Hermes functioned as the translator of the various languages men spoke. It is unlikely that this feature of Hermes as ἑρμηνευτής of *sermone hominum* belonged to the *Phoronis*. I side with Rose¹⁷⁹² who has argued that Hermes *interpres* belongs to a later age and has been added here either by Hyginus or his source. On the other hand, this does not mean that the *Phoronis* did not include a narrative pertaining to the change from a single-language world to a multilingual one. What was the reason for this development? The myth of the Babel tower in the Hebrew and Christian traditions explains this change as the result of human arrogance¹⁷⁹³ and the same motif (punishment inflicted by the

gods because of human arrogance concerning claims of divine status) is well known in Greek tradition. Otos and Ephialtes piled Mt Ossa on Mt Olympus and aimed at piling Mt Pelion on Mt Ossa in order to reach the sky and fight against the gods. Their aim was to marry Hera (Otos) and Artemis (Ephialtes).¹⁷⁹⁴ Niobe claimed that she had more sons and daughters than Leto.¹⁷⁹⁵ This list could easily grow, but it seems conjectural to argue that the motif of divine punishment as a result of human arrogance featured in the *Phoronis*. True, at the very end of his narrative Hyginus records that Zeus made Phoroneus king ‘because he was the first who had offered sacrifices to Hera’¹⁷⁹⁶ but this does not mean that other men were punished because of their arrogance, which consisted in their refusal to offer sacrifices to the immortals.

According to the typological structure of this motif, a god teaches a human how to do something that nobody knew before. Subsequently, the human is the *first finder* (πρῶτος εὑρετής) of this εὔρημα, be it the cultivation of the land, the invention of coins, or the offering of sacrifices to the gods, as is the case with Phoroneus.¹⁷⁹⁷ Being the first king of the region of Argos, it was natural to attribute to him the ‘invention’ of civic sacrifices that were offered to the goddess (Hera) who presided in this area. It is difficult to tell what had caused the shift from a single-language world to a multilingual one, as well as the division of men between different nations (if these features did indeed belong to the *Phoronis*). In any case, when Phoroneus became a king and created a *synoikismos* of all mortals in Argos, this problem must have been eliminated. The same was the case with discord, which may have been dealt with the institution of courts of law by Phoroneus, a sort of Greek Methuselah. It is not, perhaps, a coincidence that Hyginus’ narrative makes use of a feature that functions as the *sphragis* of the *Phoronis*, i.e. the stress on the first beginnings.¹⁷⁹⁸ Phoroneus is the *first* king and he is the *first* who sacrificed to Juno.¹⁷⁹⁹

Diction and Meter

1. Ἐρμείαν ... ἐρσιούνιον: already in Homer as either ἐρσιούνης or ἐρσιούνιος (Hom. *Il.* 20.34–5; 20.72; 24.457; 24.679; Hom. *Od.* 8.322) and the *HHymns* (to Demeter [2]: 407, to Hermes [4]: 3; to Pan [19]: 28, 40). The epithet ἐρσιούνης or ἐρσιούνιος is also attested in both Homer and the *HHymns* without the name ‘Hermes’ (Hom. *Il.* 24.360; 24.440; *HHymn to Hermes* [4] 28, 551). Its use in the *Phoronis* conforms with Homeric practice: it occupies (as it does often in Homer) the position between the penthemimeral caesura and the bucolic diaeresis, whereas ἐρσιούνης is employed in verse-terminal position. In the *EM* (374.20–1 Gaisford) and *EGe*^B s.v. ἐρσιούνιος (*teste* Alpers) is semantically associated with the verb ὀνίνημι. This connection may be quite old, since there is a good case that it is already attested as early as the *HHymn to Hermes* (4) : 28 (Διὸς δ’ ἐρσιούνιος υἱός) – 30 (ὀνήσιμον) – 35 (ὀνήσεις); see Reece (1997) 29–39; Richardson (2010) 159 on 34–5; Vergados (2013)

2. μάκαράς τε θεούς: epic formula attested in Homer (nom.: *Il.* 1.406, 4.127 etc.; gen.: *Od.* 8.281, 9.276 etc.; dat.: *Il.* 6.141, *Od.* 5.186 etc.), Hesiod (nom.: *Th.* 881; dat.: *Th.* 128, *Op.* 139; acc.: *Th.* 101), and the *HHymns* (gen.: *to Dem.* (2) 345, *to Herm.* (4) 5 etc.; dat.: *to Apoll.* (3) 86 etc.; acc.: *to Dem.* (2) 325).

θεοὺς θνητοὺς τ' ἀνθρώπους: see ἀθανάτους ἡδὲ θνητοὺς ἄνθρώπους (Hom. *Il.* 14.199); ἀθανάτους τε θεοὺς θνητοὺς τ' ἀνθρώπους (Hom. *Th.* 588; *HHymn to Hermes* (4) 9; *HHymn to Hermes* (18) 9); On οὔτε θεῶν μακάρων οὔτε θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, see *Od.* 9.276, 9.521; *HHymn to Hermes* (4) 144; *HHymn to Aphrodite* (5) 35.

3. κλεπτοσύνησί τ' ἐκαίνυτο: see Hom. *Od.* 19.395–7: ὃς ἀνθρώπους ἐκέκαστο / κλεπτοσύνηι θ' ὄρκωι τε: θεὸς δέ οἱ αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν / Ἑρμείας. ἐκαίνυτο is attested in Homer only once (Hom. *Od.* 3.282); see also [Hes.] *Asp.* 4.

Fr. 6

Lobel, who first edited the papyrus in which our text belongs, talked of a 'commentary on a poetic text', but expressed doubts with respect to the 'proper description of the work', since 'what is preserved is concerned only with two small matters relating to Athena'.¹⁸⁰⁰ Merkelbach has gone one step further and argued that, on the basis of the theological interest of the topics included in the papyrus as well as the stress on etymological explanations with respect to divine epithets and attributes,¹⁸⁰¹ the papyrus may derive from the lost work *Peri theon* of Apollodoros of Athens.

The interpretation of this fragment heavily depends on the adopted readings. Given the uncertainty surrounding them, my analysis will be based on probability. If the readings κούρ[η], which is a reasonable possibility in light of ἐγρεμάχη that is applied to Athena, and ἀγρομέ[νοισιν] are adopted, then we may postulate a scene in which someone expressed the opinion that Athena would not be of help to a group of people facing danger. This must have come from a speech. The use of two 'martial' forms of denomination for Athena (ἐγρεμάχη and δολιχάρορος) does not need to suggest a martial context. Although we know that Phoroneus established courts of law so as to put an end to strife and war, the reference to Athena does not look suitable for such a context. In four (*HHymn to Demeter* [2] 424; *HOrph. pr.* 1. 38 [Quandt]; *CEG* 194.1 [Attica, 525–520? BC], 277.1 [Athens, 450– 440? BC]) out of six attestations of ἐγρεμάχη in Greek literature, the context is not martial. Of the two remaining cases, only in one (Diod. Sik. 8.29.1) is ἐγρεμάχη replete with resonances of Athena's martial assistance (in an oracle to Battos, the colonizer of Libya).¹⁸⁰² The etymological discussion of ἄορ on which the second part of the compound δολιχάρορος is formed is not helpful to our inquiry, since it is

limited to whether ἄορ means ‘sword’ or ‘spear’, the latter interpretation fitting Athena.¹⁸⁰³ We may be dealing with a context in which someone addresses a group of people¹⁸⁰⁴ or tells another person that a group of people will be or are in danger. In both cases Athena will not be able to save them.
¹⁸⁰⁵

Diction

2. ἀρκέσει: on ἀρκέσει in verse-initial position with a preceding οὐδέ construction, see Hom. *Il.* 21.130–1: οὐδ’ ὑμῖν ποταμός περ ἐῦροος ἀργυροδίνης / ἀρκέσει, ᾧ δὴ δηθὰ πολέας ἱερεύσετε ταύρους; *HHymn to Apollo* (3) 367–9: οὐδέ τί τοι θάνατόν γε δυσηλεγέ’ οὔτε Τυφωεύς / ἀρκέσει οὔτε Χίμαιρα δυσώνυμος, ἀλλὰ σέ γ’ αὐτοῦ / πύσει γαῖα μέλαινα καὶ ἠλέκτωρ Ὑπερίων. See also *Od.* 16.260–1: ἥ κεν νῶϊν Ἀθήνη σὺν Διὶ πατρὶ / ἀρκέσει, ἥέ τιν’ ἄλλον ἀμύντορα μερμηρίζω.

ἐγρεμάχη: see *HHymn to Demeter* 424: Παλλὰς τ’ ἐγρεμάχη καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἰοχέαιρα; Diod. *Sik.* 8.29.1: Παλλάδι τ’ ἐγρεμάχη γλαυκώπιδι καὶ Διὸς υἱῷ; *HOph. pr.* 1. 38 [Quandt]: Παλλάδα τ’ ἐγρεμάχην κούρην, Ἀνέμους τε πρόπαντας; *CEG* 194.1 (Athens, 525–520? BC): [Παλ]άδι μ’ ἐγρεμάχαι Διονύσιο[ς ἐν|θά]δ’ ἄγαλμα; *CEG* 277.1 (Athens, 450–440? BC): [Παλάδι μ’ ἐγρ]εμάχ|[ει υ υ -] ἀνέθ|[εκ(εν) (υ) υ - π] αῖς.

[δο]λιχάορος: only in Philetas fr. 21.1 [Spanoudakis = *SH* 674.1]: καὶ κεν Ἀθηναίης δολιχάορου ἱερὸν ἄστυ; see also P.Oxy. 2260 col. i (Lobel).

ἀγρομέ[νοισιν: see Hom. *Il.* 3.209: ἀλλ’ ὅτε δὴ Τρώεσσιν ἐν ἀγρομένοισιν ἔμιχθεν; Hom. *Il.* 10.180: οἳ δ’ ὅτε δὴ φυλάκεσσιν ἐν ἀγρομένοισιν ἔμιχθεν; in verse-terminal position, see Hom. *Od.* 8.172: αἰδοῖ μιλίχῃ, μετὰ δὲ πρέπει ἀγρομένοισιν; Dionys. *Bassarika* 5b.5 (in Steph. Byz. κ 109 [III 54.18 Billerbeck = fr. 6b.5 Livrea = 5b.5 *GDRK*]): αἰετὸς εἰν ὄρνισι μεταπρέπει ἀγρομένοισιν.

Bibliography

1 Abbreviations: Reference Works

AnOx	J. A. Cramer, <i>Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium</i> , 4 vols. Oxford 1835–1837.
BWL CAF	W. G. Lambert, <i>Babylonian Wisdom Literature</i> . Oxford 1960. T. Kock, <i>Comica Adespota, fragmenta incertorum poetarum</i> , vol. III of <i>Comicorum Atticorum fragmenta</i> , 3 vols. Leipzig 1880–1888.
CEG	P. A. Hansen (ed.), <i>Carmina Epigraphica Graeca</i> , 2 vols. (Texte und Kommentare 12, 15). Berlin 1983–1989.
CPG	E. L. von Leutsch and F. W. Schneidewin, <i>Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum</i> , 2 vols. Göttingen 1839–1851.
CPLM	A. Livingstone, <i>Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea (State Archives of Assyria iii)</i> . Helsinki 1989.
DELG	P. Chantraine, <i>Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque</i> ² . Paris 1999 [1 st ed. 1968–1980].
D-K	H. Diels (ed.), <i>Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker</i> ⁶ , 3 vols., rev. W. Kranz. Berlin 1951–1952.
DNP	<i>Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike</i> , 16 volumes, edited by: H. Cancik and H. Schneider. Stuttgart 1996–2003.
EAGLL	<i>Encyclopedia of Ancient Greek Language and Linguistics</i> , 3 vols., edited by: G. Giannakis. Leiden 2014.
EDG	R. S. P. Beekes, <i>Etymological Dictionary of Greek</i> , 2 vols. Leiden 2010.
EG	D. L. Page, <i>Epigrammata Graeca</i> . Oxford 1975.
EGe	The <i>Etymologicum Genuinum</i> , edited by: F. Lasserre and N. Livadaras, <i>Etymologicum Magnum Genuinum. Symeonis Etymologicum una cum Magna Grammatica. Etymologicum Magnum auctum</i> , 2 vols. [α–β only]. Rome and Athens 1976–1992.
EGF	M. Davies (ed.), <i>Epicorum Graecorum</i>

	Fragmenta. Göttingen 1988.
EGM	R. L. Fowler, <i>Early Greek Mythography</i> , 2 vols. Oxford 2000–2013.
EM	T. Gaisford (ed.), <i>Etymologicum Magnum</i> . Oxford 1848.
FGE	Page, D. L. (ed.), <i>Further Greek Epigrams. Epigrams before A.D. 50 from the Greek Anthology and other sources, not included in Hellenistic Epigrams or the Garland of Philip</i> . Cambridge 1981.
FHG	C. Müller (ed.), <i>Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum</i> , 5 vols. Paris 1868–1878.
FGrHist	F. Jacoby et al. (eds.). <i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker: Text und Kommentar</i> . Leiden-Boston-Cologne 1923–.
FPL	J. Blänsdorf (ed. post W. Morel and K. Büchner), <i>Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum Epicorum et Lyricorum (praeter Enni Annales et Ciceronis Germanique Aratea)</i> . Berlin 20114.
GCS	<i>Die Griechischen Christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte</i> . Leipzig.
GDRK	E. Heitsch (ed.), <i>Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit</i> , 2 vols. Göttingen 1961–1964.
GEF	M. L. West (ed.), <i>Greek Epic Fragments from the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC</i> . Cambridge, Mass. and London 2003.
GEW	H. Frisk, <i>Griechisches etymologisches Wörterbuch</i> , 2 vols. Heidelberg 1954–1970.
GG	<i>Grammatici Graeci</i> , 4 vols., edited by: (I) G. Uhlig and A. Hilgard; (II) R. Schneider and G. Uhlig; (III) A. Lentz; (IV) A. Hilgard. Leipzig 1867–1910.
GGM	C. Müller (ed.), <i>Geographi Graeci minores</i> , 2 vols. Paris 1861.
GH	P. Chantraine, <i>Grammaire homérique</i> , vol. I: <i>Phonétique et morphologie</i> , vol. II: <i>Syntaxe</i> . Paris 1948–1953.
GIBM	<i>The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum</i> . Oxford 1874–1916.
GL	G. T. H. Keil (ed.), <i>Grammatici Latini</i> , 7 vols. with supplement by H. Hagen. Leipzig 1855–80.
GV	W. Peek, <i>Griechische Vers-Inschriften</i> , vol. I: <i>Grab-Epigramme</i> . Berlin 1955.
Hesych.	<i>Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon</i> , 4 vols., edited by: K. Latte (I: A–Δ and II: E–O); P. A. Hansen (III: Π–Σ); P. A. Hansen and I.

HgS	C. Cunningham (IV: T–Q). Copenhagen-Berlin-New York 1953–2009.
IEG	Passow, F. <i>Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache</i> , 2 vols. (I.1–2 and II.1–2). Darmstadt 1993 (repr. 1st ed. 1841).
IG I ³	M. L. West (ed.), <i>Iambi et Elegi Graeci ante Alexandrum cantati</i> , 2 vols. Oxford 1989–1992 [1st ed. 1971–1972].
IG II/III ²	D. M. Lewis et al. (eds.), <i>Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores</i> , 3 vols. Berlin and New York 1981–1998.
IG IV	J. Kirchner (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores; Pars III. Dedicaciones, titulos honorarios, titulos sacros, titulos sepulcrales continens. Fasc. 1. Dedicaciones. Tituli honorarii. Tituli sacri. Fasc. 2. Tituli sepulcrales. Tituli memoriales. Insunt tabulae duae.</i> Berlin 1935–1940.
IG XII V	M. Fraenkel (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Argolidis</i> . Berlin 1902.
IG XII VII	F. Hiller de Gaertringen (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Insularum Maris Aegaei praeter Delum. Fasciculus V: Inscriptiones Cycladum; Pars I. Inscriptiones Cycladum praeter Tenum; Pars II. Inscriptiones Teni insulae.</i> Berlin 1903–1909.
IScM II	F. Hiller de Gaertringen (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Insularum Maris Aegaei praeter Delum. J. Delamarre, Fasciculus VII: Inscriptiones Amorgi et insularum vicinarum.</i> Berlin 1908.
IGUR	I. Stoian (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Scythiae Minoris graecae et latinae (Inscriptiones Daciae et Scythiae Minoris antiquae), series altera, vol. II. Tomis et territorium.</i> Bucarest 1987.
LAS	L. Moretti (ed.), <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Urbis Romae</i> , 4 vols. Rome 1968–1990.
LfgrE	J. Black et al., <i>The Literature of Ancient Sumer</i> . Oxford 2004.
LIMC	B. Snell et al. (eds.), <i>Lexikon des frühgriechischen Epos</i> , 25 vols. Göttingen and Oakville, CT 1955–2010.
LSAG	<i>Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae</i> , 8 vols. plus indexes. Zurich, Munich, and Düsseldorf 1981–1999).
MAMA	L. H. Jeffery, <i>The Local Scripts of Archaic Greece</i> . Oxford 1990 (rev. ed. with suppl. by A. W. Johnston).
	<i>Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua</i> , 11 vols. Manchester 1928–1962 (I–VIII),

OGIS	London 1963–2014 (IX–XI). W. Dittenberg (ed.), <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> . Leipzig 1903–5.
PCG	R. Kassel and C. F. L. Austin (eds.). <i>Poetae Comici Graeci</i> , 8 vols. Berlin and New York 1983–2001.
PEG	A. Bernabé (ed.), <i>Poetae Epici Graeci. Testimonia et Fragmenta</i> ² , 2 vols. Stuttgart 1996–2007. [1st ed. of vol. I 1987].
PLG	Th. Bergk (ed.), <i>Poetae Lyrici Graeci</i> , 3 vols. Leipzig 18824.
PMG	D. L. Page (ed.). <i>Poetae Melici Graeci</i> . Oxford 1962 (repr. 1967 with corrections).
PMGF	M. Davies. <i>Poetarum Melicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> , 1 vol. to date. Oxford 1991.
RE	<i>Real Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> , 84 vols. Stuttgart 1893–1980.
SEG	<i>Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum</i> , 66 vols. to date. Leiden 1923–.
SH	P. H. J. Lloyd-Jones and P. J. Parsons. <i>Supplementum Hellenisticum</i> (Texte und Kommentare 11). Berlin-New York 1983.
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Suda	A. Adler (ed.). <i>Suidae Lexicon</i> , 5 vols. (Lexicographi Graeci 1). Leipzig 1928–1938.
TrGF	<i>Tragicorum Graecorum Fragmenta</i> . Vol. I: <i>Didascaliae Tragicae, Catalogi Tragicorum et Tragoediarum, Testimonia et Fragmenta Tragicorum Minorum</i> (ed. B. Snell; Göttingen 19711, 19862). Vol. II: <i>Fragmenta Adespota</i> (edd. R. Kannicht and B. Snell; 1981). Vol. III: <i>Aeschylus</i> (ed. S. L. Radt; 1985). Vol. IV: <i>Sophocles</i> (ed. S. L. Radt; 19771, 19992). Vol. V: <i>Euripides</i> (ed. R. Kannicht; 2 parts; 2004).

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Index of Sources by Author or Poem 1806

Eumelos: *Titanomachy*

Author	Work	Fragments	Total
Apollodoros	<i>Bibliothēke</i>	*6, *7, *9	3
Athenaios	<i>Deipnosophistai</i>	8, 12, 15	3
Clement	<i>Stromateis</i>	14	1
Hesychios	<i>Lexikon</i>	*5	1
Hyginus	<i>Fabulae</i>	11	1
Lydus	<i>Peri menon</i>	2	1
Philodemos	<i>Peri eusebeias</i>	1 ^a , 10	2
Servius (auctus)	<i>Commentarii</i>	3, *4	2
Virgil	<i>Aeneid</i>	3	1
	<i>Epimerismi Homerici</i>	1 ⁰	1
	Σ Ap. Rh.	3, 13	2
	Σ Hom. II.	11	1
Total			19

Eumelos: *Korinthiaka*

Author	Work	Fragments	Total
Favorinus	<i>Korinth.</i>	*17, *23	2
Pausanias	<i>Hellados periegesis</i>	16, *17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25	8
	Σ Ap. Rh.	16, 22, 26	3
	Σ Eur. <i>Med.</i>	18, 21	2
	Σ Lyk. <i>Alex.</i>	18	1
	Σ Pind. <i>O.</i>	18	1
Total			17

Eumelos: *Europeia*

Author	Work	Fragments	Total
Clement	<i>Stromateis</i>	28	1
Pausanias	<i>Hellados periegesis</i>	30	1
Philodemos	<i>Peri eusebeias</i>	27	1
	Σ Ap. Rh.	31	1
	Σ (D) Hom. Il.	29	1
Total			5

Eumelos: fragmenta incerti carminis et fragmentum sine ascriptione fortasse ad Titanomachiam pertinens

Author	Work	Fragments	Total
Apollodoros	<i>Bibliothēke</i>	32–34	3
Clement	<i>Stromateis</i>	35	1
Tzetzes	Σ in Hes. <i>Op.</i>	36	1
	P.Harris	*37	1
Total			6

Kinaithon

Author	Work	Fragments	Total
Pausanias	<i>Hellados periegesis</i>	1–2, 4–5	4
	Σ (D) Hom. Il.	3	1
Total			5

Asios

Author	Work	Fragments	Total
Apollodoros	<i>Bibliothēke</i>	9	1
Athenaios	<i>Deipnosophistai</i>	13	1
Pausanias	<i>Hellados periegesis</i>	1, 3–8, 11–12	9
	Σ (T) in Hom. <i>Od.</i>	10	1
Strabo	<i>Geographika</i>	2	1
Total			13

Hegesinous

Author	Work	Fragments	Total
Pausanias	<i>Hellados periegesis</i>	1	1
Total			1

Chersias

Author	Work	Fragments	Total
Pausanias	<i>Hellados periegesis</i>	1	1
Total			1

Danaïs

Author	Work	Fragments	Total
Clement	<i>Stromateis</i>	1	1
Harpokration	<i>Lexikon</i>	2	1
Philodemos	<i>Peri eusebeias</i>	3	1
	IG 14.1292		(same with fr. 2)
Total			3

Carmen Naupactium

Author	Work	Fragments	Total
Apollodoros	<i>Bibliothēke</i>	10 ^c	1
Herodian	<i>Peri monerous lekseos</i>	2	1
Pausanias	<i>Hellados periegesis</i>	9, 11	2 (F) and 1 (T)
Philodemos	<i>Peri eusebeias</i>	10 ^a ^e	2
	Σ Ap. Rh.	3–8	6
	Σ (T) in Hom. <i>Il.</i>	1	1
Total			13

Minyas

Author	Work	Fragments	Total
Pausanias	<i>Hellados periegesis</i>	1–4	4
Pausimachos	<i>apud Philod. Peri poie- maton</i>	7 dub.	1
Philodemos	<i>Peri eusebeias</i>	5	1
	P.lbscher	6 dub.	1
Total			7

Phoronis

Author	Work	Fragments	Total
Apollodoros of Athens(?)	<i>Peri theon</i> (P.Oxy. 2260 i 3)	6	1
Clement	<i>Stromateis</i>	1, 4	2
Pausanias	<i>Hellados periegesis</i>	7–8	2
Strabo	<i>Geographika</i>	3	1
	<i>EGen/EM</i>	5	1
	Σ Ap. Rh.	2	1
Total			8

Comparatio Numerorum¹⁸⁰⁷

Eumelos: *Titanomachy*

Tsagalis	Kinkel	Allen	Davies	Bernabé	West
1 ^{A+B}	1	1	1 ^{A+B}	1–2	1
2	18	–	Eum. dub. 4	18	2
3	2	2	3	3	3
*4	–	–	–	–	*4
*5	–	–	–	–	*5
*6	–	–	–	–	*6
*7	–	–	–	–	*7
8	5	5	5	6	8
*9	–	–	–	–	*6
10	9	8	10	9	9
11	3	3	4	7	11
12	8	7	7	8	10
13	7	(9)	9	10	12
14	6	6	6	11	13
15	4	4	8	4	14

Eumelos: *Korinthiaka*

Tsagalis	Kinkel	Davies	Bernabé	West
16	1	<i>Kor. 1</i>	1	15
17	–	<i>Kor. 12</i>	2	16
18	2	<i>Kor. 2^{A+B}</i>	3	17
19	3	<i>Kor. 3^A</i>	3	18
20	4	<i>Kor. 5</i>	4	19
21	3	<i>Kor. 3^{A+B}</i>	5	20
22	9	<i>Kor. 4</i>	19	21
23	–	<i>Kor. 12</i>	8	22
24	3	<i>Kor. 3^A</i>	5	23
25	5	<i>Kor. 6</i>	6	24
26	6	<i>Kor. 8</i>	7	25

Eumelos: *Europeia*

Tsagalis	Kinkel	Davies	Bernabé	West
27	–	–	–	26
28	11	<i>Eur. 2</i>	12	28
29	10	<i>Eur. 1</i>	11	27
30	12	<i>Eur. 3</i>	13	30
31	8	<i>Kor. 7</i>	10	29

Eumelos: fragmenta incerti carminis et fragmentum sine ascriptione fortasse ad Titanomachiam pertinens

Tsagalis	Kinkel	Davies	Bernabé	West
32	7	9	9	incert. sed. 33
33	14	<i>Kor. 10</i>	14	incert. sed. 31
34	15	<i>Kor. 11</i>	15	incert. sed. 32
35	16	dub. 2	16	incert. sed. 34
36	17	dub. 3	17	incert. sed. 35
*37	–	incert. auct. sine numero, p. 19	5	–

Minyas

Tsagalis	Kinkel	Davies	Bernabé	West
1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2
3 ^A	3	4	3	3
3 ^D	4	4	4	4
3 ^C	–	–	–	–
4	5	3	5	5
5	6	5	6	6

Fragmenta dubia fortasse ad Minyadem pertinentia

Tsagalís	Kinkel	Davies	Bernabé	West
*6	–	incert. auct. sine numero p. 145	dub. 7	*7
*7	–	–	–	*8

Carmen Naupactium

Tsagalís	Kinkel	Davies	Bernabé	West
1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2
3	3	3A	3	3
4	5	4	4	4
5	6	5	5	5
6	4/7	6/7 ^{A,B}	6	6
7	8	7 ^A	7	7
8	9	8	8	8
9	10	9	9	9
10	11/12	10	10/11	10
11	13	test. 3	12	11

Phoronis

Tsagalís	Kinkel	Davies	Bernabé	West
1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2
3	3	2 ^A	3	3
4	4	3	4	4
5	5	4	5	5
6	–	5	6	6

EndNotes

1 I indicate the relevant volume of *PEG* only in the case of Orphic fragments (i.e. *PEG* II.1 or II.2).

2 Bethe, vols. i–iii (1914–1927), vol. ii (19292).

3 Debiasi through a series of detailed studies has been by far the strongest representative of this trend.

4 Snell (1937) 579–80; Körte (1938) 80; Merkelbach (1955) 4; West (1962) 178; Debiasi (2004) 74 n. 23.

5 (2015) 209–12.

6 *Adespota Papyracea Hexametra Graeca*, vol. I (forthcoming with De Gruyter).

7 See bibliography.

8 (1958) 115–17. See also P.Köln III 126 (= P.Colon. inv. 5604).

9 See (2006) 476 and n. 21; see also Finglass (2014a) 77.

10 See Kaibel (1887) vii–viii; Arnott (2000) 42–50; Olson (2006) xvi; Finglass (2014a) 78.

11 See Dickey (2007) 27–8.

12 (2002) 111–12.

13 I include discussion of *testimonia* concerning authorship in the separate section devoted to each poet that precedes the discussion of the individual fragments. This is the only class of *testimonia* worth analyzing as far as archaic Greek epic poets are concerned. Since all the rest contain fragments, it is better to treat them under ‘fragments’ and, in this way, avoid repetition.

14 This is the case with Eum. *Kor.* fr. 18.

15 On this point, see Conte (2013) 14.

16 (1892) 252 n. 22 (translation by West 2013, 51).

17 (2013) 51.

18 Translation by Frazer (1921) with some modifications.

19 The transmitted reading Γῖγαντομαχίαν is generally regarded as an error of the scholiast on Apollonios for Τῖτανομαχίαν; see West (2002) 117; also Eum. *Tit.* fr. 3 *EGEF* (ap. Σ Ap. Rh. 1.1165c [p. 106.1–3 Wendel]).

20 The numbering in the critical apparatus is based on the entire quotation, not just the metrical citation. The same practice is followed in the entire volume.

21 The translation is by Olson (2008) with some modifications.

22 Cf. Paus. 2.4.6.

23 Differences in abbreviations between the commentary and the critical apparatus are due to the use of Latin forms in the latter (e.g. Lyk. vs Lyc. for Lykophron). Explanation of sigla used in this critical apparatus: Σ B Pind. = Vat. 1332, C = Par. 2774 (C¹ = correction made by the first scribe, C³ = reading added by the third scribe), E = Laur. 32, 37 (E¹ = correction made by the third scribe), Q = Laur. 32, 35, v = textus vulgatus (from the editio Romana to the editions of Heyne and Boeckh), h = Heyne (ed. Heyniana 1817); Σ A Eur. = Vat. 909, B = Par. 2713; Σ C Lyc. = Par. gr. 2723, Tz. in Lyc. = scholia by Tzetzes as part of the Σ Lyk. edited by Scheer; the siglum] indicates words or parts of words that were once written in the manuscripts but cannot be read now.

24 In the translation I indicate in parenthesis the differences between Σ Eur. *Med.* 9 and 11.

25 Paus. 2.1.1: ἐπει Εὐμηλός γε (Siebelis : ἐπει δὲ εὐμηλός τε β) ὁ Ἀμφιλότου τῶν Βακχιδῶν

(Βακχιαδῶν β Va) κάλουμένων, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἔπη λέγεται ποιῆσαι, φησὶν ἐν τῇ Κορινθίᾳ συγγραφῇ — εἰ δὲ Εὐμήλου γε ἡ συγγραφὴ —.

26 Chron. Ol. 5.2 (760/759 BC): *Eumelus poeta, qui Bugoniam et Europiam ... composuit ... agnoscitur* (test. 3 EGEF); 9.1 (744/743 BC): *Eumelus Corinthius versificator agnoscitur et Sibylla Erythraea*. See also Cyrill. *Contra Iulian*. 1.12 (*Patrol. Gr.* lxxvi. 520D): ἐννάτη Ὀλυμπιάδι Εὐμηλον (Marcksch. : Θύμηλον cod.) ἐποποιὸν γενέσθαι φασὶ καὶ Σίβυλλαν τὴν Ἐρυθραίαν (test. 4 EGEF). On the connexion between Eumelos and Sibyl, see Bowra (1963) 147, who argues that ‘the connexion between Eumelos and the Erythraean Sibyl may be not so accidental as it looks, since she must have come from Erythrae and may have been connected with the early days of colonization in the West. It is also perhaps worth noting that the previous entry in Eusebios-Jerome in Ol. 8.3 (745 B.C.) says *Lacedaemonii contra Messenios vicennale bellum habebant*, and it looks as if Eusebios had in mind some association between Eumelos and the First Messenian War’.

27 Strom. 1.131.8: Σιμωνίδης μὲν οὖν κατὰ Ἀρχίλοχον φέρεται, Καλλῖνος δὲ πρεσβύτερος οὐ μακρῶι τῶν γὰρ Μαγνήτων ὁ μὲν Ἀρχίλοχος ἀπολωλότων, ὁ δὲ εὐημεροῦντων μέμνηται· Εὐμήλος δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος πρεσβύτερος ὢν ἐπιβεβληκέναι Ἀρχία τῷ Συρακούσας κτίσαντι (test. 1 EGEF).

28 Paus. 4.33.2: ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ (sc. οἱ Μεσσήνιοι) ἑορτὴν ἐπέτειον Ἰθωμαῖα, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐτίθεσαν μουσικῆς· τεκμαίρεσθαι δ’ ἔστιν ἄλλοις τε καὶ Εὐμήλου τοῖς ἔπεσιν· ἐποίησε γοῦν καὶ τάδε ἐν τῷ προσοδίῳ τῷ ἐς Δῆλον· ‘τῷ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτι καταθύμιος ἐπλετο μοῖσα | ἁ καθαρὰ καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ’ ἔχουσα’. οὐκοῦν ποιῆσαι μοι δοκεῖ τὰ ἔπη καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα ἐπιστάμενος τιθέντας.

29 Paus. 4.4.1: ἐπὶ δὲ Φίντα τοῦ Συβότα πρῶτον Μεσσήνιοι τότε τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐς Δῆλον θυσίαν καὶ ἀνδρῶν χορὸν ἀποστέλλουσι· τὸ δὲ σφισιν ἄισμα προσόδιον ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἐδίδαξεν Εὐμήλος, εἶναι τε ὡς ἀληθῶς Εὐμήλου νομίζεται μόνα τὰ ἔπη ταῦτα (test. 6 EGEF).

30 Pavese (1987) 53–7; Grandolini (1987–1988) 31–4.

31 See the text in n. 15.

32 (1889) 7–8.

33 (1992) 224.

34 D’Alessio (2009) 144.

35 D’Alessio (2009) 144.

36 (1955) 190.

37 (2012) 74–7.

38 (2013) 42.

39 (2002) 109; see also Bowra (1963) 152.

40 See the discussion by West (2002, 110) with further bibliography.

41 West (2002) 110.

42 West (2002) 109.

43 *Su* v 500 (III 479.25–8 Adler): <Νόστος> ἡ οἰκαδε ἐπάνοδος, παρὰ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἡδύ. ἢ ἡ ἀνάδοσις τῆς γεύσεως. καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ δὲ οἱ τοὺς Νόστους ὑμνήσαντες ἔπονται τῷ Ὀμήρῳ ἐς ὅσον εἰσὶ δυνατοί. φαίνεται ὅτι οὐ μόνος εἷς εὕρισκόμενος ἔγραψε νόστον Ἀχαιῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τινες ἕτεροι (ex marg. add. codd. GM).

44 So Debiasi (2003a, 4 and n. 31 = 2015, 21 n. 31), who goes so far as to attribute the fragment of the Cyclic *Nostoi* referring to Aison’s rejuvenation (7 PEG = 6 EGF = 6 GEF) to Eumelos’ *Korinthiaka*.

45 See D’Alessio (2014a, 44) with whom I side on this issue. Very speculative seems to me the suggestion of Debiasi (2005, 43–58 = 2015, 47–67) that P.Oxy 3698 (containing early hexameters with an Argonautic content and a ‘Homeric tincture’) was part of Eumelos’ *Korinthiaka* and, even more (2013b, 21–36 = 2015, 23–45) that P.Oxy. 2513 (probably referring to the sacrifice of Iphigeneia), which Janko (1982b, 25–9) has tentatively attributed to the *Cypria*, may have come from the same poem (i.e. the *Korinthiaka*) as well; see D’Alessio’s (2014a, 45–6) discussion of the problems connected with this issue.

46 See the more detailed discussion under ‘Title’ for each epic.

[47](#) Will (1955) 128–9; West (2002) 128–9.

[48](#) For other similar references, see *EGF*, p. 13 on test. *1.

[49](#) Apollodoros begins his *Bibliothēke* by stating that Ouranos was the first ruler of the world, not that the world ‘came to life’ with Ouranos. See Dietze (1914) 524.

50 See *EGM* fr. 6–22.

51 See the analysis of *Tit.* fr. *9 *EGEF* below.

52 This case is different from the use of ἱστορεῖ/ἱστοροῦσιν for Eumelos and Simonides *ap.* Σ *Eur. Med.* 9 and 19 respectively. The verb ἱστορεῖν can be employed for a poet but not the term ἱστοριογράφος, unless we are dealing with a prose epitome or paraphrase of a poetic work.

53 2.1.1.

54 See above.

55 277d. This piece of information is inferred from the fact that immediately afterwards Athenaios says that Sophocles was fond of the Epic Cycle. This point makes sense only if his previous citation of two verses from a *Titanomachy* came from the Cyclic *Titanomachy*.

56 Davies (1989) 13.

57 (2015) 203. On the other hand, some problems remain. For example, the fact that Philodemos in the 1st century BC knew that the theogonic section of the Cyclic *Titanomachy* started with Aither as the creator of all things indicates that the long ago compiled Epic Cycle (4th c. BC) had not succeeded in erasing completely the theogonic section in Eumelos' *Titanomachy*. In addition, D'Alessio's suggestion is against the fact that overlaps of content between poems in the Epic Cycle were not eliminated. On this point, see West (2013) 15–16, to whom I owe these observations (personal communication).

58 For a similar remark with respect to other Cyclic epics, see Burgess (2001) 30–3 and nn. 87–8.

59 The reading Γίγαντομαχίαν is generally assumed to be an error for Τιτανομαχίαν; see *GEF*, p. 231 n. 11.

60 (1810) 73.

61 See Vian (1952) 169–222.

62 Often the defeated side. The same is the case with certain wars: Trojan War, Messenian Wars, Persian Wars (τὰ Μηδικά); see the comment of Pausanias (4.6.1), who stresses that these wars were named after the defeated side because of the size of the disasters inflicted on them (in the manner of the Trojan and Persian Wars that were named likewise and not by means of those who led an expedition against their enemy).

63 The number can grow to nine, if we add one case (*Ap. Rh.* 1.554 [p. 47.20–1 Wendel]), in which Γίγαντομαχίαν is a scribal error for Τιτανομαχίαν.

64 For a complete list of the sources for the *Titanomachy*, see the Index of Sources by Author or Poem at the end of the volume.

65 The expression ἡ Ἀρκτῖνος is omitted by MS E and has been added in the margin of C (obviously because of *Athen.* 7.277d).

66 See West (2002) 109–10; Debiasi (2004) 73.

67 See Debiasi (2004) 72 n. 7.

68 *Pace* Bremmer (2004) 37, who believes that Aigaion/Briareos was a Hundred-Hander in the *Titanomachy*.

69 See Welcker (18822) II 415; Pohlenz (1916) 588 n. 2; West (2002) 113–14.

70 See *Apollod. Bibl.* 1.2.2–5.

71 See Robertson (1951) 150–5; St. West (1994) 129–49; West (2002) 114 n. 20; Fowler, *EGM* II §1.5, pp. 21–6.

72 Pausanias (4.4.1) maintains that the προσόδιον was the only authentic poem of Eumelos. See Will (1955) 126–9, who emphasizes the fact that the προσόδιον is the only poem Pausanias cites and argues for the existence of a body of Corinthian verse that was in various stages attributed to this legendary poet.

73 West (1997) 86, 97, 303, (2002) 111.

74 *Il.* 15.187–92.

75 *Paus.* 5.8.7. See also *Hom. Il.* 8.185, 11.699; *Hom. Od.* 13.81–3.

76 *Fr.* 12 *IEG*.

77 *Heracleia* fr. 5 *GEF*.

78 West (2002) 130.

79 See Duchemin (1974) 33–67, (1979) 35, (1980) 33, 43; West (1994) 129–49; see also Bremmer (1998) 44, (2004) 41 = (2008) 105–6; skepticism expressed by: West (1997) 581–2; Fowler, *EGM* II §3.2, pp. 114–17.

80 See *PV* 231–6, 442–506. For dependence of the *Titanomachy* on the *Prometheus Vincitus*, see Fraenkel in Roncalli (1994) 7; St. West (1994) 129–49.

81 *O.* 9.49–51.

82 Fr. 113 *PCG* 1, with *ἀλφραῖς*, the term employed for Deukalion's vessel, used several times; see West (1985) 55–6; St. West (1994) 133 and n. 20; also West (2002) 130, who notes that the Flood story 'was apparently absent from the *Catalogue of Women*'.

83 According to Pherekydes of Syros (7 A 9 D–K), the origins of the cosmos were Zeus (= Aither), Chthonie (= Earth), and Chronos (= Time). In Empedokles heat and aither (his four elements being *πῦρ* 'fire', *ἀήρ* 'air', *ὕδωρ* 'water', *γῆ* 'earth') are named 'Zeus' (31 A 33 D–K), while the upper air is named 'Titan aither' (B 38, 4) and is described as 'binding tightly the entire globe' (σφιγγὼν περὶ κύκλον ἅπαντα). For some unknown authors, Aither and Hades were the creators of everything (... λέγεται τὰ πάντα, ἐν δὲ τισιν ἐξ Ἀϊδου καὶ Αἰθέρος, Mousaios 2 B 14 D–K). Herakleitos may have considered cosmic fire as the same with aither, 'the brilliant fiery stuff which fills the shining sky and surrounds the world; (Kirk, Raven, and Schofield 1983, 198). Interestingly enough, Euripides' version (*Chrys.* fr. 839.1–8 *TrGF* 5.2) that Aither is the generator of both men and gods, while the E/ earth that receives the drops of rain is rightly considered the mother of all, is closer to the view expressed in the *Titanomachy* than the beliefs expressed by other Presocratics. On the immortal nature of A/aither in fifth- and fourth-century thought, see Arist. *de caelo* B1, 284a11; *IG*² I, 945, 6; [Hippokrates] *de carnibus* 2; Eur. fr. 941 incert. fab. *TrGF* 5.2, *Helen* 1014–16; Ar. *Pax* 832–3. See also Kranz (1967) 91–2; Kirk, Raven, and Schofield (1983) 199.

84 Kirk, Raven, and Schofield (1983) 199.

85 Not to be confused with the ἄκμων ('anvil') used in other passages of 'theogonic' filtering in archaic epic (Hom. *Il.* 15.19, *Th.* 722, 724). See West (1966) 360 on *Th.* 722.

86 (1989) 14.

87 See West (2007a) 342–3.

88 See Beckwith (1998) 95; West (2007a) 342.

89 On Akmonia, see Steph. Byz. α 162 (I 114.12–22 Billerbeck). Akmon is the brother of Doias; see Steph. Byz. δ 103 (II 52.24–25 Billerbeck-Zubler; see fr. 2 below).

90 See *RE* 1.1 s.v. 'akmon', cols. 1173–4 [Hoefer]; Gruppe (1906) I 271 n. 5.

91 (2002) 110 and n. 8; *Tit.* fr. 2 *GEF*.

92 (2015) 203–4.

93 See the translation of Bekker (1837) 84: '*Eumelus autem Corinthius Jovem in nostra Lydia natum vult, et propius a veritate abest, quoad in historia (positum est)*'.

94 See Paus. 2.1.1.

95 West (2002) 118; Fowler (*EGM* II p. 656) does not seem to exclude this possibility ('Clement, test. 1, says that Eumelos converted Hesiod to prose, which in theory might refer to Eumelos' *Titanomachy*'); cf. D'Alessio (2015) 204 n. 24.

96 Fowler, *EGM* II p. 656 n. 2. I take it that this is Davies' view too, since he places this fragment under *dubia* (fr. 4 *EGF*, p. 103), although *incerti operis* would have been a better designation of this category of fragments containing an explicit ascription to Eumelos.

97 An earlier reference to a ἱμελίας cannot refer to Εὔμηλος, as suggested by Lobeck (1829, 1047, n. i), since the following designation of Eumelos with his toponymic (Εὔμηλος ὁ Κορίνθιος) shows that a new name is introduced (West 2002, 110 n. 8). Perhaps the Neoplatonist Ἀμέλιος, student of Plotinos, is the right reading, as suggested by Wuensch (see crit. app. *ad loc.*), given that Lydus mentions him by name (*Peri menon* 4.85).

98 (2002) 111.

99 This confusion concerning Zeus' birthplace has been interpreted as reflecting city-rivalry at a regional level; see Bremmer (2009) 297; Fowler, *EGM* II, §1.7.5, p. 50 and n. 191;

100 See *RE* 13.2, s.v. 'Lydos' (5), col. 2212 [Klotz].

101 There was also a cult of Demeter-Taupopolos in Kopais; see Gruppe (1906) I 71 n. 1.

102 See *EM* p. 258.33–8 (Gaisford); Zon. I 491 (Tittmann).

103 See Gruppe (1906) I 271.

104 For a similar role of Aigaion/Briareos, see Antim. *Theb.* fr. 14 (Matthews), Virg. *Aen.* 10.565–8, and Stat. *Theb.* 2.596. Virgil and his commentators do not contain an ascription to Eumelos or the *Titanomachy*, but since (a) they agree with the content of Σ Ap. Rh. 1.1165c (p. 106.1–3 Wendel) that specifically refers to Eumelos' *Titanomachy* and (b) they designate the same episode of the clash between Zeus (and the Olympians) and the Titans, they can be plausibly quoted as referring to Eumelos' poem with the same subject matter; see *GEF*, pp. 224–5. Aigaion had a special association with the Titans, whose ancient habitat was Euboea. There were cults in honor of Briareos in Karystos (who was also called Αἰγαῖν according to Steph. Byz. κ 103 [III 48.10–11 Billerbeck] and Eust. on Hom. *Il.* 281.4 [I 432.7 van der Valk]) and of Aigaion in Chalkis (Sol. 11.16: *Briareo enim rem divinam Carystii faciunt, sicut Aegaoni Chalcidienses: nam omnis ferme Euboea Titanum fuit regnum*). Euboea was also called Τῑτανίς (Hesych. τ 972 [52 H–C]); see Bremmer (2004) 37; Debiasi (2004) 84; D'Alessio (2015) 203.

105 West (2002) 111.

106 Highly conjectural and speculative are the arguments of Beschi (2014, 31–60), who argues that Aigaion/Briareos was a Giant born from Pontos and Gaia and claims (partly following 19th-century scholars and Debiasi 2004, 81–94) that Σ Pind. *N.* 3.40 (III 48 Drachmann) should be assigned to the *Titanomachy*; cf. *Tit.* fr. 16 (falsum) *PEG* = fr. 6 *EGF* (adespota et dubia, p. 160).

107 (1914) 533, 536–7.

108 None of the sources pertaining to fr. 3 *EGEF* speaks of the three Hundred-Handers assisting the Titans collectively. Even Servius auctus on *Aen.* 10.565 (II 450.8–10 Thilo et Hagen) explicitly refers only to Briareos as being involved in the war, despite the fact that he designates Kottos and Gyges as his brothers.

109 147–9.

110 The Eumelian Briareos is not the son-in-law of Poseidon, as in Hes. *Th.* 817–19, in which he is married to Poseidon's daughter Kymopoleia. The Iliadic Briareos/Aigaion is perhaps the son of Poseidon (Hom. *Il.* 1.404), but this is probably the result of the adaptation of an older oral tradition to its Iliadic context. Differently, Σ (D) Hom. *Il.* 1.404 Z^s [p. 48 van Thiel] (where Briareos is designated as son of Ouranos on the basis of Hes. *Th.* 147–9).

111 See D'Alessio (2015) 204, who regards West's proposal as conjectural and draws attention to the fact that in the *Korinthiaka* (fr. 18.3 *EGEF*), the Sun is the *son* of Hyperion. I side with West (2002) 125, who offers a convincing explanation; see also my comments on *Kor.* fr. 18 (below).

112 See also my analysis on the relevant fragment of the *Korinthiaka* (fr. *17 *EGEF*).

113 West (2002) 112.

114 Thetis' role seems to be an *ad hoc* invention too. See Kullmann (1960) 15 n. 2; Reinhardt (1961) 36.

115 According to Cebrián (2012) 112–13, the enigmatic ὁ γὰρ αὐτε βίην οὗ πατρός ἀμείνων (*Il.* 1.404) referring to Briareos' supremacy over his father Poseidon must be seen against the backdrop of conflicting traditions designating Briareos as victorious over Poseidon (οὗτος καὶ τὸν πατέρα Ποσειδῶνα κατεβράβευεν: Σ (D) Hom. *Il.* 1.400/Z^s [p. 47 van Thiel]) or vice versa (Σ Ap. Rh. 1.1165 [p. 105.9–11 Wendel] = Conon *FGrHist* 26 F 2: Αἰγαίων καταγωνισθεὶς ὑπὸ Ποσειδῶνος κατεποντίσθη εἰς τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἥριον Αἰγαίονος). Cebrián sees in these conflicting traditions relics of the different phases in a struggle between different generations of gods: in the first phase, Briareos was victorious against his father, the god of the sea, but in the next phase (in the manner of Zeus' struggle against Typhoeus), the god rearmed himself and defeated Briareos. This reconstruction is not compatible with Eumelos. The analogy Cebrián draws with the clash between Zeus and

Typhoeus presupposes a non-Hesiodic archaic version featuring the two-phase struggle (as we find it in later texts, e.g. Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.6.3).

116 West (1997) 352, (2011) 94 on Hom. *Il.* 1.400; see also Σ (D) Hom. *Il.* 1.399/Z^s and 1.400/Z^s (p. 47 van Thiel).

117 See Pausanias 2.1.6, 2.4.6.

118 The Sun's special role in the *Titanomachy* and his appearance in the *Korinthiaka* is at home in a 'Corinthian Epic Cycle', since the Sun was a preeminent deity in Corinth.

119 See *Tit.* fr. *5 *EGEF*.

120 See West (2002) 116.

121 Welcker (18822) II 415; Pohlenz (1916) 588 n. 2; West (2002) 113.

122 See also *Tit.* fr. 3 *EGEF* on Aigaion/Briareos.

123 See *EGF*, p. 19.

124 (2015) 199–212.

125 See Reinhardt (1949) 41; also Preller and Robert (1894) I 94 n. 4; *adesp. TrGF* 2, fr. *8i. Ἴθαξ in particular recalls such comic suffixes as those of πλούτ-αξ, χλεύ-αξ etc. (I owe this point to A. Cassio [personal communication]). On the other hand, since names like Οἴαξ are attested in non-comic poetic texts (e.g. [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 297 M–W; Eur. *Or.* 432) the 'comic tone' of Ἴθαξ is not guaranteed.

126 *EDG* s.v. ἰθαγενής.

127 See Robert (1963) 45–7.

128 *GEW*, *DELG*, *Lfgre*, and *EDG* s.v. εἴθαρ are all skeptical about the connection of εἴθαρ to ἰθύς because of the long i, but nevertheless cite it as the best alternative.

129 Hesych. ι 386 (II 354 Latte).

130 Hesych. ι 385 (II 354 Latte).

131 See also Muellner (1996) 84 n. 76. On several attempts to etymologize the name Prometheus on the basis of the Sanskrit *pramantha* 'a fire-stick', see Kuhn (1855) 124 and (1859) 12–18; for a refutation of this theory, see *RE* 23.1, s.v. 'Prometheus', cols. 689–90 (Eckhart) with further bibliography; see also Roscher, III 3033–4 (Bapp).

132 St. West (1994) 139.

133 See also *PV* 197–241.

134 See West (1983) 126, who argues that 'it is hard to see why the inventor of the Cycle should have chosen to begin with this theogony rather than Hesiod's but for the greater authority of Orpheus' name'.

135 See West (1983) 126; (2002) 114–15.

136 West (2002) 114.

137 In one of the most famous passages with respect to the Epic Cycle (*Bibliothèque* 239.319a.17– 239.319b.5), Photios makes it clear that, according to Proklos' *Chrestomathy*, the Cycle began with the mingling of Ouranos and Gaia and the birth of the three Hundred-Handers and the three Kyklopes (Διαλαμβάνει δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ λεγομένου ἐπικοῦ κύκλου, ὃς ἄρχεται μὲν ἐκ τῆς Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς μυθολογουμένης μίξεως, ἐξ ἧς αὐτῶι καὶ τρεῖς παῖδας ἑκατοντάχειρας καὶ τρεῖς γεννῶσι Κύκλωπας). This 'theogonic' beginning seems to have belonged to an independent poem, since the theogonic section of the *Titanomachy* started with Aither. See recently D'Alessio (2015) 199– 202, who seems skeptical (but not negative) with respect to the existence of such a poem at an early date and claims that '[e]ven if obviously containing much older material, the *Theogony* in its edited form might have been one of the most recent poems in the Cycle'.

138 But not with the names Brontes, Steropes, and Argos given by Apollodoros (and Hesiod); see below.

139 ἄλλά may indicate Ouranos' change of behavior.

140 See Ogden (2013) 85–6, 115, 117, 165.

141 See Σ Nik. *Alex.* 413d (p. 148 Geymonat): <κάμπη> ὄφτις.

142 = Dion. Skytobr. 32 F 8 *FGrHist* = fr. 10 Rusten.

143 Fontenrose (1959) 243–5.

144 Cited by Hesych. κ 613 (II 406 Latte). Is this a play with Keto (κῆτος-Κητώ) from whom various monsters are born?

145 Lyk. *Alex.* 414; see also Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 413 (II 152.26 [Scheer]: καμπέων καὶ κητῶν, and p. 79.21–2 Leone: κάμπη δὲ τὰ κήτη).

146 Cf. Gigon (1961) xvi [in: Dörig and Gigon]; Gerbeau and Vian (1992) 26–9; West (2002) 115; D’Alessio (2015) 204.

147 See the commentary on fr. *9 *EGEF*.

148 In Irish tradition it is all the Dé Danann who receive weapons from the three divine craftsmen, Credne (a metal-worker), Luchta (a carpenter), and the most prominent of the three brothers Goibniu (a smith), so that they can defeat the Fomoiré; see West (2007a) 155.

149 Hyg. *Fab.* 183; see West (2002) 115 n. 24.

- 150** In Apollod. *Bibl.* 6.2.2, Hermes wears Hades' helmet and kills the Giant Hippolytos.
- 151** On Hades' helmet of invisibility, see Roeger (1924). See also Hom. *Il.* 5.845, where Athene wears Hades' cap to escape the notice of Ares. Nobody, to my knowledge, has explained both why Athene does not resort to the usual cloud or mist to attain invisibility and how she happened to have Hades' cap in her hands; see West (2011) 171 on Hom. *Il.* 5.845. Kirk (1990, 147 on Hom. *Il.* 5.844–5) unconvincingly suggested that 'the cloud mechanism would seem too unwieldy for a divinity in motion and with a mortal close behind her' and that given the untypical context an untypical detail may have been employed.
- 152** See West (2002) 113, 125, 129.
- 153** Line 519 (= 747) is bracketed in Solmsen's OCT edition; it has been suspected by Guyet as an interpolation from 747. But it is clear, despite the harsh syntax, that ἐσπῆώς goes with πρόπαρ Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων in the preceding line, just as it goes with τῶν πρόσθ' in 746–7. Therefore, the note in the critical apparatus 'pedibus stat A., non capite et manibus' is off the mark. West (1966, 311 on *Th.* 519) suggests that Hesiod may be thinking of Atlas holding the earth on his erect head and hands 'like an architectural Telamon or a Caryatid', in contrast to his more widespread representation with bowed head.
- 154** For a near-eastern predecessor of this version, see A. Lesky (1950) 148–55. In the *Song of Ullikummi* (I C iii 23, III A iii 23–47), the giant Ubelluri, who has the stone child Ullikummi on his shoulders as it grows from the sea, is holding both sky and earth.
- 155** West (1966) 311 on *Th.* 517.
- 156** See West (1997) 148–9.
- 157** See Hes. *Th.* 517: κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης.
- 158** (1997) 296.
- 159** For this possibility, see West (2002) 113, who refers to an idiosyncratic version reported by Hyginus (*Fab.* 150), in which Juno urges the Titans to revolt and dethrone Zeus after the birth of Epaphos to Io. After the Titans are defeated by Zeus who is assisted by children not born to Juno (Minerva, Apollo, and Artemis), Atlas, who is the leader of the Titans, is punished by being condemned to hold the sky on his shoulders.
- 160** *Th.* 510.
- 161** *Th.* 514.
- 162** Translation by Most (2006).
- 163** The other children of Iapetos and Klymene are also punished by Zeus: Atlas (*Th.* 517–19) and Prometheus (*Th.* 521–5). Epimetheus is an exception, since his wrongdoing results in the punishment of humans (Hes. *Th.* 511–14; Hes. *Op.* 85–9).
- 164** = fr. 13 *EGEF*.
- 165** On Cheiron in the *Titanomachy*, see also fr. 14 *EGEF*.
- 166** Differently Carrière and Massonnie (1991, 164), who argue that only 1.1–1.2.1 (§§ 1–7) come from the *Titanomachy*.
- 167** See West *GEF*, p. 229; D'Alessio (2015) 202 n. 19; also my comments under 'Authorship' (above).
- 168** The fragment is rightly called by Davies (1989, 15) un-Homeric, since 'no god dances in Homer'.
- 169** This is the standard view, since Welcker (18822) II 412. See also Severyns (1928) 166; Vian (1952) 172; Kranz (1967) 93–4; Huxley (1969) 24; Bernabé, *PEG* 14 n. 6; Lebedev (1998) 3; West (2002) 116, (2003) 229 n. 10; D'Alessio (2015) 207. Dörig and Gigon (1961, xix) have argued that this fragment refers to the dance of the Kouretes when Zeus was born, but this is extremely unlikely, since the formula πατήρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε could not have been used for the infant Zeus; see Lebedev (1998) 3 n. 2. On the dancing of the Kouretes at Zeus' birth, see West (1966) 291–2 on *Th.* 453–506.
- 170** Diod. Sik. 6.4 *apud* Tertull. *De corona militis* 7: *Saturnum Pherecydes* (D–K 7 B 4) *ante omnes refert coronatum, Iovem Diodorus post devictos Titanas hoc munere a ceteris honoratum*.
- 171** Tib. 2.5.7–10: *nunc indue uestem / sepositam, longas nunc bene pecte comas, / qualem te*

memorant Saturno rege fugato / uictori laudes concinuisse Ioui; Sen. Ag. 338–41: *licet et chorda grauiore sonet, / quale canebat / cum Titanas fulmine uictos / uidere dei*.

172 *Ant. Rom.* 7.72.7: Ἑλληνικὸν δ' ἄρα καὶ τοῦτ' ἦν ἐν τοῖς πάνυ παλαιὸν ἐπιτήδευμα, ἐνόπλιος ὄρχησις ἢ καλουμένη πυρρίχη, εἴτ' Ἀθηνᾶς πρώτης ἐπὶ Τιτάνων ἀφανισμῶι χορεύειν καὶ ὀρχεῖσθαι σὺν τοῖς ὅλοις τῶνινικία ὑπὸ χαρᾶς ἀρξαμένης. Needless to say, such a scene could not have featured in the Eumelian *Titanomachy*, since Athena was born after the defeat of the Titans; see D'Alessio (2015) 208.

173 *HF* 178–80: ἐν οἷς βεβηκῶς τοῖσι γῆς βλαστήμασιν / Γίγασι πλευροῖς πτήν' ἐναρμόσας βέλη / τὸν καλλίνικον μετὰ θεῶν ἐκόμασεν (Herakles dances the καλλίνικος χορός together with the gods).

174 *Fr.* 31 *PCG* 5: λεπάδας δὲ πετρῶν ἀποκόπτοντες κρεμβαλιάζουσιν. This point, made by Wilamowitz (19594, see commentary on vv. 177–80) is repeated by Lebedev (1998, 3 n. 3) on the basis of written communication with Martin West, who does not mention this passage in his own work (2002, 116 n. 28). Kaibel (quoted in the apparatus of Hermippos fr. 31 *PCG* 5) thinks that this line has nothing to do with a Gigantomachy but may well refer to the gods' reveling and dancing after a divine symposium.

175 4.13 *GDRK*: Ζῆνα γ]ιγαντοφόνοιο κυβερνητῆρα χορεῖν[ς.

176 See Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1929) 43; Vian (1952) 173–4; D'Alessio (2015) 207–8.

177 Koenen and Merkelbach (1976) 3–26.

178 See D'Alessio (2015) 208–9.

179 See Davies (1989) 16; Lebedev (1998) 3–4.

180 This may be a ring-dance with Zeus in the middle. Given that this most ancient dance is traditionally linked with springs and altars, we may infer that it took place near some spring on Mt Mekone. On the ring-dance, see Oesterley (1923) 88–106; West (1966) 52 on *Th.* 3–4.

181 For the use of a similar expression in the context of festivities, see *Hom. Il.* 18.569–72 (τοῖσιν δ' ἐν μέσσοισι πάϊς φόρμιγγι λγείηι / ἱμερόεν κιθάριζε, λίνον δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἔειδε / λεπταλέη φωνῇ· τοὶ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἀμαρτήι / μολπήι τ' ἰυγμῶι τε ποσὶ σκαίροντες ἔποντο), in which the lyre-player who is the focus of attention is standing in the middle.

182 (1998) 4.

183 See also the problems associated with fr. 13 *EGEF* (below).

184 Gigon (1961) xvi in Dörig and Gigon; Janko (1992) 247 on *Hom. Il.* 15.185–93 attributes this fragment to the Orphic *Theogonies* (fr. 236 *PEG* II.1) but no reference to a casting of lots is found there; see also D'Alessio (2015) 204 n. 27.

185 For other examples from Greek poetry referring to the theme of the division of the world by the gods (with or without mentioning any casting of lots) or Zeus distributing the various privileges on his own, see *Hes. Th.* 112 and 885; *Alkm. PMG* 65 (with reservations); *HHom to Demeter* (2) 85–7, *HHom to Poseidon* (22) 4; *Pind. Ol.* 7.55; *Pl. Grg.* 523a 3–5; *Kall. Hymn* 1.60–5, *Ait.* fr. 119.2 (Harder); *SH* 990.3–11; *Σ Ap. Rh.* 1.308b (p. 35.15–16 Wendel); *Nik. Th.* 343–5. For dividing property among humans by casting lots, see *Hom. Od.* 14.208–10; *Stes. Theb.* fr. 97.220–4 (Finglass); also Finglass (2013a) 10.

186 Burkert (1992) 90–1; there are also some differences between the two epics: whereas in the *Iliad* the three realms include the sky, the underworld, and the sea, in the Akkadian epic there is no mention of the underworld (sky, earth, and sea). Moreover, in the Iliadic passage it is explicitly said that the earth and Olympos are common to all three gods, while in the *Atrahasis* the earth belongs to Enlil and nothing is said about a common domain. See also West (1997, 109–10), who draws attention to the Sumerian poem *Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Nether World* (though no casting of lots is involved) and a Hittite text referring to the casting of lots (but not about the distribution of the universe), and West (2002) 115 n. 25.

187 'Herakleitos' *Hom. Alleg.* 41.5; *Strabo* 8.6.25; *Steph. Byz.* σ 158 (IV 180.2 Billerbeck and Neumann-Hartmann).

188 Σ (BD) *Pind. N.* 9.123b (III 163.16–18 Drachmann).

189 West (2002) 116, 128.

190 See Harder (2012) II 912–13 on *Kall. Ait.* fr. 119.1.

- 191** As in Eur. *Hek.* 472 and *IT* 224; see Harder (2012) II 914–15 on Kall. *Ait.* fr. 119.2–3.
- 192** So D’Alessio (2015) 204.
- 193** See Schober’s suggestion for the missing part of the papyrus: φυλάτ<εσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑσπερίδων, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀρπυιῶν τὸν Τάρταρον.> Cf. Davies (1989) 18, who entertains the possibility that the guardians of the apples were represented ‘as the snake referred to by, for instance, Hes. *Th.* 333ff.’.
- 194** The syntax of this passage renders unlikely the interpretation of Bernardini (2011, 167), who claims that in both the *Titanomachy* and Epimenides the apples would be protected by the Harpyiai; on this point, see D’Alessio (2014b) 94 n. 43.
- 195** Iconographic representations of the Hesperides episode always include Herakles and, since 560, Atlas too; see Padgett (2014) 43–51.
- 196** Thus Kranz (1967) 95; see also St. West (1994) 146–7.
- 197** (2002) 113.
- 198** (2014b) 94, (2015) 207; see also Davies and Finglass (2014) 264–5 on Stes. fr. 10 (Finglass).
- 199** Observe that his catalogue of the children of Nyx is very compact, with brief expansions of a few items by means of relative clauses.

- 200** (1966) 258 on Hes. *Th.* 333.
- 201** (2002) 113.
- 202** See Bernardini (2011) 159–76; *EGM*, p. 312 and Fowler, *EGM* II §8.4.10, pp. 291–9.
- 203** See Mimnermos fr. 12 *IEG*. Differently Davies (1989) 15–16, who does not think that these two fragments (*Tit.* fr. 4A+B and 7 *EGF*) belong to the same scene.
- 204** Cf. Severyns (1928) 166; Kranz (1967) 95; see my analysis of fr. 11 *EGEF*.
- 205** See Kranz (1967) 92–3, who has suggested that the Eumelian hexameter referring to the mares of the Sun’s chariot may have started by the formula Βρόντην τε Στερόπην τε, as in Hes. *Th.* 140, 286, 707, 845, 854. The traditional explanation for Βρόντη is that it is the horse’s hooves that cause the thunder (Gigon 1961 [in Dörig and Gigon 1961], xviii; Barigazzi 1966a, 137; Davies 1989, 15); but in this way lightning remains unexplained and, what is more important, it is difficult to explicate why the other female horse is associated with lightning, since the Sun’s movement in the sky is *not* linked to lightning at all (so, West 2002, 117).
- 206** For near-eastern parallels, see West (1997) 115 and 507, with reference to nine storm demons functioning as yoke-animals of Shamash, the Assyrian equivalent to the Sun.
- 207** (2002) 117. For the idea that a horse brings to Zeus thunder and lightning, see the role of Pegasus in Hes. *Th.* 285–6 and Eur. *Beller.* fr. 312 *TrGF* 5.1.
- 208** (1849) 556.
- 209** *PEG*, p. 14 (app. crit. on fr. 7).
- 210** See Davies and Finglass (2014) 255.
- 211** See Brize (1990) §§2550–2, from South Italy, Ialysos, and Vulci. Cf. Dörig and Gigon (1961) 59–62.
- 212** See Brize (1990) §2548 (c. 500–450), §2549 (c. 550–475), both from Athens. On Athena helping Herakles against Geryoneus, see Beckel (1961) 48–9; Davies and Finglass (2014) 237.
- 213** Fr. 18 *EGM*.
- 214** Late sixth century: see Brize (1990) §2545.
- 215** ca. 550–475; see Brize (1990) §2546.
- 216** Panyassis refers to a φιάλη, but may have followed Pisander and Stesichoros who referred to a δέπας. The term φιάλη had various meanings and was also used even in the sense of λέβης (by Euphron: see fr. 14 Lightfoot); see D’Alessio (2014b) 92.
- 217** Athenaios continues to ‘move’ within the framework of the section devoted to Herakles; see D’Alessio (2014b) 89.
- 218** Translation by Olson (2008).
- 219** I have made these observations independently from D’Alessio (2014b) 89. I am happy to see that he stresses the contextual parameters of Athenaios’ citation and that we arrive at similar conclusions.
- 220** = fr. 8b Finglass: τὸν δὲ Ἥλιον ὁ Στησίχορος ποτηρίῳ διαπλεῖν φησι τὸν Ὠκεανόν, ᾧ καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα περαιωθῆναι ἐπὶ τὰς Γηρυόνου βόας ὀρμῶντα (‘Stesichoros (fr. 8a Finglass) claims that the Sun used to sail across the Okeanos in a drinking cup, and that Herakles as well used it to get to the other side when he set off after the cattle of Geryoneus’, translation by Olson 2009 with some modifications).
- 221** Cf. Kranz (1967) 95, who opts for an association with Herakles, arguing that the reference to the Sun’s bowl in the *Titanomachy* could have been employed in the context of the episode of Heracles’ journey to obtain the apples of the Hesperides; differently West (2002) 113.
- 222** See Dolceti (2004) 145–7, 152–3; Fowler, *EGM* II § 8.4.10, pp. 291–9; D’Alessio (2014b) 93–4, (2015) 204.
- 223** See D’Alessio (2014b) 91, who describes the reference to the cauldron by Agatharchides of Knidos and Alexander of Ephesos as ‘rationalistic’ and draws attention to Euphron’s (fr. 72 Lightfoot) mention of a bronze light-vessel (ἄκατος), playing with the word’s secondary meaning of ‘boat-shaped cup’.

- 224** For Indo-European parallels, see West (2007a) 203–7. See D’Alessio (2014b) 91–2 (to whom I owe this note): in the *Nostoi* (fr. 6 *GEF*), Medeia cooks and rejuvenates Aison in a cauldron (in another version she cooks a ram in order to deceive the daughters of Pelias who thus kill their own father); in the Orphic *Theogony* (36 V and 59 F *PEG* II.1) Apollo preserves the members of Dionysos/Zagreus in a cauldron in Delphi, so that Rhea can make the dismembered god rise again in full form; in Pindar (*O.* 1.26–7) Klotho makes Pelops come out from a cauldron with an ivory-shoulder; in Aischylos (fr. 1, *TrGF* 3) Learchos, the son of Ino and Athamas is cooked in a cauldron and then immortalized (see *RE* 15.1 s.v. ‘Melikertes’ col. 515 (Lesky) and the inscription *OGIS* II, 611 = *SEG* XLIII, 1041, in which the expression ἀποθεωθέντος ἐν τῷ λέβητι is used).
- 225** See Dietze (1914) 535; Vian (1952) 171; Dörig and Gigon (1961) xx.
- 226** See Eur. *Hek.* 472 and *IT* 224. See also Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1929) 43; Vian (1952) 174; D’Alessio (2015) 208.
- 227** See e.g. Severyns (1928) 169–70; St. West (1994) 145–6; Debiasi (2004) 86–93, (2015) 55–6.
- 228** West (2002) 117 n. 36. See also Mayer (1887); Vian (1952); Dörig and Gigon (1961).
- 229** Hesiod’s μέγα ἔργον (‘great deed’) accomplished by Herakles (*Th.* 954) is no doubt the Gigantomachy, since it is standardly associated with the hero’s deification (Pind. *N.* 1.67–72; Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 87–98; Nonn. *Dion.* 4.45–8). This piece of information is in accordance with Apoll. *Bibl.* 1.6.1 that Zeus would only be victorious against the Giants through the help of a mortal (Herakles). See West (1966) 419 on Hes. *Th.* 954; on the full set of meanings of μέγα ἔργον, see Finglass (2005) 630–1.
- 230** See also the analysis of Eum. fr. *37 *EGEF* (below).
- 231** Translation by Leshner (1992) 47–8.
- 232** St. West (1994) 146 n. 78.
- 233** See Robertson (1951) 150–5, with a thorough discussion of the matter and a review of all previous bibliography; see also St. West (1994) 129–49; West (2002) 114 n. 20; Fowler, *EGM* II §1.5, pp. 21–6.
- 234** See the analysis of the plot of the *Titanomachy* (above).
- 235** West (2002) 117 following Welcker (18822) II 414–20 and St. West (1994) 129–49; Fowler, *EGM* II §1.5, pp. 23–4.
- 236** See Stes. fr. 21–4 (Finglass); the fullest accounts are Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.4, Diod. *Sik.* 4.12. On the Heracles-Pholos episode, see Wolf (1993) 171–2; Bremmer (2012) 140–2; Davies and Finglass (2014) 238–9, 248.
- 237** Davies is the only one of the main editors of archaic Greek epic fragments who does not place the two references to Cheiron in a row. Instead, he places fr. 14 *EGEF* earlier (= 6 *EGF*) than fr. 13 *EGEF* (= 9 *EGF*). Bernabé (fr. 10–11 *PEG*) and West (fr. 12–13 *GEF*) place them consecutively and towards the end of the poem; see also West (2002) 117.
- 238** Apollodoros is probably reproducing the version of the Cheiron story told by Pherekydes, the earliest prose source of this episode, as Heyne (in Jacoby fr. 16–17) had observed; see also Fowler, *EGM* II §1.5, pp. 21–3. The dependence of Pherekydes on some earlier epic source has been suggested by Wilamowitz (19594) 94–5; Robert (19214) II.2 488–9; see also *RE* Suppl. III, 1068–77 (Gruppe).
- 239** That Cheiron was the son of Kronos and Philyra is shared by almost every ancient authority: see e.g. Hes. *Th.* 1001–2, Pind. *P.* 3.1, 4.102–3, 6.23, 9.30, *N.* 3.43.
- 240** On the relation between the scholia to Apollonios Rhodios and the *Bibliothēke*, see Wagner (1926) xxxiv.
- 241** It is mainly employed for Zeus’ children; see West (1966) 431 on Hes. *Th.* 1002 with examples.
- 242** See Pugliese-Carratelli (1940) 119–23; Dover (1977) 138, (1993) 251 on Ar. *Ran.* 455.
- 243** Both ὑλάρας and σχήματα have caused a lot of head-scratching among scholars: Welcker (18822, II 411) drew attention to the role of Olympos as a mythical musician and interpreted σχήματα as ‘dancing shapes’; Köchly (1881, I 230) read σχήματα as ‘constellations’, his

astronomical interpretation gaining considerable ground in the course of time (Schwartz 1960, 239; Kranz 1967, 95; Huxley 1969, 25 [translating ἰλαράς as ἱεράς!]; West 1978, 23 with some doubts; *PEG*, 15 n. 11; Davies 1989, 91 n. 9; West 2002, 117); Gigon (1961, xix–xx) athetized the line.

244 See Lebedev (1998) 6.

245 See D'Alessio (2015) 205. Cf. Gigon (1961, xix–xx in Dörig and Gigon 1961), who treats this fragment as a forgery. Ὀλυμπος is probably standing for 'heaven'; see Kranz (1967) 94–5.

246 See e.g. Hippol. *Refutatio omnium haeresium*, 5.19.12.2; Eus. *Vita Constantini* 4.69.2.3; Did. Caec. *Fragmenta in epistulam ii ad Corinthios (in catenis)*, p. 26.29; Simpl. *In Aristotelis quattuor libros de caelo commentaria*, 7.411.13; Ioann. Philop. *De opificio mundi*, p. 131.19; Kosm. Indik. *Topographia Christiana*, 2.19.4 and 7.82.1. The expression σχῆμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ is also attested in a few non-Christian texts, like Xenokr. fr. 265.8–9 (Parente); Flav. Philostr. *Imag.* p. 10.5 (Schenkl and Reisch).

247 See D'Alessio (2015) 205 n. 31.

248 See Hom. *Il.* 11.832: ὃν Χείρων, ἐδίδαξε, δικαιοτάτος Κενταύρων ('whom [sc. Achilles] Cheiron instructed, the most civilized among the Centaurs', translation [with spelling modifications] by Leaf 1900, 522 on Hom. *Il.* 11.832).

249 Welcker (18822) II 409.

250 (1989) 17.

251 (2002) 118.

252 Davies (1989) 17.

253 See Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.11.4: Συλλαβὸν δὲ αὐτὸν κοιμώμενον καὶ παντοίας ἐναλλάσσοντα μορφάς ἔδησε, καὶ οὐκ ἔλυσε πρὶν ἢ μαθεῖν παρ’ αὐτοῦ τοῦ τυγχάνοιεν τὰ μῆλα καὶ αἱ Ἑσπερίδες (‘[Herakles] seized him while he slept, and though the god turned himself into all kinds of shapes, the hero bound him and did not release him till he had learned from him where were the apples and the Hesperides’).

254 Kranz (1967) 96.

255 (2004) 99.

256 West (1995) 212.

257 See West (1997) 378.

258 (1998) 44, (2004) 41 = (2008) 105–6.

259 Reference to fish in the context of Ut-napishtim analeptic account of the Flood in the epic of *Gilgamesh* (Tablet XI, 124: [Now] like so many fish they fill the sea), not mentioned by Bremmer, is of a different kind and nature.

260 Gigon (1961) xix; West (2002) 118.

261 Gigon (1961) xix.

262 West (2002) 118; see [Hes.] fr. dub. 343.12 M–W; Aisch. *Eum.* 292–3; Hdt. 4.180.5; Kall. *Ait.* fr. 37 (Harder).

263 (2014b) 94–5 and (2015) 206–7.

264 (2014) 95.

265 See also Lucan 9.355–8 (cited by D’Alessio).

266 The river must be excluded, since it is masculine in Greek (ὁ ποταμός), whereas in this case a feminine noun is meant (αὐτῇ). Less likely is the possibility that the fish are swimming and sporting in a shore (ἡτῶν, ἀκτῇ) or promontory (ἄκρα); see e.g. Opp. *Halieut.* 3.54–6: ... ἅπαντες / ἔλλοπες ἡϊόνεσσιν ἐφέστιοι ἐγγύθι γαίης / ἔλκονται τοκετῶν τε μόγῳ δίψῃ τ’ Ἀφροδίτης; 3.62–4: πάντες δὲ πνοιῇσιν ἐναντία καὶ ῥοθίοισι / πλῶτες ἄλὸς θύνουσιν, ἐπεὶ σφίσιν ὧδε κέλευθος / ῥηϊτέρῃ στείχουσιν ἐπ’ ἡϊόνας; Heniochus, *Polypragmon* (fr. 3 *PCG* 5): ὀρῶ θαῦμ’ ἄπιστον, ἰχθύων γένῃ / περὶ τὴν ἄκραν παίζοντα (Helm [1906, 34] has compared Heniochus’ phraseology with Louk. *Pisc.* 48 (... ἡμῖν ἀνάπεμπε τῶν ἰχθύων. ἀλλ’ ὀρῶ τινα λάβρακα εὐμεγέθη, μᾶλλον δὲ χρύσοφρον). See also Opp. *Halieut.* 3.241–2: ὀρθοὶ καρχαλόωντες ὑπεῖρ ἄλα δινεύοντες / ἡμερόεν παίζουσι καὶ ἀντιώσι τιθήνῃ.

267 See Davies (1989) 17. The χρύσοφρος or χρυσοπός (Plut. 977E) or χρύσαφος (Kyranides 4.74.2) or χρυσοφός (Kyranides 1.22.1, 1.22.5; see Strömberg 1943, 26), whose scientific name is *sparus aurata*, *chrysophrys aurata*, and *chrysophrys crassirostris*, is known nowadays in Greece under the names χρυσόφα, τσιπούρα, κότσα (Corfu), μαρίδα (Messolongi), and λύγδα, with χρυσόφα being probably directly connected to the ancient Greek χρύσοφρος. According to Hoffman and Jordan (1892) 264–5, the chrysophrys ‘has two fins on its back and two on its belly, has few pyloric appendages [...] is frequently speared in the day-time while sleeping, spawns chiefly where rivers flow, spawns in the summer, is littoral, is found in the lagoons of the sea, hibernates and suffers in winter’. According to Thompson (1947) 292–4, ‘it is a sea-fish (*aurata*, Plin. xxxii. 145), but frequenting the inshore waters (πρόσγειος) or the estuaries (*HA* 598a 10, 21). It spawns near the river-mouths (ib. 543 b 3) in late summer (570 b 20, 598 a 21); hides during the winter (599 b 33), and suffers much from cold (602 a 11, Plin. ix. 58). It is caught with the leister (τριώδους, Lat. *fuscina*) while sleeping, 537 a 28; or with a sprat (μαίνις) for bait’.

268 Athenaios’ sub-section on ‘dumb fish’ begins with Soph. fr. 762 *TrGF* (χορὸς δ’ ἀναύδων ἰχθύων ἐπερρόθει, / σαίνοντες οὐραίοισι). It is worth observing, for whatever is its worth, that all the interpretations suggested for this passage refer to an episode taking place by or in the sea: in *Achilles’ Lovers* Peleus describes how he lay hold of Thetis, when she made her appearance from the sea followed by ‘mute fish’ (Brunck). The fish are mute because they will not be able to tell what will happen, i.e. Thetis’ abduction by Peleus. In the *Peleus*, Thetis

surrounded by fish receives Peleus (Hartung 1851). In the *Phrygians* Thetis followed by fish brings Achilleus' his armor (Welcker 1839–1841, 136). In the *Erigone* the pirates are transformed by Dionysos into fish and swim around Amphitrite (Maass 1921, 13).

269 In D'Alessio (2015) 206 the word ἔλλοι is not translated.

270 All the examples cited by Athenaios in this section concern not fish in general, but fish-eating.

271 Tsagalis (2013) 19–48.

272 The myth of the struggle between Zeus and Typhoeus is of oriental provenance. The most important contribution is Vian (1960) 17–37; see also Ogden (2013) 68–80 with all the previous bibliography.

273 According to this interpretation the fish are dumb because they are unable to tell Typhoeus about the trap he is falling in.

274 See Opp. *Haliout*. 3.15–25.

275 For examples, see Tsagalis (2013) 34–5.

276 See Houwink ten Cate (1961) 208–15; Lytle (2011) 333–86 (especially 372–3).

277 On the titles *Κυπριακά* for *Κύπρια* and *Ναυπακτι(α)κά*, see the discussion in the relevant section of the *Carmen Naupactium*. In contrast, epics whose title ends in –ικά, –ιακά become more frequent in the Hellenistic period; see e.g. Rhianos' *Λαοικά*, *Ηλιακά*, *Θεσσαλικά*, *Μεσσηνιακά*.

278 See e.g. Paus. 3.7.5 (ἐς τὴν Μεσσηνίαν συγγραφὴν), 3.10.5 (ἡ Σικωνία συγγραφὴ), 3.11.1 (ἐν τῇ συγγραφῇ μοι τῇ Ἀτθίδι).

279 (1840) 230.

280 On this point, see the analysis of *Kor.* fr. 1 *EGEF* (below).

281 According to *PEG*, we have 10 fragments; according to *EGF*, 12 fragments.

282 See, though, the discussion under 'Title'.

283 West (2002) 118.

284 Marckscheffel (1840) 223–9; West (2002) 118.

285 The text is worth quoting (2.1.1): ἐπεὶ Εὐμήλος γε ὁ Ἀμφιλύτου τῶν Βακχιαδῶν καλουμένων, ὃς καὶ τὰ ἐπη λέγεται ποιῆσαι, φησὶν ἐν τῇ Κορινθίαι συγγραφῇ-εἰ δὲ Εὐμήλου γε ἡ συγγραφὴ κτλ. Given that the article τὰ before ἐπη is not attested in some manuscripts (the majority having τὰ ἐπη), Marckscheffel argued that it should be omitted, since if it is retained it would mean that Pausanias was aware that the Κορινθία συγγραφὴ was a prose version of the actual Κορινθιακά, which would signify that he knew the Κορινθιακά poem itself. In this light, claims Marckscheffel, he would have used the actual poem and not the prose version (1840, 224). But Pausanias may have simply known from another source that an epic poem on Corinth's mythical past was attributed to Eumelos (τὰ ἐπη λέγεται ποιῆσαι), although he doubts that Eumelos had actually composed it (since he states that the only piece of poetry Eumelos *is considered* to have composed was the προσόδιον to Delos) or the prose version he is employing (εἰ δὲ Εὐμήλου γε ἡ συγγραφὴ).

286 See Marchscheffel (1840) 398–9.

287 See my comments in the initial section of the commentary on the *Titanomachy* (above).

288 Translation by West.

289 See Méhat (1966) 188 and n. 62.

290 West (2002, 118 n. 44) leaves open the possibility that the prose version Clement was using included both the *Titanomachy* and the *Korinthiaka*.

291 See Fowler, *EGM* II p. 656.

292 For his verbatim citations from the *Titanomachy* (fr. 14 *EGEF*) and the *Europeia* (fr. 28 *EGEF*), Clement must have used some other source. That the prose version or redaction of the prose version used by him mentioned only the name of Eumelos but not the title *Titanomachy* can be seen from the fact that when he quotes two verses from that epic he designates its author not by the name of Eumelos but as ὁ τὴν Τιτανομαχίαν γράνας.

293 τὸ δὲ σφισιν αἶσμα προσόδιον ἐς τὸν θεὸν ἐδίδαξεν Εὐμήλος, εἶναι τε ὡς ἀληθῶς Εὐμήλου νομίζεται μόνα τὰ ἐπη ταῦτα.

294 Pausanias may not be contradicting himself when he attributes to Eumelos various inscribed hexameters on the Chest of Kypselos (5.19.10), since what he has said is that the only piece of poetry Eumelos *is considered* to have composed was the προσόδιον to Delos, not that he agrees with such a view. In fact, he may be simply thinking (incorrectly) that Eumelos had composed these verses for the Chest itself on the (false) basis of his dating of the Chest and of Eumelos' προσόδιον (ἄλλων τε ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦ προσοδίου μάλιστα ὃ ἐποίησεν ἐς Δῆλον).

295 Although the actual phrasing of *Strom.* 1.73.3 may give the impression that what Clement has taken from Hermippos is his designation of Cheiron as σοφός, the ensuing reference to the poet of the *Titanomachy* and the quotation of two lines concerning Cheiron most likely come from Hermippos too. It would have been very awkward, if Clement had direct access to the actual text of the *Titanomachy* that highlighted Cheiron's wisdom, but decided to refer to Cheiron's designation as σοφός by Hermippos of Berytos. Moreover, the phrasing of the fragment shows the intervention of a Christian editor (see above on *Tit.* fr. 14 and Lebedev 1998, 7).

296 On Clement's dependence on Herennius Philo, especially in the *Stromateis*, see van den Hoek (1988) 5–7 and particularly nn. 17–18 with rich bibliography.

297 The 'theft of the Greeks' topic seems to dominate in *Stromateis* I and V. This observation has led Bousset (1915) to argue for the existence of an intermediary source, different from his famous 'Pantainos-Quelle' (the notes of Pantainos that were used and published by his disciple Clement) that had been employed in the *Excerpta*, the *Eclogae*, and the *Stromateis* VI and VII. This theory, though refuted by Munck (1933), is not to be wholly abolished, for even if the scenario of the 'Pantainos-Quelle' and an intermediary source are not on the right track, still the stress given to the theme 'theft of the Greeks' is valid.

298 Clem. *Strom.* 1.16.74.

299 Clem. *Strom.* 1.15.73.

- 300** On Clement's drawing material from anthologies, epitomes, and handbooks, see Elter (1893–1895); Diels (1897). The 'single source' theory is argued by Wendland (1886); Gabrielsson (1907–1909). Méhat (1966) has stressed the importance of studying the classification and organization principles of Clement with respect to citations and offers a rather complicated system including *capitula/kephalaia*, sequences, and sections.
- 301** For a detailed discussion of the problems connected to this fragment, see the analysis below.
- 302** See Paus. 2.2.2; Favorin. *Korinth.* 14.
- 303** See Dunbabin (1948) 67; Will (1955) 238; Brillante (1981) 192; Salmon (1984) 38, 46–7, 49–50, 52; West (2002) 124–5; *contra FGHist* IIIb, 299.
- 304** West (2002, 121) claims that the summary-form of the events pertaining to the distribution of the region to the Sun's offspring, Aietes' departure to Kolchis etc. indicates that they must have been presented later on in more detail.
- 305** See West (2002) 123.
- 306** See Marckscheffel (1840) 233–4; Wilamowitz (1924) II 230; Barigazzi (1966a) 145 and n. 2.
- 307** Matthews (1977) 197 n. 21.
- 308** West (2002) 130–2.
- 309** Differently, Braund (1994) 8–39, (1998) 289; see also Will (1955) 126–9. On the foundation of Greek colonies in the Black Sea, see Tsatskhladze (1998) 9–68.
- 310** All these events must be placed between 600–575 BC. See West (1985) 133, (2002) 130–1.
- 311** Solin. 7.14: *hoc spectaculum per Cypselum tyrannum intermissum Corinthii olympiade quadragesima nona sollemnitati pristinae reddiderunt* ('In the 49th Olympiad the Corinthians restored to its pristine celebrity this spectacle that had been interrupted by the tyrant Kypselos').
- 312** See West (2002) 130–1.
- 313** Paus. 10.7.2.
- 314** Though not identified in the manner of Opreus by a legible inscription (Ὀπρεὺς), the Delphian musician Philammon is the most likely candidate for the person standing next to him; see Power (2010) 275.
- 315** Σ Pind. *N.* 9 (title) [III 149.21–2 Drachmann]: ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Σικυώνιοι τὰ Πύθια πρῶτον παρ' ἑαυτοῖς ἔθεσαν ('because of this the Sikyonians instituted for the first time their own Pythian Games').
- 316** Power (2010) 275.
- 317** See Power (2010) 285 with further bibliography.
- 318** See Power (2010) 276 and n. 225.
- 319** Given the exclusively athletic content of the Olympic Games, it is certain that musical contests did not form part of these games. See Power (2010) 490.
- 320** Differently Wilson (2004, 302 n. 76), who argues that Perikles 'probably authored the decree that extended the high honour of permanent *sitēsis* in the Prytaneion to include musical victors in the games of the circuit: *IG I³* 131, c. 440–432?'.
- 321** See Morrissey (1978) 122, who argues that this decree may have been proposed by Perikles, whose interest in musical contests can be seen in his reforms with respect to the Panathenaia and the building of the Odeion. Perikles' general and systematic interest in art and theater (he was the *chorēgos* of Aischylos' *Persians* in 472 BC) makes him a plausible candidate but in the lack of solid evidence, I remain skeptical about this suggestion.
- 322** Power (2010) 490.
- 323** Power (2010) 490.
- 324** See Power (2010) 486 n. 194, 490 n. 207.
- 325** Power (2010) 491.
- 326** ἐν τῷ Σικυωνίων θησαυρῷ χρυσοῦν ἀνέκειτο βιβλίον Ἀριστομάχης ἀνάθημα τῆς Ἐρυθραίας ἐπικῶι ποιήματι δις Ἴσθμια νενικηκίας ('in the Sikyonian Treasure a golden

book was devoted, a dedication of Aristomache of Erythrai, who has won twice in the Isthmia by an epic poem’).

327 *RE* 2.3, 943–4, s.v. ‘Aristomache’ 4 (Crusius).

328 West (2002) 131.

329 Paus. 5.8.10.

330 West (2002) 131.

331 Adopted by Wendel in his edition of the scholia to Apollonios Rhodios.

332 West (2002) 130–1.

333 West (1973a) 189.

334 On the location of the various Ephyras, see Dunbabin (1948) 60 n. 18; Sakellariou (1968) 901–2; Drews (1979) 122 n. 53; Brillante (1981) 196 n. 35, 209–10. On Ephyra in the *Odyssey*, see St. West (1988) 107–8 on Hom. *Od.* 1.257ff.; Nicolai (2002) 455–70; Tsagalis (2012b) 341–3. On Ephyra and Thesprotia, see Malkin (1998) 134–42.

335 Drews (1979) 122 n. 53; West (2002) 119, (2011) 177–8 on Hom. *Il.* 6.152.

336 See above under ‘Date’, (g).

337 See also Huxley (1969) 61–2.

338 West (2002) 120.

339 See fr. 1 *EGEF* (*apud* Paus. 2.6.4).

340 It can hardly be a coincidence that, according to Asios, Epopeus (Aloeus’ son) abducts Antiope in Boiotia.

341 West (2002) 120; see also Bowra (1938) 216–17; West (1985) 100–3.

342 See Wilisch (1876) 741–6; Barigazzi (1966a) 136.

343 It was Wilamowitz (1924, II 241 n. 2) who first thought that this verse may come from Eumelos. The same argument was repeated by Barigazzi (1966a, 131–4 and 1966b, 321), independently from Wilamowitz, and was endorsed by Bernabé, Davies, and West in their respective editions of epic fragments. It is West (2002, 120 n. 54) who suggests τοῦ δ’ ἦν as the beginning of the verse, giving as parallels Hes. *Th.* 321 (τῆς [δ’] ἦν τρεῖς κεφαλαί) and Hes. *Op.* 150 (τῶν δ’ ἦν χάλκεα μὲν τεύχεα). τῶι δ’ ἦν would be an alternative, though Favorinus’ οὔ is much better explained as a replacement of τοῦ δ’ ἦν (see also the gloss τοῦ Βριάρεω after the quoted verse given by M [codex Meermannianus]).

344 See Paus. 2.1.6.

345 Though of course Poseidon had contested the ownership of Athens with Athena.

346 See Barigazzi (1966b) 322.

347 See Barigazzi (1966b) 322.

348 Ephyra must be the older Pelasgic name of the region. See Barigazzi (1966b) 322.

349 See *Kor.* fr. 1 *EGEF*. Ailios Aristeides (*Isthm.* § 5, II p. 364, 2 Keil) stresses the importance of the ‘watery substance’ (ὕγρα οὐσία), from which everything comes into being; see Barigazzi (1966a) 134.

350 See Barigazzi (1966a) 138.

351 West (2002) 120 n. 60.

352 οἱ μὲν πολλοὶ τῶν ἱστορικῶν Πέρσης καὶ Ἡλίου παῖδάς φασι τὸν Αἰήτην καὶ Ἀλωέα. In Hes. *Th.* 956–8 Perseis (a variant of Perse) is an Okeanid (see also Hes. *Th.* 356) who is married to the Sun. Their offspring are Kirke and Aietes. The latter marries Idyia, another Okeanid (Hes. *Th.* 352, 958–60) and has a daughter, Medeia (Hes. *Th.* 961–2).

353 Fr.**35A *EGM*. In Homer (*Od.* 10.136–9), the Sun and Perse are the parents of Aietes and Kirke. On the various explanations suggested for the names Perse, Perseis, and Perses, see Fowler, *EGM* II §1.3.2, pp. 15–16.

354 She was a Boiotian mythical figure from Hyria; see West (2002) 120.

355 (2002) 125; *contra* D’Alessio (2015) 204; see my comment on *Tit.* fr. 3 *EGEF* (above).

356 On Hyperion, see Usener (1896) 19–25; West (1966) 202 on Hes. *Th.* 134.

357 See Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.4; see also Fowler, *EGM* II §17.3, p. 502 n. 25: ‘The Acrocorinth was called Ἐπώπη according to Steph. Byz. s.v. Κόρινθος and Eust. Hom. *Il.* 290.26; it was the “lookout” whence Sisyphos spotted Zeus carrying off Aigina. If this was true in the sixth century it might have assisted the appropriation of Epopeus’. His interpretation is compatible with mine.

358 See Wilkinson (2013) 97, 286. Cavallini (1997, 158) argues in favor of a connection between Sikyon and Ibykos. He further claims that Ibykos’ reference to Sikyonian Asopos (S166.37, according to Lobel’s supplement: ἐπ’ Ἀσ[ωπ-]) and his link to Phrygia may be pointing to some form of connection between these two areas. See also below, *Kor.* fr. 5 *EGEF*.

359 Σ Pind. *Ol.* 13.74d (I 372.17–21 Drachmann); Eumelos, *FGrHist* F 451 (p. 301, Commentary); West (2002) 121. Prophecies are typical in archaic epic; for the early *Argonautika*, see Stockinger (1959) 95–8.

360 See Fowler, *EGM* II §17.3, p. 502: ‘He serves only to take us to the next generation and create by his departure a power-vacuum which Epopeus, really the ruler of Sikyon but claimed here to be of Corinthian origin, proves unable to fill; thus he may be sent back to Sikyon in humiliation’.

361 On Hera Akraia, see Dunn (1994) 103–15; Johnston (1997) 44–70; Pache (2004) 9–48; Fowler, *EGM* II §6, pp. 231–3.

362 Paus. 2.4.7; Wilisch (1875) 11; West (2002) 121.

363 See *RE* 3.5, 1053, s.v. ‘Bunos’ (Escher).

364 On the semantics of Aia in connection to Aietes, see Fowler, *EGM* II §6.1.2, p. 201 and especially n. 19, with bibliography. Of particular interest is West (2007b) 193–8 (= *Hellenica* I 113–19).

365 Fowler, *EGM* II §6.1.2, pp. 201–2. Fowler draws attention to the fact that the language of Pher. fr. 105 *EGM* (ταῦτα δὲ τῷ Ἰήσωνι Ἦρη ἐς νόον βάλλει, ὥς ἔλθοι ἡ Μήδεια τῷ Περίῃ κακόν) and Ap. Rh. 3.1135 (ὧς γὰρ τόγε μῆδετο Ἦρη, / ὄφρα κακὸν Περίῃ ἱερὴν ἐς Ἰωλκὸν ἵκηται / Αἰαίῃ Μήδεια) are very close. Apollonios Rhodios drew both on Pherekydes and Eumelos, but (a) Pherekydes’ use of epic phraseology and (b) the fact that the scholia immediately afterwards specify that Apollonios Rhodios draws on Eumelos (Σ 3.1354–6a [pp. 257.17–258.2 Wendel]) strongly indicate that Eumelos is the earliest known source with respect to the placement of the ‘Aiaie island’ in the river Phasis. On Pherekydes’ style, see Dräger (1995) 5–13.

366 See below, fr. 20 *EGEF*.

367 See *Cypr.* arg. II. 114–15 Severyns: Νέστωρ δὲ ἐν παρεκβάσει διηγεῖται αὐτῷ ὡς Ἐπωπεὺς φθείρας τὴν Λυκούργου (Λύκου: Heyne) θυγατέρα ἐξεπορθήθη. Heyne’s emendation of Λυκούργου into Λύκου makes perfect sense. After the death of Nykteus, Antiope’s uncle Lykos took over his role; on the function of the Epopeus tale, which serves as a lesson for a woman’s abduction, see West (2013) 99.

368 Fr. 1 *EGEF*.

369 (1875) 12.

370 See Steph. Byz. ε 101 (II 154.3–5 Billerbeck-Zubler), who says that this was the ancient name of the Akropolis of Corinth and connects it with the ethnics Ἐπωπεύς and Ἐπωπίτης. He explains the name Ἐπόπη from ἐπὶ + ὅπωπα and associates it with Sisyphos (διὰ τὸ Σίσυφον ἐκέϊθεν ἐπιδεῖν τὴν Αἰγίνης ἀρπαγὴν ὑπὸ Διός). But, as Wilisch (1875, 12 n. 1) rightly observes, Stephanos Byzantios does not know Eumelos whom he never cites with respect to e.g. Αἶα, Σινώπη. He may simply have in mind an analogy with the falsely etymologised Ἐφύρη from ἐφορᾶν.

371 See Wilisch (1875) 13.

372 For a different argument linking the marsh (ἔλος) at Marathon with the cult of Athena Hellotia in Corinth, see West (2002) 122 and especially n. 69 with further bibliography.

373 In S151.39, if Barron's supplement (καὶ Ζεύξιππος, ὄν) is correct.

374 Barron (1961) 187; Cingano (1989) 27–38; Cavallini (1997) 158; Finglass (2014a) 24–6. Differently Wilkinson (2013) 80: 'However, it is unlikely that Ibycus would be making political attacks on a distant city in his encomium for a young man'.

375 Epopeus is the son of Aloeus in the *Korinthiaka*, but his Thessalian associations are due to his being the son of Poseidon and Kanake, daughter of Aiolos, and brother of Aloeus in Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.3–4.

376 See Barigazzi (1966a) 136.

377 See West (1985) 133, (2002) 122.

378 Arg. II. 114–15 Severyns.

379 Dover (1993) 250 on 439.

380 See fr. 20 *EGEF*.

381 On the manner the Argonaut legend was brought into the *Korinthiaka*, see below under fr. 22 *EGEF*.

382 See the relevant discussion in Marckscheffel (1840) 232–4.

383 See above under Eumelos' works; also West (2002) 109.

384 See Meuli (1921) 115; West (1966) 429 on Hes. *Th.* 992; West (2005) 54–6.

385 On drawing attention to the relevant episode with Idmon in the *Carmen Naupactium*, see West (2002) 123, though he does not formulate the hypothesis presented above. See also Marckscheffel (1840) 233–4; Wilamowitz (1924) II 230; Barigazzi (1966a) 145 n. 2.

386 See Σ Pind. *Ol.* 13.74d (I 372.16–21 Drachmann) and cf. Mimn. 11.2 *IEG* (ἐξ Αἴης) and 11a.1 (Αἰήταο πόλιν); see West (2002) 121 and n. 62.

387 In Hes. *Th.* 958–62 Aietes marries Idyia, an Okeanid (Hes. *Th.* 352), and has a daughter, Medeia. West (1966, 420 on Hes. *Th.* 960) notes that Ἰδυῖα (Εἰδυῖα in Ap. Rh. 3.243, 3.269, and Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.23) is a suitable name for the mother of Medeia, as Ἰδμῶν is a suitable name for the grandfather of Κάλχας. Such information shows that Idmon may have had a different role altogether in the *Korinthiaka*.

388 Huxley (1969, 67) argues that the reading Ἰάσωνα of the *recensio Parisina* cannot be correct because 'Medea would not give to Jason a detailed description of events in which he was the protagonist'. But this argument is based on the false assumption that the lines cited by the Apollonios Rhodios scholiast are taken *verbatim* from Eumelos' *Korinthiaka*, which can hardly be the case.

389 αὐτὰρ Ἰήσων / μνήσατο Μηδείης πολυκερδέος ἔννεσιάν.

390 The actual quotation has fallen out from the scholiast's text; see West (2002) 123.

391 Hunter (1989) 248 on Ap. Rh. 3.1355–8.

392 See Huxley (1969) 66–7, who shows by offering comparative evidence from Homer that the language of Apollonios Rhodios is heavily reminiscent of early hexameter poetry, especially Homeric one.

393 (1966a) 140–3 (note φασιν that is also employed by Favorinus in §11 [= fr. *17 *EGEF*]; (1996b) 323; he was followed by Davies and West in their proper editions.

394 Fr. *17 *EGEF*.

395 Favorin. §13: τρίτην ἐν δισσαῖς χάρισι.

396 On the association of the Isthmian Games with Melikertes, see Σ Pind. *I. hyp.* a–d (III

192–5 Drachmann); Σ Ap. Rh. 3.1240 (p. 254.11–19 Wendel); Σ Eur. *Med.* 1284 (II 209.23–210.3 Schwartz); Paus. 1.44.8, 2.1.3; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.3.6; Hyg. *Fab.* 2.

397 See Σ Pind. *I. hyp.* (III 192.1–15 Drachmann); see also Willcock (1995) 7.

398 See Σ Ap. Rh. 3.1240 (p. 254.11–13 Wendel): Ἴσθμια τὰ ἐν Ἴσθμῳι τελούμενα τῆς Κορίνθου πρότερον μὲν τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, ὕστερον δὲ τῷ Μελικέρτῃ κατὰ κέλευσιν τοῦ τότε βασιλεύοντος Σισύφου τοῦ Αἰόλου; see also Mousaios (*FGrHist* F 455 *ap.* Σ Ap. Rh. 3.1240 [p. 254.17 Wendel]): Μουσαῖος δὲ ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἴσθμίων δύο φησὶ γίγνεσθαι ἀγῶνας ἐν Ἴσθμῳι, καὶ τὸν μὲν Ποσειδῶνος εἶναι, τὸν δὲ Μελικέρτου.

399 Drawing on Eumelos who referred to the origin of the Isthmian Games, Debiasi (2015, 275 with n. 76) allows for the possibility that the *Alkmeonis* mentioned the origin of the Olympic Games; see Pi. *O.* 1.93–5.

- 400** See Davies and Finglass (2014) 212–18.
- 401** See e.g. Kakridis (1944) 1–53, and with few modifications (1949) 11–42; Pestalozzi (1945).
- 402** See *Aith.* arg. l. 201 Severyns: οἱ δὲ Ἀχαιοὶ τὸν τάφον χώσαντες ἀγῶνα τιθέασι; Hom. *Od.* 24.85–92; Apollod. *Epit.* 5.5 (fragmenta Sabbaitica): τιθέασι δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ ἀγῶνα, ἐν ᾧ νικᾷ Εὐμηλος ἵπποις, Διομήδης σταδίῳ, Αἴας δίσκῳ, Τεύκρος τόξῳ.
- 403** Black-figure dinos from Pharsalos by Sophilos (c. 570 BC); band cup (c. 560 BC), volute crater from Chiusi [the ‘François vase’] (c. 570 BC); see *LIMC*, s.v. ‘Achilleus’, §§491–3 (Kossatz-Deismann); Roller (1981) 108–9.
- 404** For a detailed analysis of Stesichoros’ version of the Games for Pelias, see Finglass (2014a) 218–22.
- 405** See Cingano (1990) 190 n. 8; Ucciardello (2005) 21 n. 1; Wilkinson (2013) 124–40.
- 406** The monument dates from 590–70 BC; see Borg (2010) 81 and, especially, n. 3 with further bibliography; on the Chest of Kypselos, see also Giuman (2005).
- 407** I have excluded from this table Simonides fr. 564 *PMG* = 273 Poltera, since it refers only to Meleagros’ victory at the javelin-throwing contest.
- 408** In Latin texts, I retain the latinized spelling of Greek names.
- 409** See Barigazzi (1966a) 142, (1966b) 323; West (2002) 122.
- 410** See Vian (1974) 247.
- 411** Certain mythical figures are often associated with specific skills that are put into use in given athletic contests. In Stesichoros, Meleagros excels in spear throwing because he will kill the boar with his spear in the Kalydonian boar-hunt, and Amphiaraios is victorious in the jumping because his disappearance under the earth in the expedition of the Seven was treated as a kind of leap to the Underworld. The same is the case with Amphiaraios in his victory in the jumping contest in the Nemean Games; see Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.6.4: καὶ ἵππῳ μὲν ἐνίκησεν Ἀδραστος, σταδίῳ δὲ Ἑτέοκλος, πυγμῇ Τυδεύς, ἄλματι καὶ δίσκῳ Ἀμφιάραιος, ἀκοντῷ Λαοδόκος, πάλῃ Πολυνεΐκης, τόξῳ Παρθενόπαιος. On Meleagros and spear throwing, see Simon. fr. 564 *PMG* = 273 Poltera.
- 412** Καὶ μὴν Αἰτωλὶς κρατερὸν Πολυδεύκεα Λήδη / Κάστορά τ’ ὠκυπόδων ὄρσεν δεδαμμένον ἵππων.
- 413** *Hic eques.*
- 414** *Castor Iovis filius stadio.*
- 415** Τυνδάρεω δὲ οἱ παῖδες ὁ μὲν δρόμῳ. This reference does *not* refer to the Games for Pelias.
- 416** *Pollux eiusdem (sc. Iovis) filius caestu.*
- 417** Πολυδεύκης δὲ πυκτεύων. This reference does *not* refer to the Games for Pelias.
- 418** *Ille pugil.*
- 419** See Davies and Finglass (2014) 219.
- 420** ἔτρεχον δὲ καὶ ἐπήδων οἱ ἐκ Βορέου.
- 421** Barigazzi (1966b) 323 on §14.
- 422** *Fab.* 273.10: *Zetes Aquilonis filius dolichodromo, Calais eiusdem filius diaulo.*
- 423** Davies and Finglass (2014) 220.
- 424** Eumelos’ inclusion of Orpheus in the First Isthmian Games presented in the *Korinthiaka* may well reflect the influence of an earlier kitharodic source. That the ‘mythical figurehead of the Lesbian line of kitharodes has been elevated to the level of the questing heroes of the Argo’ (Power 2010, 274) is indicative of the link between the birthplace of the Argonautic myth in Aiolic Thessaly and its reception by Lesbian kitharodes; see West (2005) 46, who argues for a well-established Argonautic Orpheus in at least the middle of the sixth century BC. On the antiquity of the Argonautic Orpheus, see West, *Hellenica* I 120–2.
- 425** With respect to the introduction of musical contests in the Isthmian Games, see pp. 92–4 (above).
- 426** With respect to verse-numbering, I treat *Isthmians* 3 and 4 as two distinct epinicians.
- 427** See Willcock (1995) 9.

428 See Sutton (1981) 335–8, who argues that Herakles encourages the satyrs to abandon Dionysos and turn themselves to sports. They decide to depart from the Isthmos, leaving behind the setting of the play, which is ‘the sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia and its attendant foundry’ (338).

429 See also *Ov. Fast.* 5.700.

430 ἡνιοχοῦντες δὲ συνωρίδα Πῖσός ἐστιν ὁ Περυήρους καὶ Ἀστερίων Κομήτου, πλεῦσαι καὶ οὗτος λεγόμενος ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀργοῦς, καὶ Πολυδεύκης τε καὶ Ἄδμητος, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς Εὐφημος, Ποσειδῶνός τε ὢν κατὰ τὸν τῶν ποιητῶν λόγον καὶ Ἴασον ἐς Κόλχους τοῦ πλοῦ μετεσχηκώς· οὗτος δὲ καὶ τῇ συνωρίδι ὁ νικῶν ἐστιν.

431 It is not certain that he does the same in Ibykos (S176.11 *PMGF*: Π|ηλεὺς[ς] δεπαλα), but it is also not impossible (δὲ παλα- or δ’ ἐπάλαισ-?); see Wilkinson (2013) 137.

432 Τελαμῶν μὲν κράτιστα ἐδίσκευε, [...] Πηλεὺς δὲ ταῦτα μὲν ἦν δεύτερος, ἐκράτει δὲ πάντων πάληι. This reference does *not* refer to the Games for Pelias.

433 See 1.101–104: Θησέα δ’, ὃς περὶ πάντας Ἐρεχθεΐδας ἐκέκαστο, / Ταινάρῃν αἰδηλὸς ὑπὸ γθόνα δεσμὸς ἔρρυκε, / Πειρίθωι ἐσπόμενον κοινὴν ὁδόν· ἥ τέ κεν ἄμφω / ῥήϊτερον καμάτοιο τέλος πάντεσσιν ἔθεντο.

434 *Bibl.* 1.9.16.

435 *Ach.* 1.157; *Theb.* 5.432.

436 *Fab.* 14.6.

437 See Vian (1974) 244.

438 See Barigazzi (1966b) 324 on §14, who notes that the expression ἐνόπλιος (*sc.* δρόμος) is attested in Himer. *Or.* 2.20 (τὸν ἐνόπλιον ἔθεον), which interestingly enough is used for the Athenians in Marathon, and adds that other names for this contest were ὀπλιτοδρόμος (cf. Polydeukes 3.151 [I 201.27 Bethe]), ὀπλίτης (*sc.* δρόμος, e.g. Aisch. *Sept.* 717; Eur. *Held.* 800), and Philostr. (*Gymn.* 7).

439 On a possible Greek model for this sentence, see below.

440 See Barigazzi (1966a) 142.

441 West (2002) 122 n. 70.

442 Apollodoros’ phraseology is very similar to that of Diodoros.

443 See Barigazzi (1966b) 321.

444 This reference, which is part of a four-verse Sibylline oracle attested in Favor. *Kor.* §13, has been wrongly attributed by Barigazzi (followed by Bernabé, *PEG, Korinthiaka*, fr. 8) to Eumelos. See West (2002) 122–3 n. 73. However, Favorinus’ reference to Poseidon’s role as sole presiding deity over the Isthmian Games may go back to Eumelos (though the actual verses are not by him).

445 Philostratos (*Gymn.* 3) refers to the athletic skills of some mainstream Argonauts (Telamon-discus, Lynkeus-javelin, Boreads-footrace), but not to the Games of Pelias. He only mentions some contests held on Lemnos when the Argonauts were sailing to Kolchis.

446 Such an approach has yielded promising results in the case of the funeral games for Patroklos and Achilles in the *Iliad* and the *Aithiopis* respectively. According to the standard neoanalytical argument the funeral games for Achilles in a pre-Iliadic **Memnonis* (directly mirrored in the second part of the post-Iliadic *Aithiopis*) were the model that the *Iliad* followed and adapted to its one plan. In both cases, the chariot race comes first, but then the order of events diverges. The **Memnonis* seems to have followed the same general pattern that we see in Eumelos and Hyginus (with the exception of the chariot race that is placed first as the important contest), i.e. footrace and throwing.

447 According to Philostratos (*Gymn.* 3), athletic contests are divided into two categories: light (stadium, *dolichos*, hoplite race, *diaulos*, jump, javelin) and heavy (*pankration*, wrestling, boxing, discus). The pentathlon contains contests pertaining to both categories.

448 Zetes’ absence from Favorinus’ list may be well due to the orator’s omission, not to his absence from Eumelos’ ‘original’ list.

449 See Hyg. *Fab.* p. 164 (Rose).

- 450** *Sammelbuch griech. Urk. aus Aegypten* 6222, 26 [3rd c. AD].
- 451** See Barigazzi (1966b) 324 on §14.
- 452** *GEF*, p. 241 n. 22.
- 453** See West (2005) (= *Hellenica* I 277–312).
- 454** We know that Thespis had written a play called *The Games for Pelias or Phorbas*; see *TrGF* I F 1. I owe this point to Davies and Finglass (2014) 216 and n. 48.
- 455** West (2011) 19 and n. 16 with further bibliography on the foundation of the Olympic Games.
- 456** Finglass (2014a) 217.
- 457** See Blatter (1994) 280; Finglass (2014, 218) is right to argue that one should not be misled by this fact and think that ‘the games for Pelias had a Corinthian origin, still less that the games for Pelias had a place in the *Korinthiaka*’. See also D’Alessio (2014a, 43), who (rightly in my view) rejects the thesis, endorsed by Wilamowitz-Moellendorf (1924, II 241–3), von der Mühl (1952, 358–9), Grossardt (2001, 41–2 and 61 n. 62), and Debiasi (2005, 51–5 = 2015, 61–7), that Eumelos’ *Korinthiaka* featured the Funeral Games for Pelias. The likelihood that this epic devoted a detailed narrative concerning the first Isthmian Games that took place *after* the return of the Argonauts makes the scenario mentioned above highly unlikely.
- 458** See *Eur. Med.* 1378–83; Parmeniskos *ap.* *Σ Eur. Med.* 264 (II 159.16–160.1 Schwartz [= *FGrHist* 417.3]); *Ail. VH* 5.21; *Paus.* 2.3.7. See also *Apollod. Bibl.* 1.9.28, who relates that there is a version according to which after departing from Corinth Medeia left her children behind as suppliants at the temple of Hera Akraia, and that the Corinthians killed them. An echo of this version may be traced also *ap.* *Σ Pind. Ol.* 13.74g (I 373.17–374.3 Drachmann), in which there is no mention of a murder but a statement that the Corinthians call Medeia’s dead children ‘half-barbarians’ (μιζοβαρβάρους). On this topic, see Nilsson (1906) 57–60; Brelich (1959) 213–54 and (1969) 355–65; Graf (1997) 39–40; Johnston (1997) 44–70; West (2002) 123 and n. 77.
- 459** Differently, Dunn (1994) 103–15. See also Mastronarde (2002) 383–4.
- 460** On the Heraion in Perachora, see Salmon (1972) 159–204; Tomlinson (1977) 197–202; Sinn (1990) 53–116.
- 461** See Robert (1920) I 185–6; Wilamowitz (1924) II 234; Lesky, *RE* 15.50–1; Will (1955) 103–14; West (2002) 124. Medeia’s divine aspect is also at home within the Argonautic legend, i.e. as daughter of Aietes. See *Hes. Th.* 992, where her inclusion in the catalogue of goddesses mingling with mortal men speaks for her divine nature; *Alkm. fr.* 163 *PMGF*; *Pind. P.* 4.11; *Mousaios π. Ἰσθμίων*, *FGrHist* 455 F2.
- 462** (1997) 38. The so-called ‘Unitarian Theory’ about Medeia is well presented by Giannini (2000) 65–82; on Medeia as a form of mother-goddess displaced by Olympian goddesses, see Moreau (1994) 10–15 and 191–217, and the criticism by Griffiths (2006) 30.
- 463** (1997) 44–70.
- 464** (1999) 14.
- 465** Strictly speaking, the *Odyssey* passage says nothing about Medeia; cf. *Hes. Th.* 992–1001.
- 466** (1997) 62–3.
- 467** See Radermacher (1938) 229; Johnston (1997) 62–3.
- 468** See Radermacher (1938) 229.
- 469** See also *Xen. Cyrop.* 3.3.3–4: εἰς δὲ τὴν γῆν, ἔφη, ἀρκεῖται τὰ σώματα, ὅταν ἕκαστος τελευτήσῃ, κατακρύπτειν.
- 470** See also *Σ Eur. Med.* 11 (II 143.14 Schwartz), in which it said that Medeia saved the Corinthians from famine by means of some spells (λιμώπτοντας αὐτοὺς ἐπωιδᾷς τισιν ἰάσατο).
- 471** See Harrauer (1999) 15–17.
- 472** Harrauer (1999) 22; see also Schwinge (2004) 207–10.
- 473** Johnston (1997) 62–3.

- 474** It is attested as early as Hom. *Od.* 12.72 (ἄλλ' Ἥρη παρέπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἴησων).
- 475** Theopompos *FGrHist* 115 F 356 *ap.* Σ Pind. *O.* 13.74e (I 372.21–2 Drachmann). See Robert (1920, I 186), who wrongly took Theopompos' story at face value. West (2002, 124 n. 79) draws attention to Nikolaos of Damaskos who 'eliminated Medea and made Sisyphos the immediate successor of Korinthos, whose assassination by local conspirators he avenged'.
- 476** A 'romanhafte Fortbildung', according to Jacoby (*FGrHist*, Kommentar, on Theopomp. 115 F 356).
- 477** See Pind. fr. 5 S–M; Σ Pind. *I. hypoth.* A (III 192.13–15 Drachmann); Arist. fr. 637 (Gigon); Paus. 2.1.3; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.3.3.
- 478** Sisyphos and Kretheus were brothers, both sons of Aiolos. Aison was the son of Kretheus and Tyro.
- 479** Fowler (*EGM* II §5.3.5, p. 182) argues that the expression Σίσυφος Αἰολίδης 'has the ring of a formula'; on this phrase, see [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 43 (a) 75 M–W; Alk. fr. 38a 5 *PMG*; Theogn. 702 *IEG*; Pind. fr. 5.1 S–M; Akous. fr. 34 *EGM*; Ar. fr. 9 *PCG* 3.2.
- 480** See Fowler, *EGM* II §5.3.5, p. 182.
- 481** See Fowler, *EGM* II §5.3.1, p. 163.
- 482** Sakellariou (2009) I, pp. 404–5.
- 483** Fowler, *EGM* II §10.4, p. 362 and pp. 710–15.
- 484** See Fowler, *EGM* II §5.4.2, p. 191.
- 485** Fowler (*EGM* II §5.5, p. 192) points to another 'Thessalian' association of Minyas, since he is represented as the son of Poseidon and Hermippe, daughter of Boiotos 'who may count as Aiolian', according to Σ Ap. Rh. 1.230–3b (pp. 28.22–29.1 Wendel).
- 486** The links between Thessaly and Boiotia are strong. For detailed discussion of the relevant evidence from Thucydides, Ephoros, and Diodoros Sikelos, see Sakellariou (1990) 180–9.
- 487** See West (1985) 63–9.
- 488** West (2002) 119, (2011) 177–8 on Hom. *Il.* 6.152.
- 489** See West (2002) 124 n. 80: 'Neleus had taken part in the Isthmian Games; probably he was represented as having stayed at Corinth since then'.
- 490** We should not forget that Herakles is associated with Neleus' son Periklymenos, who in Apollonios Rhodios and other authors is a member of the Argonautic crew. Periklymenos fought bravely against Herakles, when the latter attacked Pylos. Being able to change shapes, a gift from his grandfather Poseidon, he changed himself into an eagle, an ant, a bee, and a snake ([Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 33a.14–17 M–W) or a lion, a snake, and a bee (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.9), until he was finally killed by Herakles. His death turned the scales in favor of Herakles' army. Pylos soon fell (see [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 35.1–5 M–W). In this light, it may be the case that Eumelos not only replaced Periklymenos by Neleus with respect to his membership in the Argonautic crew, but also referred to the Pylos episode as well; on the association between Periklymenos and Neleus in the context of an exploit by Herakles, see Davies (2005) 150–6.
- 491** Sisyphos and Neleus have both significant Boiotian connections; for Sisyphos, see my commentary on fr. 24 *EGEF* (above). Neleus was married to Chloris who was the daughter of Amphion ([Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 33a.6–7 M–W) one of the twins responsible for the building of the walls of Thebes.
- 492** ἐτέθη δὲ ἐπὶ Μελικέρτῃ <ὁ> ἀγὼν τῶν Ἰσθμίων, Σισύφου θέντος.
- 493** See Bremmer (1995) 61–3; West (2002) 124 and n. 82.
- 494** For polis talismanic tales, see e.g. Hdt. 6.134; Paus. 4.26.7–8, 8.47.5. For more examples, see Lobeck (1829) 278–82.
- 495** See Barigazzi (1966a) 144 and especially n. 2.
- 496** See Hellan. fr. 19a *EGM*; Pher. fr. 119 *EGM*; Asklep. Trag. fr. 1 *FHG* III, pp. 301–2 (in Val. Prob. on Virg. *Georg.* 3.267 [p. 62.10–11 Keil]; Σ Plat. *Rep.* 611D (p. 275 Greene); Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.3. See also Fowler, *EGM* II §5.3.5, pp. 180–2.
- 497** See Simon. 15.3 *IEG* (πόλιν Γλαύκοιο).
- 498** Clem. *Strom.* 1.21.137.
- 499** Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.3.

500 Hyg. *Fab.* 157.

501 Hom. *Il.* 6.155; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.3; Paus. 2.4.3, 6.20.19; Lact. on Stat. *Theb.* 4.589 (I 304 Sweeney); see also Σ Eur. *Phoin.* 1124 (I 367.15–21 Schwartz), in which two traditions are recorded: (i) that the Thracian Glaukos is the son of Bellerophon; and (ii) that Glaukos, Sisyphos' son, was eaten by his horses in Potniai in Boiotia.

502 Aisch. *TrGF* fr. 38 (Γλαῦκος Ποτνιεύς); Nonn. *Dion.* 11.143.

503 Aisch. *TrGF* fr. 39 (Γλαῦκος Ποτνιεύς); Σ Eur. *Phoin.* 1124 (I 367.15–21 Schwartz); Asklep. Trag. fr. 1 *FHG* III, pp. 301–2 (in Val. Prob. on Virg. *Georg.* 3.268 [p. 62.11–14 Keil]); Paus. 6.20.19; Hyg. *Fab.* 250.3 (see also 273.11). Eust. on Hom. *Il.* 269.35–6 (I 412.18–9 van der Valk).

504 Strab. 9.409; Paus. 9.8.2; Ail. *NA* 15.25.

505 Virg. *Georg.* 3.267–8; Serv. in *Georg.* 3.268 (III 297.3–10 Thilo-Hagen).

506 For other versions (horses eating a magic herb; Glaukos' feeding them with human flesh etc.), see *RE* 7.1 s.v. 'Glaucus' 9, cols. 1412–13 (Weicker).

507 This is the case with various sons of Sisyphos; see Sakellariou (2009) I 403–4.

508 See *RE* 7.1 s.v. 'Glaucus' 9, col. 1413 (Weicker).

509 *RE* 7.1 s.v. 'Glaucus' 9, col. 1413 (Weicker).

510 Thestios was a figure of Aitolian origin but he also appears as a king of Lakedaimon, who had three daughters: Leda, Klytia, and Melanippe (*RE* 6A.1, s.v. 'Thestios' 2, 184 [v. Geisau]). Asios (fr. 6 *EGEF*) rejects Eumelos' genealogy, since he makes Thestios (son of Agenor and grandson of Pleuron) the true father of Leda; on this point, see Debiasi (2015) 280.

511 Barigazzi (1966a) 144; West (2002) 124 n. 84.

512 See above on fr. *23 *EGEF*.

513 See [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 43a 81–3 M–W: ἡ δὲ Ποσει[ιδάωνος ἐν] ἀγκοίνῃσι μυγῆ[σα / Γλαύκωι ἐν] [... ..] ἰαμύμονα Βελλε[ροφόντην, / ἔξοχον ἀνθ[ρώπων ἀρ]ετῇ ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γ[αῖαν; Σ Pind. *O.* 13.99a (I 378.5–7 Drachmann): τοῖι μὲν γάρ λόγῳ ὁ Βελλεροφόντης Γλαύκῳ ἐστὶ τοῦ Σισύφου, τῇ δὲ ὀληθείαι Ποσειδῶνος; see also Hyg. *Fab.* 157.2–3: <Bel>erophon ex Eurynome Nysi filia.

514 *RE* 7.1 s.v. 'Glaucus' 9, col. 1413 (Weicker).

515 See Eumelos, test. 3 (above).

516 See Davies and Finglass (2014) 356.

517 (1629) II, 859 C.

518 Ad Euseb. p. 72 (in Marckscheffel 1840, 235–6).

519 (1840) 236–8.

520 Differently, Lecomte (1998) 71–9, especially 75–6.

521 See West (2013) 288.

522 In Steph. Byz. ε 171 (II 184.1–5 Billerbeck-Zubler): Εὐρώπῃ ἡ χώρα, ἐκ τῆς Φοίνικος θυγατρὸς <ἡ> τοῦ Ἀγῆνορος. λέγεται καὶ Εὐρώπεια, καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἰ Εὐρωπία παρὰ Σοφοκλεῖ Αἰχμλωτίσι (fr. 39 Radt) “καὶ νησιώτας καὶ μακρὰς Εὐρωπίας”. καὶ Εὐριπίδης ἐν Θησεί (fr. 381 Kannicht = fr. 1 Jouan/van Looy) “σχεδὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς κρασπέδοις Εὐρωπίας”. This lemma is heavily based on Herodian.

523 See Eumelos, fr. 36 incert. carm. *EGEF*.

524 Debiasi (2013a, 200–34 = 2015, 151–83) suggests that another episode that may have featured in both poems is that of Aktaion's dogs (see Stes. fr. 285 Finglass) in the context of a digression on Semele, one of the children of Kadmos and Harmonia. He further argues that the hexameters transmitted by P.Oxy. 2509 may have come from Eumelos' *Europeia*. That an Aktaion episode may have featured in the *Europeia* is not unthinkable, but there is nothing in the diction or content of P.Oxy. 2509 that shows 'Eumelian' composition. No matter how hard one tries to attribute this papyrus passage to a given author, there will always be some elements that are against individual ascription, be it Hesiodic or 'Eumelian'. On Aktaion's episode in the 'Hesiodic' *Cat.*, see: (a) fr. 217A M–W (in anon. P. Michigan inv. 1447 ii 1–6 [Reiner]), and (b) Philod. *Peri eusebeias* (p. 60 Gomperz; see Henrichs 1972, 67 n. 2), but

there is no consensus that P.Oxy. 2509 and the hexameters preserved in Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.5–6 come from the *Catalogue*; see e.g. Janko (1984) 299–307, who is in favor of this view and West (1985) 88, who is against.

525 See Robinson (1906) 148 n. 1: ‘Probably because the Minyans, with whom the Argonautic expedition was associated, dwelt in Boeotia’.

526 Correction by Hermann (1827, 301) of Ἀπολλωνίδα that is given by Tzetzes. See fr. 36 incert. carm. *EGEF* (below).

527 So Hermann (1827) 288–305; see the analysis of fr. 36 incert. carm. *EGEF* (below).

528 See West (2002) 132 and n. 117 with further bibliography, to which I would add Boardman (1991) 387–90.

529 See West (2002) 127.

530 For *Cat.* fr. 141 M–W, see Σ [D] Hom. *Il.* 12.397 (p. 392 van Thiel); cf. Σ [T] Hom. *Il.* 12.292–3 (III 359.4–5 Erbse) and Σ ‘Eur.’ *Rhes.* 29 (II 327.23–4 Schwartz); for *Cat.* fr. 142 M–W, see P.Oxy. 1358, fr. 1, col. I, 6–13 and P. Reinach 77.

531 See Hirschberger (2004) 308–10 on *Cat.* fr. 56 (= 141 M–W).

532 In Homer (*Il.* 14.321–2) only Minos and Rhadamanthys feature as sons of Zeus and Europa (οὐδ’ ὅτε Φοίνικος κούρης τηλεκλειτοῖο, / ἥ τέκε μοι Μίνων τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Ῥαδάμανθυν).

533 [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 141–2 M–W; Hellan. fr. 94 *EGM*.

534 Fr. 10 S–M (*ap.* Σ [D] Hom. *Il.* 12.397 [p. 392 van Thiel]; cf. Σ [T] Hom. *Il.* 12.292–3 [III 359.4–5 Erbse]).

535 Simon. fr. 253 (Poltera).

536 Aisch. *Karians* or *Europa* fr. 99 *TrGF* 3.

537 Davies and Finglass (2014, 355–6) entertain the possibility that the ‘Eumelian’ and Stesichorean versions may have shared other features two, especially since the foundation of Thebes was presented in both of them as the result of an oracle.

538 Fr. 7 *EGEF*.

539 See Marconi (2007) 90–6; Wescoat (2012) 176–9.

540 The best preserved version of the Europa story is that of Moschos (2nd c. BC). For a survey of accounts of this tale before Moschos, see Bühler (1960) 17–20; Campbell (1991) 1–6. On accounts later than Moschos, see Bühler (1960) 20–8. For a good general assessment of the various versions, see Nisbett and Rudd (2004) 318–19. The story was often the subject of artistic representations because of its picturesque character; see *LIMC* IV.1, s.v. ‘Europa’, pp. 76–88 (Robertson).

541 ταύτης Ζεὺς ἐρασθεῖς, † ῥόδου ἀποπνέων (ἀποπλέων codd.: ἀποπνέων Sevinus), ταῦρος χειροθήης γενόμενος, ἐπιβίβασθεῖσαν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἐκόμισεν εἰς Κρήτην. See Carrière and Massonnie (1991) 215.

542 *hanc Iuppiter in taurum conversus a Sidone Cretam transportavit et ex ea procreavit Minoem Sarpedonem Rhadamanthum.*

543 See Davies and Finglass (2014) 356, who observe that such an episode that formed part of Stesichoros’ *Europeia* would have created a further link between the abduction of Europa and the foundation of Thebes.

544 See below the discussion of this fragment in the section devoted to the *Phoronis*.

545 Σ Eur. *Phoin.* 670 (I 318.23–319.1 [Schwartz]): ὁ μὲν Στησίχορος ἐν Εὐρωπείᾳ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐσπαρκέναι τοὺς ὀδόντας φησίν).

546 See Davies and Finglass (2014) 356–7.

547 See fr. 4 *EGEF*.

548 On the basis of examples drawn from epic (in which the same action is attributed to both a mortal and a god) and lyric poetry, Davies and Finglass (2014, 357) argue that ‘Stesichorus himself may not have made much of the difference between the two accounts’. Of their long list of relevant cases, I refer to two examples of this phenomenon pertaining to Achilles: he has placed an angry spirit in his heart (Hom. *Il.* 9.628–9), something that the gods have also done (Hom. *Il.* 9.636–7); Achilles will be killed or is killed by Apollo (Hom. *Il.* 21.277–8 ,

Aisch. fr. 350 *TrGF* 3, Soph. *Phil.* 334–5), or Paris (Eur. *Andr.* 655, *Hek.* 387–8), or both (Hom. *Il.* 19.416–17 , 22.358–60, *Aithiopsis* arg. l. 192 Severyns).

549 On the problems connected with the various versions given by early mythographers, see Fowler, *EGM* II §10.3, pp. 357–61.

550 Fowler (*EGM* II §10.3, p. 357) discusses the possibility that the scholiast (offering the version ascribed to Hellanikos by an ascription at the end of the relevant scholium) is drawing on the *Bibliothēke*. He claims that the ascription is of little value and that it was added by the scholiast himself on the basis of a guess that Hellanikos would have treated this topic in his *Boiotiaka*, given his interest in regional history. Fowler acknowledges that differences between the scholium and the *Bibliothēke* are greater than usual, but explains this divergence as the result of ‘abbreviation and adaptation of the text’. His approach is based, among other things, on the fact that Apollodoros never cites Hellanikos by name.

551 See Ap. Rh. 3.1176–84; also Huxley (1969) 75.

552 On the complicated relation between the Homeric D scholia and Hellanikos fr. 51 *EGM*, as well as the question of the use by the scholiast of either Apollodoros’ of Athens *Catalogue of Ships* or the *Bibliothēke*, see the detailed presentation of the three possible scenarios in Fowler, *EGM* II §10.10, pp. 380–2. See also Ambaglio (1980) 142.

553 See Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.4.1.

554 Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.1.

555 See Vian (1963). 64–9 and n. 3 (in p. 69).

556 See Vian (1963) 81.

557 See Huxley (1969, 76), who has argued that ‘these verses look less like a hero’s prayer for victory than the poet’s own hope for Corinthian success in a contemporary war’, implying that they may have expressed the poet’s and not the speaking character’s viewpoint: I disagree.

558 See Mastronarde (1994) 208.

559 See Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.1.1.

560 *Ibid.* 3.4.2.

561 Or that the god’s birth was not included in the *Europeia*; on the improbability of this scenario, see point 3 (below).

562 One may counter-argue that only the Lykourgos episode as the last part of the *historia* was narrated in the *Europeia*. True, the ascription could only refer to this episode alone, but if we look at the larger picture, this becomes a remote possibility. The plot of the *Europeia* continued with Kadmos’ wandering and arrival at Thebes, his offspring and their descendants down to Amphiion and Zethos. It seems to me unlikely that Eumelos introduced Semele as one of Kadmos’ children and Dionysos (her offspring from Zeus) in this context but had mentioned a whole tale (the Lykourgos episode) in which Dionysos was the protagonist much earlier in the poem.

563 See West (2002) 127, who rightly refers to the connection of Rhadamanthys’ (one of Europa’s sons) with Boiotia through Okaleia and Haliartos. Some scholars have conjectured that Zeus’ hiding of Europa in a cave at Teumessos may have also featured in the *Europeia*; see Wyss on Antim. *Theb.* fr. 3, pp. 3–4; Untersteiner (1971) 172; Lecomte (1998) 75; Matthews on Antim. *Theb.* fr. 3, p. 89; West (2002) 127. This suggestion cannot be proved or disproved. Wyss’s reference to Eumelos (on Antim. *Theb.* fr. 3) is made next to other possible candidates like Stesichoros or some local tradition.

564 See Huxley (1969) 76.

565 On Dionysos in this Iliadic episode, see Privitera (1970) 53–74; Seaford (1993) 115–46; Tsagalis (2008) 1–29.

566 See Tsagalis (2008) 28–9.

567 Σ Ap. Rh. 4.1212/14a (p. 309.14–15 Wendel); Jeanmaire (1951) 72–3; Untersteiner (1971) 171; West (2002) 126.

568 Huxley (1969) 76.

569 On the elimination (initiated by Hercher) of the reading ἐπὶ Ἰνδοῦς, see Carrière and Massonnie (1991) 220–1.

570 Σ Ar. *Thesm.* 135 (p. 25 Regtuit) = *TrGF* 3 Aisch. test. 68; see West (1990) 26.

571 West (1990) 26–7.

572 See Fowler, *EGM* II §10.2, p. 353.

573 See Fowler, *EGM* II §10.2, p. 352.

574 On ancient sources dealing with the building of the walls by Amphion and Zethos, see Hurst (2000) 63–81.

575 He only mentions him as Ino's father (Hom. *Od.* 5.333), but he frequently employs the epithet Καδμείος for Thebes (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 4.385, *Od.* 11.276 etc); see also Hes. *Th.* 975–8, where he is mentioned as father of Ino, Semele, and Agave; for more information, see Davies and Finglass (2014) 355.

576 See Severyns (1928, 238), who takes Eustathios' note (on Hom. *Od.* 1682.58 [I 412.24 Stallbaum]: Ὀμηρος δὲ οὐκ οἶδε τὸν ῥηθέντα διὰ λύρας τευχισμὸν) as coming from Aristarchos.

577 In Palaiphat. 41 (p. 62.1–3 Festa): περὶ Ζήθου καὶ Ἀμφιόνος ιστοροῦσιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἡσίοδος, ὅτι κιθάραι τὸ τεῖχος τῆς Θήβης ἐτείχισαν.

578 See also Pher. fr. 124–125, 170^{b–**c} *EGM*.

579 The same is the case with Hor. *C.* 3.11.1–4, where Amphion gets the lyre from Mercury. According to West (2002, 126 n. 90), 'as Hermes was his teacher, Amphion's instrument was the simple tortoise-shell lyre, not the Apolline cithara'.

580 *Ap.* Σ *Ap.* Rh. 1.740–1a (p. 62.11–13 Wendel).

581 See Pher. fr. 41b *EGM*; Fowler, *EGM* II §10.2, p. 353. See also Σ (Q) Hom. *Od.* 11.262 (II 494.19–22 Dindorf); Σ *Ap.* Rh. 1.735–7a (pp. 61.20–62.4 Wendel) = *FGrHist* 3 F 41c; Σ (T) Hom. *Il.* 13.302a (III 457.26–30 Erbse) = *FGrHist* 3 F 41d.

582 See Fowler, *EGM* II §10.4, p. 365. The Phlegyai ('people of fire') are descended from Phlegyas, the son of Ares (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.3), a god very much at home in the story of Kadmos. On the Phlegyai, see already Hom. *Il.* 13.298–302.

583 οἱ πρῶτοι Θήβης ἔδος ἔκτισαν ἑπταπύλοιο.

584 Fowler, *EGM* II §10.4, p. 353.

585 See the detailed analysis by Gantz (1993) 483–8.

586 Gomme (1913) 53–72, 223–45.

587 Fowler, *EGM* II §10.2, pp. 351–7; §10.4, pp. 361–6.

588 Berman (2004) 5–6; see also Mackowiak (2010) 563–89.

589 Both Pausanias (9.5.6) and Diodoros (19.53.4–5) had invented neat solutions to the problem of the double foundation of Thebes: they had Kadmos found the main acropolis of the city (Diodoros: τὸ ἄστυ; Pausanias: ἡ Καδμεία), while Amphion and Zethos had built fortifications for the city's lower part at a later stage. No doubt, they have both been influenced by 'features of the Theban city as they saw it' (Berman 2004, 3 and n. 6).

590 On this point with respect to the Ampheion in Aischylos' play, see Berman (2004) 9–10 and nn. 26–7. For the Ampheion and the various problems associated with Theban topography, the first excavator's (Keramopoulos 1917, 1–503) detailed report is essential; for more recent studies, see Spyropoulos (1972) 16–27; Symeonoglou (1973); Spyropoulos and Chadwick (1975); Spyropoulos (1981); Symeonoglou (1985, esp. p. 63).

591 See Berman (2004) 6–10.

592 On the association of twins with foundation myths in Indo-European tradition, see Puhvel (1987); Ward (1968); Wiseman (1995).

593 See Edwards (1979, 65–86), who after a painstaking analysis of all the relevant arguments claims (*contra* Gomme 1913 and Vian 1963) that the Phoenician element in the legend of Kadmos is earlier than the late sixth century BC. On the Semitic etymology of Kadmos' and (even) Harmonia's name, see West (1997) 448–50.

594 Barigazzi (1966a) 136.

595 Fr. 19 *EGEF*.

596 I do not think that the Theban-Boiotian tension would have been exploited by Eumelos. On this topic, see Hdt. 4.147–9; Vian (1963) 216–25; Malkin (1994) 100–4; Kowalzig (2007) 328–91; Fowler, *EGM* II §10.2, pp. 354–7.

597 See Bowra (1938) 216.

598 (2002) 126.

- 600** Bowra (1938) 216.
- 601** Bowra (1938) 220.
- 602** Bowra (1938) 215; also Capovilla (1957) 746–50.
- 603** See West (2002) 126.
- 604** According to Diodoros (4.72), Philostephanos (fr. 14 Capel Badino) and Plutarch (*Luc.* 23.5), the people of Pontic Sinope were called Σύροι after Σύρος, who was the son of Apollo and the Asopid Sinope. On the role of the worldplay Hyria/Syria, see Capel Badino (2010) 113; Fowler, *EGM* II §6.4.5, pp. 224.
- 605** Hermes was associated with the area of Tanagra in Boiotia, named after the Asopid Tanagra, by means of Mt. Kerykion (ὄρος Κηρύκιον), one of its birthplaces; see Paus. 9.20.3.
- 606** Fr. 36 incert. carm. *EGEF*.
- 607** Correction by Hermann (1827, 301) of Tzetzes's Ἀπολλωνίδα. See the analysis of the relevant fragment (below).
- 608** See West (2002) 132.
- 609** This would have been a very neat choice, since it would have easily evoked to a Corinthian audience its Sikyonian namesake river. See Bacchyl. 9.53–70, where the daughters of Sikyonian Asopos are mentioned, as it is perfectly appropriate for an ode written for a Phliasian (Automedes).
- 610** The name Borysthenis refers to the river Borysthenes (Dniepr) whose estuary is on the northern part of the Black Sea (Sinope being situated in the Pontic southern part).
- 611** On this passage, see also the analysis of fr. 36 incert. carm. *EGEF* (below).
- 612** The translation is by Sitlington Sterrett (1917, 277 with modifications).
- 613** See Fränkel (1975) 493.
- 614** See Hubbard (1985) 11–27; Romm (1992) 17–18.
- 615** On the north-south polarity in the form of an antithesis between Skythia and Egypt, see Prop. 1.6.3–4.
- 616** Although Thermodon is not mentioned by name, it is noteworthy that in Plutarch (*Luc.* 23) Autolykos, one of the men who fought with Herakles against the Amazons, arrives after a shipwreck at Sinope, ‘whom the Syrians held, the descendants of Syros, the son –as they say– of Apollo and the Asopid Sinope’.
- 617** See Maehler (1982) 162 on. 9.41, who argues that for Bacchylides some of these geographical references point to specific myths and not simply to the ends of the world.
- 618** See Cairns (2010) 258 on 9.41.
- 619** *Kor.* fr. 26 *EGEF*.
- 620** *Kor.* fr. *23 *EGEF*. On this point, see Barigazzi (1966a) 144; West (2002) 124.
- 621** There is a peculiar piece of information cited only by Pausanias in his book on Arkadia (8.53.4). According to this version, Tegeates, son of Lykaon and founder of the city of Tegea, had three sons, Kydon, Archedios, and Gortys, who founded in Crete three cities. This local Arkadian version may reflect a link with Crete, though it is rejected by the Cretans, as Pausanias adds (see 8.53.4–5 for the Cretan version).
- 622** ἐφ’ ἡμέρας δ’ ἑννέα ξενισθεὶς παρὰ Μενελάωι, τῇ δεκάτῃ πορευθέντος εἰς Κρήτην ἐκεῖνον κηδεῦσαι τὸν μητροπάτορα Κατρία, πείθει τὴν Ἑλένην ἀπαγαγεῖν σὺν ἑαυτῷ.
- 623** See Huxley (1969) 74, who also attributes this fragment to the *Korinthiaka*.
- 624** Probably by the Rhodians, since Althaimenes had already killed his sister Apemosyne (*Bibl.* 3.2.1) and he had disappeared under the earth after realizing that he had killed his own father (*Bibl.* 3.2.2).
- 625** The table contains information relevant only to the material offered by the author of the *Bibliothēke*. For a complete presentation of all the sources pertaining to the children of Menelaos by various concubines, see Severyns (1928) 376–81.
- 626** *Od.* 4.14.
- 627** *Cat.* fr. 175 M–W (*ap.* Σ Soph. *El.* 539a [p. 186.3–6 Xenis]).
- 628** *Cat.* fr. 175 M–W.
- 629** *Kin.* fr. 3 *EGEF*.

630 *FGrHist* 382 F 12.

631 This version (that Nikostratos is the son of Menelaos and a slave) is offered by Pausanias (2.18.6), who also makes Megapenthes the son of Menelaos and a slave. The phrasing of the text of *Bibl.* 3.11.1 indicates that Apollodoros is aware of various authors (Hesiod, Lysimachos, and Kinaithon?) presenting Nikostratos as the son of Menelaos and Helen.

632 According to Homer (*Od.* 4.11-12), he was the son of a slave woman.

633 Fr. 41 *EGM*. See also *Nost.* fr. 13 *GEF*, where it is stated that Megapenthes' mother was Getis. Both Tereis and Getis (may) have Thracian associations; see Fowler, *EGM* II §18.2.2, p. 529.

634 See St. West (1988) 194 on *Od.* 4.12; also Σ (HM^a) on Hom. *Od.* 4.12a (II 182.95–7 Pontani).

635 In [Hesiod] (*Cat.* fr. 175 M–W) he is called ὀπλότατος ('youngest by birth'). Megapenthes too (*Od.* 4.11) is described as τηλύγετος ('last born?').

636 So Σ (E) on Hom. *Od.* 4.11e (II 182.88 Pontani). See also Jacoby *FGrHist*, Kommentar, on Akous. 2 F 41; Hirschberger (2004, 473 on fr. *9 [175]).

637 With some hesitation (*fragmenta incerti loci, fortasse ad KOPINΘIAKA referenda*).

638 West (2002) 125.

639 For more examples showing Eumelos' disregard of chronology, see West (2002) 125.

640 See fr. 33–4 incert. carm. *EGEF* (below).

641 Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.3.

642 [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 129.18, 131 M–W; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.9.1.

643 See West (2002) 124.

644 Explanation of symbols: ↓ and ↙ mean 'offspring of X'; ⇄ and ⇅ mean 'husband-wife or erotic affair' respectively.

645 The same seems to be the case with the citations from Stesichoros in Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.3.3 and 3.10.3.10.

646 (1958) 108–9.

647 See *Tit.* fr. *6–*7 *EGEF*.

648 Supplied by West (Asios, fr. 9 *GEF* = *EGEF*).

649 Translation after Scott and Trzaskoma (2007, 57 with some spelling modifications). The supplement is by West (see above).

650 Tzetzes mentions Apollodoros as his source.

651 Another possibility, in the light of the extreme paucity of material pertaining to Arkadia in the extant work of Hellanikos, would be that the Arkadian stories were part of another work (*Phoronis*?) by the same author.

652 See Forbes Irving (1990) 203.

653 See Robert (1873) 35–7; van der Valk (1958) 161–2.

654 According to Wagner's index auctorum, only 84 author-citations are given by the author of the *Bibliothèque*, whereas the total number of sources employed by Apollodoros must have been hundreds.

655 For a detailed analysis of Kallisto's myth, see Franz (1890); Röscher (1884–37), vol. 2, 931–5 (Franz); *RE* 20.2, s.v. 'Kallisto' 1, cols. 1726–9 (Adler); Forbes Irving (1990) 67–8, 72–4, 202–5.

656 Sale (1965, 34) seems to think that it featured in Eumelos, Asios, and Pherekydes, i.e. all the authors mentioned by name in the beginning of this subsection of the *Bibliothèque*.

657 Heyne (1783) II 666. See e.g. [Eratosth.] *Katast.*; also Henrichs (1987) 260.

658 See Forbes Irving (1990) 72–6, who rightly observes that '[i]n the story of Atalanta we find the themes of the story of Callisto greatly exaggerated' (74).

659 See also Σ (A) Hom. *Il.* 18.487 (IV 532.42–50 Erbse).

660 Henrichs (1987) 263.

661 a: p. 50 Robert, l p. 1 Olivieri = *Comment. in Aratum reliqu.* p. 181 Maass (= [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 163 M–W); b: [Eratosth.] *Catasterismorum fragmenta Vaticana* ed. Rhem (Ansbach 1899) p. 2 (= [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 163 M–W); c: Σ (Q) Arat. 37–44 (p. 90.13 Martin) and Σ (S) ad v. 27, (p. 74.19 Martin); see Amphis, fr. 46 *PCG* 2.

662 The two main features of the Kallisto story pattern are the loss of virginity and her metamorphosis into a bear. The rest of this story's elements are secondary and vary according to source. Differently, Sale (1965, 26) claims that there may have been a version in which Kallisto was not changed into a bear. He further argues that '[i]n the original myth, Callisto became a bear solely because the bear was sacred to Artemis, not because (as Hesiod has it) Artemis was angry because of Callisto's loss of virginity'.

663 See Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.3. On the Io tale, see Forbes Irving (1990) 69–72, 211–16.

664 Franz (1890, 286–7) adduces Paus. 1.25.1 (Ἰὼ τὴν Ἰνάχου καὶ Καλλιστῶ τὴν Λυκάονος [...] αἷς ἀμφοτέραις ἐστὶν ἐξ ἅπαν ὁμοία διηγήματα ἔρως Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας ὀργὴ καὶ ἀλλαγὴ τῇ μὲν ἐς βοῦν, Καλλιστῶ δὲ ἐς ἄρκτον) as proof that Pausanias followed the version of a now lost mythological compendium; see also Pausanias 8.3.6: Ἥρα δὲ ὡς ἐφώρασεν, ἐποίησεν ἄρκτον τὴν Καλλιστῶ.

665 See Henrichs (1987) 254–67; Nesselrath (1990) 234–5.

666 See Passow *HgS* s.v. Μεγάνειρα (145) and s.v. Μετάνειρα (207); Keil corrected Μεγανείρας to Μετανείρας, but despite the approval of this change in *RE* 22.1, s.v. 'Krokon' 2, col. 1970 (Kern), all standard editions of the *Bibliothèque* opt for the reading of the manuscripts Μεγανείρας. Be that as it may, this Meganeira/Metaneira must be linked to Eleusis as wife of either the eponymous hero Krokon (*RE* 22.1, s.v. 'Krokon' 2, col. 1970 [Kern]) or a mythical figure from Eleusis (*RE* 22.1, s.v. 'Krokon' 3, cols. 1970–1 [Scherling]). In this edition of Eumelos' text I have adopted Keil's correction of Μεγανείρας into Μετανείρας that has been also endorsed by West in *GEF*.

667 Pausanias draws on the same source with Ap. Rh. 1.161–5 (καὶ μὴν Ἀμφιδάμας Κηφεύς τ' ἴσαν Ἀρκαδίθην, / οἱ Τεγέην καὶ κλῆρον Ἀφειδάντειον ἔναιον, / υἷε δύο Ἀλεοῦ τρίτατος γε μὲν / ἔσπετ' ἰοῦσιν / Ἀγκαῖος· τὸν μὲν ῥα πατὴρ Λυκόοργος ἔπεμπε, / τῶν ἄμφω γνωτὸς προγενέστερος. See also Σ Ap. Rh. 1.161–3 [pp. 21.23–22.4 Wendel]: ο ἰ Τ ε γ ε η ν: Τεγέα πόλις Ἀρκαδίας. κ λ η ρ ο ν δὲ <Αφειδάντειον> τὴν βασιλείαν τὴν Αφειδάντος. ὁ γὰρ Ἀλεὺς ἰστορεῖται Ἀφειδάντος υἱὸς εἶναι τοῦ Ἀρκάδος, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ χώρα Ἀρκαδία. Ἀφειδὰς δὲ ὁ Ἀρκάδος, ἀρχαῖος ἦρως, ἐβασίλευσε Τεγέας. δύο δὲ εἰσι Κ η φ ε ι ς, ὁ μὲν Ἀλεοῦ, οὗ μνημονεύει Ἀπολλώνιος, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος <...>, οὗ μνημονεύει Ἑλλάνικος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀρκαδίας (fr. 37 *EGM*). Before referring to the Auge-Herakles episode in the Arkadian stemma,

Pausanias (8.4.8) mentions as his source Hekataios (fr. *29a *EGM*; see also fr. *29b *EGM*). Since Apollodoros' version (3.9.2–4) of the same episode is different, the author of the *Bibliothēke* does not depend on Hekataios.

668 *RE* 22.1, s.v. 'Krokon' 2, col. 1970 (Kern).

669 The Ionian form Στύμφηλος instead of Στύμφαλος points to a source using the Ionic dialect.

670 Σ *Lyk. Alex.* 480 (II 172.31 Scheer).

671 *Ibid.* 481 (II 174.22 Scheer).

672 While in the source on which Tzetzes is drawing the Hamadryad nymph living inside an oak tree and being in danger because of a water-drain was saved by Arkas who τὸν ποταμὸν ἀνέτρεψε καὶ τὴν γῆν χώματι ὠχύρωσεν (Σ *Lyk. Alex.* 480e [p. 93.17 Leone]), in Ap. Rh. (2.475–83) it is the father of Paraibios who cuts down on his own the tree where the nymph lives despite her asking him not to do so; see also Buxton (2009) 210–13.

673 On this fragment, see also *EM* 75.26–44 (Gaisford); *Plut. Orac. Def.* 415d; *Amat.* 757e; Σ (D) *Hom. Il.* 6.21 (p. 255 van Thiel).

674 In his *Diakosmoi*; see *FGrHist*, Kommentar, on Mnesimachos 262 F 12.

675 Published in 1542. See Sandbach (1965) 142 in vol. XI of Plutarch's *Moralia* (Loeb).

676 See Larson (2001) 73–5.

677 The translation is that of Sandbach (1965) 221.

678 See Fowler *EGM* II §2.4, p. 109.

679 See van den Hoek (1996) 231 (numbers based on Stählin's index in *GCS*).

680 In fact the first two verses, i.e. Sol. 13.1–2 *IEG* = Krates 359.1–2 *SH*.

681 See Charlesworth (1983) II 821.

682 On *metaphrasis*, see Kassel (1981) 11–18.

683 This is a typical way of starting an epic poem; see e.g. Hes. *Th.* 1; Pl. *Euthd.* 275d; see also Finglass (2013b) 4–5, who argues that the same practice was followed by Stesichoros.

684 See West (2002) 128 n. 98. The *Europeia* has to be excluded, since there Eumelos refers to the three Muses, daughters of Apollo, with the rather exotic names, Kephiso, Achelois (corr. Hermann; Apollonis codd.), and Borysthenis (fr. 36 incert. *carm. EGEF*). It is unlikely that Eumelos would have given two different numbers for the Muses in the same poem; on this point, see Hermann (1827) 301; Marckscheffel (1840) 239.

685 Of course, it cannot be excluded that it featured in a genealogy in the *Korinthiaka*, though the number of divine genealogies would be more limited in this epic.

686 On the various numbers of Muses in different Greek and Roman authors, see Mojsik (2011) 74–97 (on ancient sources discussing the Muses' different numbers, see 85).

687 For a much later (and rare attestation of an invocation to the Muses in an epic poem containing a reference to their number), see Naevius *Bellum Punicum* fr. 1: *novem Iovis concordēs filiae sorores*. I owe this reference to M. Davies (private communication).

688 The use of the singular instead of the plural in invocations does not run against the argument mentioned above; see e.g.

689 Wilisch (1875) 39. Wilisch's arguments are in line with the views of those who think that typical phraseology pertaining to a cult ἐπὶ κλήσις has become crystallized through oral performance; see Kranz (1967) 30; see also Noussia-Fantuzzi (2010) 140, who points to *Hymn. Orph.* 76.1–2 (Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζητὸς ἐργιδούπιοιο θυγατρὲς / Μοῦσαι Πιερίδες) and *IG* XII.V 95 starting off with a verse identical to the initial one of Solon's elegy to the Muses. On the Muses' number and parentage, see Hes. *Th.* 52–4, 915–7; *HHymn to Hermes* (4) 429–30; Alkm. fr. 8.9, 28 *PMGF*; fr. adesp. 941 *PMG* = Terp. fr. 8 (Gostoli); Pind. *I.* 6.74–5, *Pae.* 6.54–8 (=52f.54–8); Pl. *Th.* 191d; Krat. fr. 359 *SH*; *Lyr. adesp.* fr. 20.1–3 (p. 191 *CA*); Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.1.3; 'Plut'. *De lib. educ.* 9e; Louk. *Salt.* 36; *Hymn. Orph.* 76.1–2, 77.1–2; *AP* 7.8.5–6 (= Antipater, *HE* 232–3). On this topic, see Noussia-Fantuzzi (2010) 140; also Vergados (2013) 510 on 429–30.

690 See the analysis of the next fragment and the arguments in favor of its attribution to the *Europeia*.

691 On the number and parentage of Muses, see Mayer (1933) 688–91; on non-canonical numbers of Muses, see Fowler, *EGM* II §1.9.4, pp. 79–80.

692 Fr. 5.2 col. ii, 28–9 *PMGF*; see also Alkm. fr. 67 *PMGF* (in Diod. Sik. 4.7.1: περί δὲ τῶν Μουσῶν ἐπειδήπερ ἐμνήσθημεν ἐν ταῖς τοῦ Διονύσου πράξειςιν, οἰκεῖον ἂν εἴη διελθεῖν ἐν κεφαλαίοις. ταύτας γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν μυθογράφων καὶ μάλιστα δεδοκιμασμένοι φασὶ θυγατέρας εἶναι Διὸς καὶ Μνημοσύνης. ὀλίγοι δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν, ἐν οἷς ἔστι καὶ Ἀλκμάν, θυγατέρας ἀποφαίνονται Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς and Σ Pind. *N.* 3.16b [III 43.19–20 Drachmann]: ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος Οὐρανοῦ θυγατέρα τὴν Μοῦσαν δέδεκται, καθάπερ Μίμνερμος [fr. 13 *IEG*] καὶ Ἀλκμάν [fr. 5.2 *PMGF*] ἱστοροῦσιν).

693 Fr. 13 *IEG* (*ap.* Paus. 9.29.4: Μίμνερμος δέ, ἐλεγεία ἐς τὴν μάχην ποιήσας τὴν Σμυρναίων πρὸς Γύγην τε καὶ Λυδοῦς, φησὶν ἐν τῷ προοιμίῳ θυγατέρας Οὐρανοῦ τὰς ἀρχαιότερας Μούσας, τούτων δὲ ἄλλας νεωτέρας εἶναι Διὸς παῖδας). See also Alkm. fr. 5.2 col. ii, 28–9 *PMGF* (= P.Oxy. 2390 fr. 2, col. II 28–9) in which it said that Mimnermos ‘presented the Muses in a genealogy’ (ἐγε [νεαλόγησε] as daughters of Gaia. On the double-genealogy of the Muses, see Mojsik (2011, 28–42; for Eumelos, see 40–2).

694 D–K 2 B 15 = Σ Ap. Rh. 3.1–5a (p. 214.19–21 Wendel). See also Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3.37 (Marchesi), according to whom Mnaseas regarded the Muses as daughters of *Tellus* (Earth) and *Caelum* (Sky), while others claimed that they were daughters of *Jupiter* and *Memoria* or *Mens* (Mind). See Mojsik (2011) 34.

695 On how Greek and Roman epics begin, see Romeo (1985); solely on Greek proems, see Race (1992) 13–38; on proems in archaic Greek epic, see Lenz (1980).

696 On Tzetzes’ scholium to Hes. *Works and Days* 1, see Cardin and Tribulato (forthcoming): ‘It may be useful to the reader to know that, due to its structure and precious information, Tzetzes’ catalogue of Muses was extracted from the scholium 1 and transmitted on its own in some manuscripts, and so edited separately in An.Ox. IV 424–425 (from cod. Bodleianus Baroccianus 133, 14th c.) [...] In the 16th century Constantine Paleokappa used it [...] to write the short chapter Περί τῶν Μουσῶν in his *Violarium* of Pseudo-Eudocia (§ 655, pp. 483–489 Flach). Therefore, these later deteriorated extracts should be used and quoted with all due caution’.

697 Only their mother Mnemosyne is mentioned by name in a proem; see Plato *Euth.* 275d; also e.g. Solon 13.1 *IEG*: Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα.

698 On the different number of Muses (three, four, five, seven, eight, and –of course– nine), see *RE* 16.1, s.v. ‘Musai’, cols. 688–91 (Mayer).

699 I consider the *Europeia* as a more plausible ‘candidate’ than the *Korinthiaka* for the attribution of this fragment; on this point, see West (2002) 126.

700 On this passage, see pp. 149–50 (above).

701 See *SH* 903; in a later publication Lloyd-Jones (1984, 141–9 = 1990, 21–9) changed his mind and accepted the opinion of those scholars who dated the *Meropis* to the archaic period; on the dating of the *Meropis*, see Henrichs (1975) 23–4, (1977a) 124–5, (1977b) 69; Führer (1977) 42; Sherwin-White (1978) 48 n. 96; Kramer (1980) 24–25; Bernabé *PEG*, pp. 131–5; Spanoudakis (2000) 332.

702 See the note of the editors on Epich. fr. 229 *PCG* 1.

703 (1892) 214.

704 (1827) 302–3.

705 See Hermann (1827) 300–1. He has been followed by Marckscheffel (1840) 239.

706 Fraenkel (1950) 655 n. 1; see also Davies (1991) 156–7 on Soph. *Trach.* 555–6.

707 West (2002) 128; *GEF*, p. 251 n. 27.

708 On the formation of accusatives in –ουν for feminine nouns in –ω (e.g. Ἰοῦν, Λητοῦν, Μητροῦν, Σαπφοῦν etc.), see Headlam (1922) 106 on 2.98.

709 *Her.* fr. 2 *GEF* = 15 Matthews.

710 See Hom. *Il.* 2.522–3 (οἱ τ' ἄρα παρ ποταμὸν Κηφισὸν δῖον ἔναιον, / οἳ τε Λίλαιαν ἔχον πηγῆς ἐπὶ Κηφισοῖο).

711 Acheloius is also the father of other springs, Peirene in Corinth (Paus. 2.2.3) and Dirke in Thebes (Eur. *Ba.* 519–20); see Isler (1970) 110.

712 See also *Her.* fr. 13 *GEF* = 28 Matthews (in ‘Ammonius’ on Hom. *Il.* 21.295 [P.Oxy. 221 ix 8; v. 93 Erbse]): [Σέ]λευκος δὲ <τὸν αὐτὸν Ὠκεανῶι τὸν Ἀχελῶιον εἶναι Πανύασσιν ἀποφαίνει λέγοντα> ἐν ε' [Ηρ]ακλείας· “πῶ[ς] δ' ἐπορ[εῦθ]ης ρέϋμ' Ἀ[χ]ελ[ω]ῖου ἀργυ[ρο]δῖνα, / Ὠκεανοῦ ποταμοῖο [δὲ] εὐρέος ὑγ[ρ]ὰ κέλευθα;”; see also Eust. on Hom. *Il.* 1367.60–3 (IV 962.9–12 van der Valk). On this passage, D'Alessio (2004, 16–23) is essential.

713 D'Alessio (2004) 30; see also Hilpert-Greger (1996) 72. On ancient testimonia designating Acheloius as ‘water’ par excellence or as the oldest Greek river, see the apparatus *fontium ap.* Σ Hom. *Il.* 21.190–4 (V 166–7 Erbse); see also Isler (1970) 109–13; D'Alessio (2004) 16–37.

714 See the following note.

715 See Alk. fr. 307c Voigt (*ap.* Him. *Or.* 48.105–31): ἐθέλω δὲ ὑμῖν καὶ Ἀλκαίου τινὰ λόγον εἰπεῖν, ὃν ἐκεῖνος ἦσεν ἐν μέλεσι παιᾶνα γράφων Ἀπόλλωνι. ἐρῶ δὲ ὑμῖν οὐ κατὰ τὰ μέλη τὰ Λέσβια, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ ποιητικὸς τις ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ τὸ μέτρον αὐτὸ λύσας εἰς λόγον τῆς λύρας. ὅτε Ἀπόλλων ἐγένετο, κοσμήσας αὐτὸν ὁ Ζεὺς μίτραι τε χρυσεῖ καὶ λύραι, δούς τε ἐπὶ τούτοις ἄρμα ἐλαύνειν – κύκνοι δὲ ἦσαν τὸ ἄρμα – εἰς Δελφούς πέμπει <καὶ> Κασταλίας νάματα, ἐκείθεν προφητεύοντα δίκην καὶ θέμιν τοῖς Ἑλλήσιν. ὁ δὲ ἐπιβάς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρμάτων ἐφῆκε τοὺς κύκνους ἐς Ὑπερβορέους πέτεσθαι. Δελφοὶ μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἦσινθοντο, παιᾶνα συνθέντες καὶ μέλος, καὶ χοροὺς ἡιθέων περὶ τὸν τρίποδα στήσαντες, ἐκάλουν τὸν θεὸν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐλθεῖν· ὁ δὲ ἔτος ὅλον παρὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖ θεμιστεύσας ἀνθρώποις, ἐπειδὴ καιρὸν ἐνομοθέτει καὶ τοὺς Δελφικοὺς ἡγήσαι τρίποδας, αὐθις κελεύει τοῖς κύκνοις ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἀφιπτασθαι. ἦν μὲν οὖν θέρος καὶ τοῦ θέρους τὸ μέσον αὐτό, ὅτε ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων Ἀλκαῖος ἄγει τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα· ὅθεν δὴ θέρους ἐκλάμποντος καὶ ἐπιδημοῦντος Ἀπόλλωνος θερινὸν τι καὶ ἡ λύρα περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀβρύνεται. αἰδοῦσι μὲν ἀηδόνες αὐτῷ ὅποιον εἰκὸς αἰσαι παρ' Ἀλκαίῳ τὰς ὀρνίθας· αἰδοῦσι δὲ καὶ χελιδόνες καὶ τέττιγες, οὐ τὴν ἑαυτῶν τύχην τὴν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀγγέλλουσαι, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὰ μέλη κατὰ θεοῦ φθεγγόμεναι· ρεῖ καὶ ἀργυροῖς ἡ Κασταλία κατὰ ποιήσιν νάμασι, καὶ Κηφισὸς μέγας αἵρεται πορφύρων τοῖς κύμασι, τὸν Ἐνιπέα τοῦ Ὀμήρου μιμούμενος. βιάζεται μὲν γὰρ Ἀλκαῖος ὁμοίως Ὀμήρῳ ποιῆσαι καὶ ὕδωρ θεῶν ἐπιδημίαν αἰσθέσθαι δυνάμενον.

716 See Eust. on Hom. *Il.* 275.18–19 (I 422.13–14 van der Valk): ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλος Κηφισὸς διὰ Φωκέων ῥέων, φασὶ καὶ ἐμβάλλων εἰς τὸν Κορινθιακὸν κόλπον; Σ Pind. *Pae.* 6.7a (P.Oxy. 841): ἐπεὶ διὰ χαλκῶν λεοντοχα[σμα]τίων ρεῖ εἰς αὐτὴν (τὴν Κασταλίαν) ὁ Κηφισός.

717 See Paus. 10.6.4, who reports a tradition according to which Delphos, the eponymous hero of the Delphians, was the son of Apollo and Melaina, daughter of Kephisos; see Harder (2012) II 382–3.

718 Acheloiος was associated with the oracle of Dodona; see Ephor. *FGrHist* 70 F 20a–c; also D'Alessio (2004) 32–3; Harder (2012) II 383.

719 In Hes. *Th.* 337–45 all rivers are the sons of Okeanos and Tethys; see also Hom. *Il.* 21.194–7. On Acheloiος meaning 'daughter of Acheloiος', see Eust. on Hom. *Il.* 938.67–939.1 (III 491.21–3 van der Valk).

720 There is a well-known principle of naming children after a parent's qualities or experiences; see e.g. Neoptolemos and Telemachos in Homer or Manto in the Cyclic *Epigoni*.

721 (1937) 579.

722 (2015) 209.

723 Maas in Snell (1937) 579; Körte (1938) 80; cf. Debiassi (2004) 74 n. 23.

724 Snell (1937, 579) also considered the possibility of an aorist form of the verb τιταίνω ('to stretch') instead of Τιτήνα. Having no access to the original when writing his review, Snell acknowledged that this alternative must be left open, but noted that in order to avoid a violation of Hermann's Bridge one needed to have the augmented form of the aorist (ἐτίτηνα). After a fresh examination of the papyrus, D'Alessio (2015, 210) argued that what can be said on the basis of the remaining traces of letters ('end of a descending diagonal, not reaching the base of the line') is that ἐτίτηνα is unlikely. Moreover, the argument about the violation of Hermann's Bridge is not valid, since it is violated once or twice in this fragment: see Powell's reading μέγα φρεσ[iv ἦσι]ν (l. 5) and D'Alessio's reading μο[νόν]υχ[ε]ς ἵπποι (l. 16).

725 D'Alessio (2015) 211: 'Snell's articulation does retain a certain degree of plausibility, even if many other alternatives are available for the end of the line (purely exempli gratia: μέ[νον]τ-, με[λαθ]ρ-, μέ[δον]τ-, forms of the aorist of μεθίημι, or of μεγάρω, ἀμέ[γα]ρτ- or even simply μέ[v –x, with punctuation before Τιτήνα)'.
726 Snell (1937) 579; Powell (1936) ad loc. suggested μάχης ἀπαμύ]ντορα Φοῖβον.

727 (2015) 211.

728 (2015) 211.

729 βάλλειν could very well be used for Zeus' thunderbolts but not τιταίνειν.

730 See Apollodoros' account of the Gigantomachy (*Bibl.* 3.6.1–2), in which Herakles (mainly) and Apollo are mentioned as archers killing various Giants (Herakles: κάκεινος πρῶτον μὲν ἐτόξευσεν Ἀλκυονέα ... καὶ Διὸς κεραυνώσαντος αὐτὸν Ἡρακλῆς τοξεύσας ἀπέκτεινε ... πάντας δὲ Ἡρακλῆς ἀπολλυμένους ἐτόξευσεν; Apollo and Herakles: τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Ἀπόλλων μὲν Ἐφιάλτου τὸν ἀριστερόν ἐτόξευσεν ὀφθαλμόν, Ἡρακλῆς δὲ τὸν δεξιόν).

731 On the close chronological link between the Gigantomachy and Titanomachy, see D'Alessio (2015, 208–9).

732 See St. West (1994) 146; Debiassi (2004) 86–91. Another scenario would be, according to D'Alessio (2015) 212, 'an Orphic poem with Zeus entrusting to Apollo the remains of Dionysus dismembered by the Titans, or a poem featuring terminological overlap between Giants and Titans'.

733 Marco Perale in his forthcoming edition of *epica adespota* suggests λευ[κώλενος] Ἥρη. I owe this information to D'Alessio (2015) 211, who does not completely exclude the possibility that the last letter after προσέφη may be a ζ introducing a formula like Ζ[εὺς] τερπικέρανος as subject of the ensuing speech. The use of οὗ κράτος in the following line seems indeed to point to Zeus but 'lambda fits the traces much better' (n. 57).

734 D'Alessio (2015, 212) observes that '[i]f the context was that of a battle of the gods against some supernatural or divine adversary, the use of a form of the adjective ἄδικος "unrighteous" at line 19 would be interesting *per se*, as the word is notoriously absent in the Homeric poems, coming to the fore in Hesiod (*Op.*), in the *Catalogue* (mostly in contexts related to Zeus) and in the *Homeric Hymns*'; for examples, see Gagarin (1974) 188–9. Cf. also Eum. *Tit.* fr. 14 *EGEF*, where Cheiron is said to have taught justice to mankind.

735 On *Telegoniam* being a scribal error for *Genealogias*, see the discussion below.

736 (18652) I 227.

737 (1840) 245–8; see also *RE* 8.2, s.v. 'Homeridai', cols. 2148–50 (Rzach) and *RE* 11.1, s.v. 'Kinaithon', col. 462 (Rzach).

738 See test. 3 *EGEF* (above). The text under brackets has been supplemented by Wilamowitz (1884, 334). Rzach (*RE* 11.1 s.v. ‘Kinaithon’ cols. 462–3) calls it ‘doubtful’; see also Squire (2011) 400 (Tablet 10K).

739 *GEF*, p. 31.

740 There is no reason to follow Huxley (1969, 41) in assuming that the variant spellings of the poem’s title (*Οἰδιπόδεια*, *Οἰδιπόδια*, *Οἰδιποδία*) reflect two different versions, one current in Boiotia and another one in Lakadaimon.

741 See Pind. *P.* 5.75; Hdt. 4.145–9; see also the analysis of Huxley (1969) 89.

742 This is a different Teisamenos from Orestes’ son from Hermione. I have decided to keep both forms (Teisamenos/Tisamenos) according to the source that I am using. So I write Teisamenos for references to Herodotos, but Tisamenos for references to Pausanias.

743 See Hdt. 4.147–8; also Malkin (1994, 89–95) who considers the renaming of Kalliste as Thera suspect; Asheri et al. (2007) 671–6 with further bibliography.

744 See *RE* 11.1 s.v. ‘Kinaithon’ cols. 462–3 (Rzach).

745 On Kinaithon as the author of the *Ilias parva*, see Debiasi (2004) 189–90, especially n. 75.

746 See West (2013) 36 n. 79.

747 See West (2013) 36 (in his 2003 Loeb edition of Greek epic fragments he seems to have left the matter open, since he cited in parenthesis both the mythographer and the grammarian as possible sources); see also Allen (1912) 128; *RE* 11.1 s.v. ‘Kinaithon’, col. 463 (Rzach); Severyns (1928) 345; *DNP* 3, 214 (Keydell); fr. **202C *EGM*. This fragment is not included either in *FGrHist* or in Ambaglio (1980). It should not escape our attention, though, that this attribution is based on Hermann’s correction (1834, 185) of the manuscript reading μελάνικος into Ἑλλάνικος.

748 See Marckscheffel (1840) 73; Montanari (1987, 183–9; 1988, 72–3) leaves both possibilities open (highlighting the mythographer’s interest in the Trojan saga, whereas there are ‘no points of contact with the other fragments of the grammarian’ [73]) and places the fragment under *dubia*. Kinkel (1877, 38) in his edition of the epic fragments does not indicate his preference for the grammarian or the mythographer.

749 See arg. *Il. parv.* (Severyns). Lesches of Pyrrha is also mentioned in Tzetzes’ list of authors of various *Iliads* (see above).

- 750** (1887) 1–2.
- 751** See above.
- 752** Cited in Fowler, *EGM* II §20, p. 614 (personal communication) and fully presented in West (2013) 36.
- 753** *RE* 11.1 s.v. ‘Kinaithon’, col. 463 (Rzach).
- 754** See Thomson (1914) 111; Janni (1970) II 115.
- 755** *Contra* Debiasi (2004) 251–2.
- 756** (1852) 308.
- 757** In Roscher, I 2793 (Seeliger).
- 758** See also *FGrHist* 26 F 2. See *EGF*, p. 142.
- 759** On the problems pertaining to the titles of Kinaithon’s works, see the analysis above with further bibliography.
- 760** See below.
- 761** *Ar. Ran.* 1033.
- 762** 7.6.3.
- 763** For the plurals, see Michael Phil. in *Aristotelis sophisticos elenchos commentarius* (= *Pseudo-Alexander* 1, *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* 2.3, p. 14.9 Wallies): δηλοῦσι δὲ τοῦτο Ἰππίαι καὶ Πρωταγόραι καὶ Γοργίαί καὶ Πρόδοκοι.
- 764** (1990) 394–6. This may be also the view of Davies, who does not include this piece of information in his testimonia on Kinaithon in *EGF*.
- 765** So in *PEG* and *GEF*.
- 766** See fr. 1–5 *EGEF* and fr. *6–*7 dub. *EGEF*. See also *RE* 23.1 s.v. ‘Prodikos’ 1–2, cols. 84–5 [Aly].
- 767** Malten (1912, 264) is followed by Huxley (1969) 87 and n. 1; see also Papachatzis (1980) 405–6. Rzach (*RE* 11.1 s.v. ‘Kinaithon’, cols. 462–3) adopts the manuscript readings making Hephaistos the son of Talos; the same do Casevitz, Jost, Marcadé (1998) 288; on Hephaistos, see *RE* 8.1 s.v. ‘Hephaistos’, cols. 311–66 (Malten).
- 768** Σ *Ap. Rh.* 1.1126–31b (p. 102.7–8 Wendel): οἱ πρῶτοι τέχνην (τέχνης West; see below on *Phor.* fr. 1 *EGEF*) πολυμήτιος Ἡφαίστοιο / εὖρον ἐν οὐρείησι νάπαις ἰόντα σίδηρον.
- 769** *Contra* Giannoulidis (1965) 117–19.
- 770** Siebelis’ Μῆδος has not been approved by any modern editor; see Marckscheffel (1840) 408.
- 771** καὶ ῥ’ ἦ γε δημηθεῖς ὑπ’ Ἰήσωνι ποιμένοι λαῶν / Μῆδειον τέκε παῖδα, τὸν οὖρεσιν ἔτρεφε Χεῖρων / Φύλλυριδις.
- 772** See *RE* 6.1 s.v. ‘Eriopis’ 4, col. 459 (Hoefler).
- 773** See *RE* 15.1 s.v. ‘Mermeros’, cols. 1036–8 (Keil).
- 774** The same would be the case with the Okeanid Perseis (*Th.* 957), whose name has been associated with the Persians, who became known in the sixth century BC, when they defeated the Medes. But it would be rather odd to have an Okeanid as the eponym of an entire nation; see Fowler, *EGM* II §1.3.2, p. 16. For the end of the *Theogony*, see the most recent treatment by Kelly (2007, 390–6) with further bibliography.
- 775** For a different view, see Huxley (1969) 87.
- 776** *Me-de-i-jo*: KN B 800. As for Perse, the form *Pe-re-swa* in Linear B is unlikely to be *Perswa, which should have been written *Pe-swa*. I owe this observation to M. L. West (personal communication). On *Pe-re-swa*, see Chadwick (1968) 65; Janko (1982a) 247 n. 37; Fowler, *EGM* II §1.3.2, p. 16 n. 47.
- 777** Fowler, *EGM* II §1.3.2, pp. 15–16.
- 778** Hekate is modified by or called Perseis (Περσηῖς) in *Ap. Rh.* 3.467, 478, 1035, 4.1020; *Ov. Met.* 7.74; Nonn. *Dion.* 13.401.
- 779** Fowler, *EGM* II §1.3.2, p. 16.
- 780** Fowler, *ibid.*
- 781** See above on Eumelos, fr. 32 incert. carm. *EGEF*.
- 782** See St. West (1988) 194 on *Od.* 4.12; Fowler, *EGM* II §18.2.2, p. 529. On other children

- invented by various authors, see Hirschberger (2004) 472 on [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. *9 (= 175 M–W).
- 783** Pausanias knew of a version of the myth in which Nikostratos and Megapenthes were brothers, since they acted as a group in exiling Helen (3.19.9).
- 784** See Σ (A) Hom. *Il.* 3.175 [I 390.28–9 Erbse]: (D: παρὰ δὲ Λακεδαιμονίοις Ἑλένης [p. 145 van Thiel]) δύο παῖδες τιμῶνται, Νικόστρατος καὶ Αἰθιόλας ('Among the Lakedaimonians there are two sons of Helen who receive honors: Nikostratos and Aithiolas').
- 785** In [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 175 M–W he is called ὀπλότατος ('youngest by birth'). Megapenthes too (*Od.* 4.11) is described as τηλόγετος ('last born?').
- 786** See Σ Hom. *Od.* 4.11d (II 181.84–5 Pontani): Μεγαπένθης: ἐκ τοῦ ὀνόματος δηλοῖ ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀρπαγὴν τοῦτον ἔσχεν [HM^aTVYy] ('Megapenthes: he designates by means of the name that she gave birth to him after the abduction').
- 787** Hdt. 1.67–8; Paus. 7.1.8.
- 788** According to Pher. fr. 135A *EGM* (a story used also by Sophokles in his *Hermione* and Euripides in his *Andromache*), it was Neoptolemos who had married Hermione. On the conflict between the two versions, see Fowler, *EGM* II §18.5.11, p. 560.
- 789** See Cartledge (2003) 82, 93.
- 790** Hdt. 1.67–8.
- 791** See Cartledge (20022) 120.
- 792** See Finglass (2007) 86 on Pind. *P.* 11.16.
- 793** Teisamenos son of Orestes should not be confused with his Elean namesake, a famous seer who was granted Spartan citizenship and helped Sparta achieve five important military victories (Plataia, Tegea, Dipaia, 'on the Isthmos' against the Messenians, and Tanagra) during the first half of the 5th century BC; see Cartledge (20022) 184–91.
- 794** Paus. 1.7.3.
- 795** Leahey (1955) 26–38; Cartledge (20022) 120, (2003) 82. The middle of the 6th century BC saw an impressive growth of Spartan propaganda, an essential part of which was the tracing back to the Atreidai the origins of aristocratic *oikoi* in Sparta. This phenomenon is reflected in the poetry of Stesichoros, who had visited Sparta and 'sang before a Spartan prince' (West 1969, 148; see P. Oxy 2735). Stesichoros' placing of Agamemnon's palace in Sparta instead of Mykenai may well have resulted or at least reflected a Spartan viewpoint. It would not have been impossible, if this information featured in Kinaithon's epic too; on Spartan propaganda with respect to this issue, see Sakellariou (2009) I 168.
- 796** See Hornblower (2015) 475 on Lyk. *Alex.* 1374–7.
- 797** See Gantz (1993) 685.
- 798** Strabo 9.2.5; see also 9.2.3; 13.1.3. On the Aiolian colonization, see Boardman (19994) 32–3, 84–7. According to Paus. 3.2.1, Penthilos, son of Orestes, sacked Lesbos. See also Alk. fr. 70.6 (Voigt).
- 799** See e.g. the information offered by Hellanikos (*FGrHist* 4 F 85a), who says that the Lesbian poet Terpander from the city of Antissa had visited Sparta as early as 676 BC.

- 800** Apollod. *Epit.* 6.28 (*integra Apollodori verba servavit Tzetzes*).
- 801** Hom. *Od.* 4.11–12; see also Severyns (1928) 377; Huxley (1969) 89.
- 802** See D'Alessio (2005) 186.
- 803** The μέν-δέ antithesis in ἀλλὰ "Υλλου μὲν ... τὰ δὲ ... shows that the absence of any reference to Messene's husband and Messene herself pertains *solely* to the *Megalai Ehoiai*. This is also corroborated by σφισι that refers to μεγάλας Ἠοίας, not to the poems and poets mentioned before. If there was no mention whatsoever of Polykaon and Messene in Kinaithon, Asios etc., Pausanias would have said it.
- 804** See Paus. 3.1.1, 4.1.1–2.1, 4.3.9; *RE* 21.2 s.v. 'Polykaon' 1, col. 1662 (Wüst).
- 805** See Paus. 4.2.1–2; *RE* 21.2 s.v. 'Polykaon' 2, col. 1662 (Wüst). A 'Hesiodic' fragment, (*ME* fr. 251a M–W [P.Oxy. 2498]) offers the following version: the two sons of Boutes marry the two daughters of Hyllos: Polykaon marries Aristaichme (to whom are born Deimachos, Stephanos, and Stratonike [suppl. Lobel]), and Polykreion marries Euaichme. D'Alessio (2005, 186) rightly observes that the difference between Pausanias 4.2.1 ([Hes.] *ME* fr. 251b M–W) and P.Oxy. 2498 ([Hes.] *ME* fr. 251a M–W) should not make us believe that fr. 251a M–W does not come from the *ME*. Such mistakes within two pairs of similar names (Πολυκάων [Πουλυκόων in the papyrus] – Πολυκρείων and Ἀρισταίχη – Εὐαίχη) are common and easy; see also West (1985) 113; Hirschberger (2004) 449–51.
- 806** See previous footnote.
- 807** Huxley (1969) 89.
- 808** 3.1.1. According to Σ Eur. *Or.* 626 (I 161.9–11 Schwartz), Polykaon has two brothers (Myles and Bomolochos, though the latter's name is textually uncertain) and a sister (Therapne). His mother is Peridike.
- 809** Paus. 3.1.2.
- 810** Paus. 4.1.1.
- 811** Pausanias expresses doubts about this divine parentage (4.1.2).
- 812** Paus. 4.1.2–3.
- 813** Paus. 4.2.2.
- 814** Paus. 4.3.9.
- 815** On the spellings Πτώιος, Πτώος, Πτώιον, Πτώων, see *RE* 23.2 s.v. 'Ptoion', cols. 1507–9 (Lauffer); on the forms of Apollo's epithet Πτωιεύς and Πτώιος, see Schachter (1981, I 55, and on problems of etymology 56 n. 2).
- 816** Paus. 7.4.1; 7.6.4 (with the emendation of the manuscript reading ἄγρις [β] to ἄσιος by Gédoyen (1731) 158 n. 1, adopted by all editors after him).
- 817** (1969) 89.
- 818** Marckscheffel (1840, 259–61) and Michelangeli (1898, 7–9) survey the various scholars (partly writing Greek literature handbooks) and their views.
- 819** (1898) 52–6.
- 820** Fr. dub. 13 *EGEF*.
- 821** See e.g. Athen. 2.35b, 2.44b, 3.83a, 4.154b, 4.168a.
- 822** See Huxley (1969) 95, who seems to favor an early sixth-century date but finally admits that there is no certainty about it; *OCD* s.v. 'Asios', p. 192 (West); *GEF*, pp. 31–3.
- 823** See below under 'Date'.
- 824** See fr. 14 *IEG*; Gerber (1999) 426.
- 825** See *RE* 2.2 s.v. 'Asios' 6, col. 1606 (Bethe); *OCD* s.v. 'Asios', p. 192 (West); *GEF*, pp. 31–3.
- 826** See e.g. Naeke (1817) 76; Bach (1831) 141; Marckscheffel (1840) 260–1.
- 827** See the discussion of Michelangeli (1898, 14–31) and Huxley (1969, 96–7); see also the analysis of this fragment below.
- 828** See also *RE* 2.2 s.v. 'Asios' 6, col. 1606 (Bethe).
- 829** ἐπελεξάμην τάς τε Ἠοίας καλουμένας καὶ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια, πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ὅποσα Κιναιθῶν καὶ Ἄσιος ἐγενεαλόγησαν.
- 830** He may have had access to some poetic anthology and a prose epitome, the former

catering for his verse-quotations, the latter for his prose paraphrasing of sections of Asios' poem. See below under 'Sources'.

831 See above on Kinaithon.

832 See Bach (1831) 140, who rightly refutes (drawing in Wüllner's [1825, 14–15] dating of the Epic Cycle to a much later date) Weber's (1826, 449) view that Asios' genealogical work dealt solely with material pertaining to the Epic Cycle.

833 In fr. dub. 13 *EGEF* the expression ἐστι δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ἀσίου ἔπη οὕτως ἔχοντα is used.

834 See Valckenaer (1824) 63–4 n. 1 (= 1767, 59c n. 1); Marckscheffel (1840) 261. Differently, Bach (1831, 139–40), who is refuted by Marckscheffel. See also above under 'Title and Authorship'.

835 When Pausanias does not have immediate access to the text he is quoting, he tends to cite his intermediate source. See e.g. 9.29.1 and 9.38.9, where he declares that he cites Hegesinous and Chersias through a treatise on Orchomenians by Kallippos from Corinth.

836 On Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.2 and Σ (M) Hom. *Od.* 4.797b1 (II 391.61–3 Pontani), see the discussion of the relevant fragments.

837 See *RE* 2.2 s.v. 'Asios' 6, col. 1606 (Bethe).

838 The general framework referring to geographical regions of mainland Greece may have been presented in a more or less anticlockwise manner, perhaps under the influence of the Iliadic 'Catalogue of Ships': Boiotia – Phokis – Aitolia – Arkadia – Lakedaimon – Sikyon.

839 On fr. 12 *EGEF*, see the analysis above.

840 On this principle, see Kyriakou (2015) 67–70, 82–93, 102–13, 178–87, 239–42, 258–61, 272–82.

841 Pher. fr. 97 *EGM*; Paus. 9.18.1; Σ Hom. *Il.* 5.126 (II 22.4–11 Erbse); Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 1066 (II 324.23–325.7 Scheer); see Huxley (1969) 95.

842 Hdt. 5.67.

843 Asios fr. 8 *EGEF*; see Huxley (1969) 94–5.

844 See Forrest (1956) 43 n. 3; Huxley (1969) 95.

845 Michelangeli's (1898, 7–9 and 52–6) dating is based on the false assumption of the existence of two different poets under the name of Asios; Schmid (1929, 294) opted for a date not before the 6th and no later than the 5th century BC. The same view is followed by Selzer in the relevant article of the *NP* s.v. 'Asios', p. 85 (Selzer).

846 As in Paus. 1.14.5 (see below).

847 In his edition of Pausanias *ad loc.*

848 See e.g. 2.12.5: καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Ὅμηρος τοὺς Ἀγαμέμνονος ὑπηκόους καταλέγων τὸ ἔπος ἐποίησεν; 2.22.7: καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Εὐφορίων Χαλκιδεὺς καὶ Πλευρώνιος Ἀλέξανδρος ἔπη ποιήσαντες.

849 Valckenaer's ἔπη ἐς τοῦτο is not bad, but slightly off the mark, since the prepositional phrase ἐς + accusative is employed by Pausanias in this construction to designate only *the person or people* featuring in the epic that he mentions and not an episode or scene of such a poem. See e.g. Paus. 1.14.5: ἄλλ' ὁ μὲν Κνώσσιος, Θάλητα δὲ εἶναι φησι Γορτύνιον Πολύμναστος Κολοφώνιος ἔπη Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐς αὐτὸν ποιήσας; 8.1.4: πεποιήται δὲ καὶ Ἀσίοι τοιάδε ἐς αὐτὸν (*sc.* τὸν Πελασγόν). Sylburg (1696, 24), who took the verb ποιεῖν as intransitive and emended ἔπη into ἐπί, thus opting for ἐπὶ τούτῳ, is contradicted by the regular use by Pausanias of the syntax ἔπη/ ἔπος ποιεῖν.

850 (1731) 158 n. 1; see also Goldhagen (1766) I 218 n. 18; Valckenaer (1824) 65 n. 1 [= 1767, 59c n. 1].

851 (1831) 148; see Marckscheffel's (1840, 411) justified complaint: 'U. 1 ἔτεκεν scripsit Bachius, qui cur ἔτεκε metro adversari dicat, nescio'; also, Michelangeli (1898) 10.

852 I owe this information to Bach (1831) 148 and Marckscheffel (1840) 411, who accepts the manuscript reading καὶ Ἀμφίονα.

853 (1824) 63 (= 1767, 59c; Valckenaer's thesis on Euripides' lost dramas precedes the work of Naeke; it was posthumously published after Naeke's work). This is the text adopted also by Michelangeli (1898) 9.

854 (1817) 76.

855 (1831) 148; the *crasis* κάμφιονα was also suggested by Dübner (1840, 1) who accepted the reading offered by the vulgate (without referring to Bach at all), on the basis of the endorsement in the famous skolion on Harmodios and Aristogeiton of what he calls an 'ἐκθλιψις insolentior' (ὥσπερ Ἀρμόδιος κ' Ἀριστογείτων; see fr. 893.2, 896.2 *PMG* with the suggestions made in the critical apparatus).

856 *SEG* 4.667; *SEG* 16.734 (*Syll.*³²; *GIBM* IV 1002; *LSAG* 371 no. 43); see also *SEG* 38, 1254.

857 See Michelangeli (1898) 10–11; West (1966) 289 on Hes. *Th.* 447.

858 See Huxley (1969) 92, who makes this suggestion on the basis of the analogy of Alkmene's offspring, Herakles (from Zeus) and Iphikles (from Amphitryon). One could add Kteatos and Eurytos, whose birth by Molione (who had double intercourse with Aktor and Poseidon), 'Hesiod' had expressed in similar diction (fr. *Cat.* 17a.14–15 M–W): ἦ δ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ μέγ' αἰσιν δίδυ μάλον γένετο τέκνον / Ἄκτορι κυσαμ[έ]νη καὶ ἔρικτ' ὑπὸ πωλὶ ἐννοσιγαίῳ.

859 *Od.* 11.260.

860 *Cat.* fr. 181 M–W.

861 *Bibl.* 3.5.4.

862 See also Paus. 2.6.1: Ἀντιόπης ἐν Ἑλλήσι τῆς Νυκτέως ὄνομα ἦν ἐπὶ κάλλει, καὶ οἱ καὶ φήμη προσῆν Ἀσωποῦ θυγατέρα, ὃς τὴν Θηβαίδα καὶ Πλαταιίδα ὀρίζει, καὶ οὐ Νυκτέως εἶναι.

863 See fr. 9 *EGEF*.

864 *Hom. Od.* 11.260; *Apollod. Bibl.* 3.5.4.

865 *Asios* fr. 1 *EGEF*.

866 *Bibl.* 3.5.4.

867 See *Eum. Kor.* fr. 18 *EGEF*; *Eum. Eur.* fr. 30 *EGEF*.

868 *Od.* 11.262.

869 *Cat.* fr. 182 M–W.

870 *Eum. Kor.* fr. 18 *EGEF*.

871 See my comments on *Eum. Kor.* fr. 18 *EGEF*, pp. 99–100.

872 See *EGM*, 53 on Antioch. fr. 12.

873 *Strab.* 6.1.15.

874 I owe this information to Radt's commentary *ad loc.* The initials 'ms.' refer, as in *EGM* 53 and Radt's commentary, to a handwritten critical apparatus compiled by Niese on Strabo's Books 1–6 (a copy of which can be found in the Library of the University of Groningen).

875 Radt (2007) VI, 172, who adds that such lack of thoroughness is occasionally encountered in Strabo's text; see Radt (2002) I, XV.

876 See Radt (2007) VI, 172.

877 This local tradition is used in Euripides' play *Melanippe desmotis*; see fr. 489–96 *TrGF* 5.1.

878 See Huxley (1969) 93, who argues that Metabos' name may have been connected with some landmark of Boiotia, Mount Messapios being a reasonable possibility.

879 See *RE* 5.1 s.v. 'Dios' 5, col. 1080 (Hiller v. Gaertringen).

880 On Boiotos, see *RE* 3.1 s.v. 'Boiotos' 2, col. 664 (Tümpel).

881 See *Korinn.* fr. 658 *PMG*; see also Huxley (1969) 93. Poseidon features as father of

Boiotos in various later versions (in Steph. Byz. β 116 [I 356.1–26 Billerbeck]): Nikokrates (*FGrHist* 376 F 5) and Euphorion (fr. 96 Powell = fr. 120 de Cuenca) made, like Diodoros (4.67.3–6), Poseidon and Arne the parents of Boiotos, while Lykos (*FGrHist* 380 F 4) seems to have had the same version as Pausanias (9.1.1), making Boiotos the son of Itonos and the nymph Melanippe.

882 On Metapontos, see *RE* 15.2 s.v. ‘Metapontum’, cols. 1355–7 (Mayer).

883 On the toponym Siris named after the queen Siris, see Athen. 12.523d.

884 Hyg. *Fab.* 186.

885 4.67.3–6.

886 *Fab.* 186.

887 See Gantz (1993) 735.

888 In Asios (fr. 2 *EGEF*), the birth of Boiotos takes place in Boiotia.

889 Inv. 1873; 1st c. AD.

890 See *Aith.* fr. 1.2b *PEG* (cf. *Aith.* fr. spurium, p. 48 *EGF*; *Aith.* fr. 1 *GEF*); see West (2013) 137; Rengakos (2015) 312–13.

891 See Gantz (1993) 176–80; Finglass (2014b) 64–82, (2016) 241–55.

892 The sanctuary of Apollo Ptoos is located on Mt Ptoion, which lies above lake Kopais, at a close distance from Akraiphia; see Hdt. 8.135 (κεῖται δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς Κωπαΐδος λίμνης πρὸς ὄρεϊ ἀγχοτάτῳ Ἀκραίφῃς πόλιος); Strab. 9.2.34 (ὑπέρεκται δὲ τὸ Πτώιον τοῦ Τηνερικοῦ πεδίου καὶ τῆς Κωπαΐδος λίμνης πρὸς Ἀκραίφῃ); see also Hitzig-Blümner (1907) III.1, 459.

893 See *RE* 23.2 s.v. ‘Ptoion’, col. 1541 (Lauffer).

894 See Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.2.

895 Fr. 38 *EGM* (in Σ Ap. Rh. 2.1144–45a [207.9–12 Wendel]); see also Nonn. *Dion.* 9.302–20 and Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 22 (II 23.1–3 Scheer) with slight variations on the names of the sons of Athamas and Themisto.

896 Fowler, *EGM* II §6.1.1, p. 197.

897 See Huxley (1969) 93.

898 5.17.7.

899 See Debiasi (2015b) 280.

900 Fr. 193.20 M–W: Λυσιδίκης κο]ύρ[η] καὶ [Ηλ]εκτρύων[ος ἀγαυοῦ.

901 3: Αλκμήνη, θυγάτηρ λαοσσόου Ἡλεκτρώωνος.

902 See [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 190 M–W.

903 See West (1985) 109–11; Hirschberger (2004) 354–61 on [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 89–90.

904 Huxley (1969, 93) acknowledges his ignorance about Asios' motive for the introduction of this kind of change in Alkmene's genealogy and says that Asios was interested in the Argive wars against Thebes.

905 I owe all these points to Larson (2007) 26–7, who rightly stresses that 'Aiolos' family tree suggests that his immediate descendants played a significant role in Boiotian traditions in the Archaic period' (28) and that 'claims of descent from a Thessalian figurehead are prominent in other areas of central Greece, for example in Phokis, where one of the eponymous heroes Phokos hails from southern Thessaly' (29); see also McNerney (1999) 145–6.

906 Panopeus is the father of Epeios, who built the Wooden Horse. According to Lyk. *Alex.* 931–2 and Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 932 [II 299.11–17 Scheer]), Epeios' cowardice is a punishment because of Panopeus' perjury. Panopeus had falsely sworn by Athena and Ares that he had not taken any spoils while on campaign with Amphitryon against the Teleboans. According to Σ (T) Hom. *Il.* 23.665a (V 469.64–70 Erbse), Panopeus had stolen from the Teleboans the slave-woman Lagaria who later bore to him Epeios; see Finglass (2013b) 10–11; Hornblower (2015) 351 on Lyk. *Alex.* 932.

907 Φ[όκος ἐνμυ[ελίης Ἀστερόδειαν / ἐκ] Φυλάκης κ[ούρην μεγαθύμου Διῖοντος / ἢ τέκετο Κρῖσον καὶ ὑπέρθυμον Πανοπῆα / νυκτὶ μ[ι]ῆ[ι]. / τὼ καὶ πρὶν ἰδέ[ειν λ]αμπρὸν φάος ἡλείοιο / μαρνάσθην [ἐτι] μητρ[ὸς ἐόντ' ἐν γαστέρι κοίλῃ; see also Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 930 (II 300.24–7 Scheer), 939 (II 303.18–21 Scheer).

908 For the motif of two brothers fighting while being inside their mother's womb, see Hornblower (2015) 354 on Lyk. *Alex.* 939–40, who draws attention to Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.1 (Akrisios and Proitos) and the biblical Essu and Jacob (*Gen.* 25.22); see also Bremmer (1997) 92; West (1997) 440–1.

909 See Huxley (1969) 93–4.

910 (1999) 136–47.

911 2.29.3.

912 On Antiope, see *LIMC* I.1 s.v. 'Antiope' I, 854–7 (Simon); Roscher, I 380–2 (Schirmer).

913 9.17.4.

914 Paus. 9.40.11–12.

915 For a detailed analysis of the entire mythological nexus pertaining to the first Phokos and Phokis, see McNerney (1999) 136–41.

916 McNerney (1999) 141.

917 See e.g. *Alkm.* fr. 1 *GEF*; Pind. *N.* 5.12–16; Eur. *Andr.* 687; also Debiasi (2015, 279–80), who discusses a probable link between the *Alkmeonis* and the poetry of Asios.

918 See Paus. 2.29.3–4.

919 The terminology is that of Calame (1987) 158. I owe this reference to McNerney (1999) 146.

920 McNerney (1999, 142) claims that this Aiginetan mythical complex that included two branches was based on the opposition between an earthly (Aiakos and Endeis pointing to the earth; Αἰακός < αἶα, Ἐνδής < ἐν + δᾱ [= γῆ]) and a watery element (Asopos, Aigina, Psamathe, and Phokos pointing to the sea or water in general). In particular, apart from Asopos who is a river the name of his daughter Aigina may be connected to the root αἰγ- being associated with the watery element, as in αἰξ 'water-bird' (Arist. *HA* 593^b23) and αἰγες 'waves' (Artem. 2.12); see LSJ s.v. αἰξ 3 II, IV (p. 40). As for Ψαμάθη and Φῶκος, their names are derived from ψάμμος ('sand') and φῶκαινα ('dolphin'; φῶκη 'seal'). Personally, I am doubtful about this symbolism. Telamon does not fit this analysis and, in any case, too much is based on etymology.

921 McNerney (1999) 145; see also Winter (1993) 202.

922 Larson (2007) 26 (see also 28–9).

923 Paus. 2.29.4.

924 See Hom. *Il.* 2.517–26, in which the leaders of the Phokians are Schedios and Epistrophos, sons of Iphitos and grandsons of Naubolos, who rule over Krisa and Panopeus (among other Phokian cities). Naubolos was the brother of Phokos.

925 5.17.8, 7.4.1, 9.23.6.

926 See Palmerius (1668) 384; also Marckscheffel (1840) 413.

927 (1823) II, 38 (*adnotationes*); see also Bach (1831) 151. This poet is mentioned by Anton. Lib. 12 n. 1: ἰστορεῖ Νίκανδρος Ἑτεροειδῶν γ' καὶ Ἀρεὺς ὁ Λάκων ἐν ᾧσμητι Κύκνωι.

928 See fr. 26 *EGEF*.

929 On Asios and Eumelos, see Debiasi (2015) 280.

930 See West (1985) 174; Fowler, *EGM* II §4.3, p. 137.

931 See Ibyk. fr. 304 *PMGF*, who calls her Πλευρωνία and Hellanikos (fr. 119 *EGM*) who designates her as Καλυδωνία, on the basis of the city her father Thestios was thought to rule.

932 Σ Ap. Rh. 1.146–49a (pp. 19.19–20.9 Wendel).

933 On Leda and Thestios, see Fowler, *EGM* II §4.3, pp. 136–8.

934 Frr. 138–9 M–W.

935 *Cat.* fr. 11 M–W.

936 See Asios fr. 6 *EGEF*.

937 ὅτι Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Αστυπαλαίας τῆς Φοίνικος ὁ Σάμιος Ἀγκαῖος ἦν παῖς, ὃς ἐκυβέρνηα τὴν ναὺν μετὰ τὴν Τίφυος τελευτήν, καὶ Σιμωνίδης ὁ γενεαλόγος (fr. 2 *EGM*) ὁμοίως τῷ Ἀπολλωνίῳ γενεαλογεῖ.

938 See Ap. Rh. 2.865–7.

939 Σ Ap. Rh. 2.865–72e (p. 193.1–2 Wendel): Παρθενία δὲ ἡ Σάμιος ἐκαλεῖτο; on other names of Samos, see *RE* 26.2 s.v. ‘Samos’ 4, cols. 2162–3 (v. Geisau).

940 Σ Ap. Rh. 2.865–72a (p. 192.21–2 Wendel): Ἰμβρασος ποταμὸς Σάμου ὁ πρότερον Παρθένιος λεγόμενος. Samos was known since antiquity for being well watered, hence its designation as ὑδρηλή (*HHymn to Apollo* [3] 41); see also Kall. *H.* 4.48–9.

941 For Parthenope Huxley (1969, 91) has suggested a Pre-Hellenic origin; see also Hornblower (2015) 300 on Lyk. *Alex.* 736.

942 Ankaïos I (son of Lykourgos and Eurynome or Kleophile or Antinoe): Ap. Rh. 1.164; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.16; Hyg. *Fab.* 14.14–15; Paus. 8.4.10. Ankaïos II (son of Poseidon and Astypalaia): Ap. Rh. 1.188, 2.865–98, 4.210; Paus. 7.4.2; Hyg. *Fab.* 14.16.

943 See Roscher, I 354–5 (Oertel).

944 See Duemmler (1888) 301 = (1901) III 178; Studniczka (1892) 190, 192; Roscher, III 2239–40 (Ilberg).

945 Duemmler (1888) 301 = (1901) III 178.

946 See Serv. in *Aen.* 2.83 (I 231.23 Thilo-Hagen): ‘*Pelasgi*’: a *Pelasgo Terrae filio, qui in Arcadia genitus dicitur, ut Hesiodus* (fr. 160 M–W) *tradit*.

947 See *Phor.* fr. 1 *EGEF*. The same observation applies to the mythographer Akousilaos (e.g. fr. 23a–c *EGM*; see also frr. **24–5 *EGM*), who equally advertised an Argive viewpoint by promoting Inachos’ son Phoroneus as a rival of Prometheus and Deukalion; see Gantz (1993) 198.

948 See [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 160 M–W (in Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.1): Ἡσίοδος δὲ τὸν Πελασγὸν αὐτόχθονα φησιν εἶναι; see also Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.1: ὃν (*sc.* Πελασγὸν) Ἀκουσίλαος (fr. 25 *EGM*) μὲν Διὸς λέγει καὶ Νιόβης ..., Ἡσίοδος δὲ αὐτόχθονα. Some other sources referring to Arkadian autochthony are: Hdt. 8.73; Hellan. fr. 161 *EGM*; Dem. 19.261; Ephoros *FGrHist* 70 F18c.6–7; Xen. *Hell.* 7.1.23; *CEG* 824.2 (Delphi, 369 BC); [Skymnos] 526 (*GGM* I, 217 = I 125 Marcotte); see Nielsen (2002) 70 n. 134.

949 On the theme of πρῶτος εὐρετής, see Kleingünther (1933); also the discussion on *Phor.* fr. 1 *EGEF*, pp. 411–13.

950 Paus. 8.1.5.

951 Paus. 8.1.6.

952 On Lykaon as son of Pelasgos, see [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 161 M–W; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.1. On the mythographical sources referring to Lykaon (with special reference to this passage of the *Bibliothèque*), see Fowler, *EGM* II §2.4, pp. 104–9. The information found in Pher. fr. 156 *EGM* and Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.1–3.9.2 pertaining to Lykaon and his sons is based on fr. 160–8 of the [Hesiodic] *Catalogue of Women*. For a full treatment of the relevant material, see Piccaluga (1968).

953 Appended to the corpus of 33 Homeric Hymns in Allen's edition (1921, vol. V).

954 See *GEF*, p. 259 n. 33.

955 Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.1.

956 Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.5.

957 Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.1–2.

958 Frr. 161–8 M–W.

959 Fr. 156 *EGM*.

960 Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.1–3.9.2.

961 For a general survey of the various sources, see Gantz (1993) 725–9; Fowler, *EGM* II §2.4, pp. 104–9.

962 See [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 163 M–W (in [Eratosth.] *Katast.* fragmenta Vaticana 8 (cod. R Olivieri) = 8 (codd. TWR Pàmias i Massana).

963 Lyk. *Alex.* 481.

964 For an exemplary analysis of the Kallisto myth by the application of applied mythology, see Henrichs (1987) 242–77, especially 254–67.

965 3.8.1–2; see Heyne (1783) II 666–7.

966 Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 481 (II 174.2 Scheer).

967 The very same reason is used to explain his selection by Lykaon as a sacrificial victim in a different version offered by the same scholium (Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 481b [p. 94.4–5 Leone]). On the slaughtering of Nyktimos, see also Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 481 (II 174.5–8 Scheer).

968 In one of the versions of this story offered by the Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 481 (II 174.11 Scheer), Gaia stretches her hand in supplication to Zeus so that he ceases from thunderbolting Arkadia. This version differs from that given by Apollodoros with respect to the identity of the slaughtered child offered to Zeus as dinner: whereas in the Σ Lyk. *Alex.* he is Nyktimos, in Apollodoros he is an unnamed local child.

969 Fowler, *EGM* II §2.4, p. 104.

970 On Eumelos' version, see the analysis of Eum. *Kor.* fr. 33 incert. *carm.* *EGEF* (above).

971 Fowler, *EGM* II §2.4, p. 105.

972 Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.8.1–2: φθάσασα γὰρ ἡ Γῆ καὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς τοῦ Διὸς ἐφραμμένη τὴν ὀργὴν κατέπαυσε.

973 Asios fr. 8 *EGEF*.

974 (1969) 95.

975 For the use of the term *σεληνῖται* as a designation of the Arkadians, see Σ Ap. Rh. 4.263–4b (p. 275.9–25 Wendel), in which various ancient authorities are cited.

976 See Hippys of Rhegium (*FGrHist* 554 F*7); Arist. fr. 608 (Gigon); Xenagoras (*FGrHist* 240 F32); Kallim. *Iamb.* 1.56; Lyk. *Alex.* 482; Mnaseas fr. 20 (Cappelletto); Clem. *Protr.* 1.6.4; Hippolytus *Refutatio omnium haeresium* 5.7.4; Hesych. π 3722 (III 183 Hansen); Ioannes Laurentius Lydus *Peri menon* 3.1; Steph. Byz. α 428.9 (I 254.9 Billerbeck), π 252 (IV 98.15 Billerbeck and Neumann-Hartmann); *Suda* β 229 (I 466.15–467.4 Adler), π 2634 (IV 222.19–20 Adler); *EM* 690.12–13 (Gaisford); Eust. on Dion. Per. 414 (*GGM* II, 293.36–8); Eust. on Hom. *Il.* 300.25 (I 464.27 van der Valk); Σ Aisch. *PV* 438a (139–40 Herington), 438d (140 Herington), 438e (140–1 Herington); Σ Ar. *Nub.* 398c (I.III¹ 97.22–98.4 Holwerda); Σ Apoll. Rh. 4.263–64b (p. 275.15–16 Wendel); Nonn. *Dion.* 41.90. There is even a lyric fragment of unknown authorship (fr. 985 *PMG*: εἴτ' <ᾗρ> Ἀρκαδία προσεληναῖον Πελασγόν), which applies the epithet *προσεληναῖος* to Pelasgos (see Borgeaud 1988, 6; Nielsen 2002, 72).

977 See Eust. on Dion. Per. 414 (*GGM* II, 293.36–8): ὅτι δὲ καὶ προσεληνοὶ λέγονται οἱ

Ἀρκάδες διὰ τὴν πᾶν τοῦ ἔθνους ἀρχαιότητα, ὁ Λυκόφρων ἱστορεῖ; *Lyk. Alex.* 482 where the poet employs the expression τὼν πρόθε μῆνης; Σ *Lyk. Alex.* 482b (95.2–5 Leone) and 482 (II 174.24–175.13 Scheer); also Hornblower (2015) on *Lyk. Alex.* 229.

978 See e.g. Paus. 8.1.6.

979 See Plut. *Aet. Rom. et Graec.* 286a (with a clear association between the Arkadians' birth from the earth and the antiquity of the oak that was considered to be the first tree); see also Plut. *De esu carniū* i 993f.

980 See Nielsen (2002) 71.

981 See fr. 985 *PMG*; Nielsen (2002, 72) entertains the possibility (following Schneidewin 1846, 421–42; cf. *PLG* III 713) that this unknown poet may have been Pindar; see also Borgeaud (1988) 6.

982 In Pausanias (8.1.6), the acorns used for food by the Arkadians are specifically those of the φηγός, which is the δρὺς ἀργία ('Valonia oak' or *Quercus Aegilops*) that is famously associated with the ancient oracle of Dodona (notice that in Hom. *Il.* 16.233 Achilles calls the Zeus of Dodona 'Pelagian', probably meaning 'ancient'), not of every kind of oak tree (δρυὼν οὔτι πον πασῶν).

983 The observations of Fowler (*EGM* II §2.4, p. 106 n. 65) about light vs darkness in Arkadian ritual, the lack of connection with the pair Lykos-Nykteus in Boiotia, and the etymology of words like λυκαυγές, ἀμφιλύκη etc. are all persuasive; see also Buxton (1987) 60–79.

984 Apollod. *Epit.* 6.8–11; Σ *Lyk. Alex.* 386b (p. 74.9–19 Leone) and 386 (II 145.12–20 Scheer), 1093 (p. 207.9–19 Leone) and 1093 (II 328.22–329.11 Scheer), 1218b (p. 225.4–11 Leone), 1220 (p. 225.16–17 Leone) and 1220 (II 351.2–3 Scheer).

985 Aerope's father Katreus (grandfather of Agamemnon and Menelaos) and Idomeneus' father Deukalion were siblings (their father being Minos); on Aerope, see Finglass (2011) 497 on Soph. *Aj.* 1295–7.

986 For the Cretan element in Odysseus' false tales, see Tsagalis (2012b) 309–45, with bibliography.

987 See Von der Mühl *RE* Suppl. VII col. 710 (followed by West 2014, 100 and 175 n. 48), who argues that Ipithime may have been invented *ad hoc*, since she is not heard of elsewhere. Her husband Eumelos of Pherai is known from Hom. *Il.* 2.713, 763–7, 23.288–9.

988 For Ikarios and Tyndareos as brothers, see Stes. fr. 287 (Finglass and commentary [574–5] with some doubts on the authenticity of this information); Stesichoros' genealogy is followed by Theokritos (22.138, 170; see Gow 1950, on 22.138); also Σ *Lyk. Alex.* 511 (II 184.23–5 Scheer). In the [Hes.] *Cat.* (fr. 199.8 M–W) Tyndareos is the son of Oibalos. On this matter, see Fowler, *EGM* II §13.2, pp. 418–25.

989 Fr. 287 Finglass.

990 (1969) 94.

991 Or Alyzeos according to Steph. Byz. α 234 (I 166.14–15 Billerbeck), Alyzeus or Alyzaïos being the ethnic designation.

992 See Strab. 10.2.9 (= *Alkm.* fr. 5 *GEF*), 10.2.24; Steph. Byz. α 234 (I 166.14–15 Billerbeck); on a possible link between *Alkm.* fr. 5 *GEF* and Asios fr. 10 *EGEF*, see Debiasi (2015) 280.

993 See Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.5.

994 See Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.6.

995 See Pher. fr. 128 *EGM*; see Roscher I, 658 (4) (Roscher).

996 On Asios' emphasis in the first 'section' of his work on the descendants of Aiolos as an almost typological feature of his genealogical epic, see pp. 223–4.

997 See Fowler, *EGM* II §13.2, p. 502.

998 See Eum. *Kor.* fr. 19–20 *EGEF*.

999 On Epopeus ruling Ephyrāia, see Eum. *Kor.* fr. 19 *EGEF*. On Marathon's temporary return to the Peloponnese and his division of the region of Corinth between his two sons, Sikyon (who took control of Asopia) and Korinthos (who ruled in Ephyrāia), see Eum. *Kor.*

fr. 20 *EGEF*.

1000 This has been used as an argument for dating the *Korinthiaka* to the 6th c. BC; see Fowler, *EGM* II §13.2, p. 502.

1001 Barron (1961, 185–7) has argued for a visit by Ibykos to Sikyon; see also Finglass (2014) 24–6; Griffin (1982, 57–8) suggests that this visit took place soon after Kleisthenes' death and that Ibykos moved to Samos as a result of his quarrel with Kleisthenes' successor. This scenario is not unthinkable, though I do not know of any piece of information confirming or suggesting it, as Griffin himself (1982, 57) acknowledges.

1002 See Huxley (1969) 94–5.

1003 See Hdt. 6.126–31.

1004 See Hdt. 5.67.

1005 The verses in parenthesis refer to the numbers of lines of the entire citation of Athenaios, as they are numbered in the relevant section of the text (under ‘Fragments’) and the critical apparatus.

1006 Kaibel noted his suggestion only in the critical apparatus of his edition of Athenaios.

1007 (1976) 84.

1008 See Michelangeli (1898) 15.

1009 See Schweighäuser (1801–1807) VI 404; Dindorf (1827) II 1176; Marckscheffel (1840) 415.

1010 So Bach (1831) 144.

1011 See Seymour (1885) 18–19.

1012 *GH*, II 351.

1013 *Od.* 5.467: θῆλυσ ἐέρση.

1014 *Asp.* 395: θῆλυσ ἐέρση.

1015 *Danae* (?), fr. dub. 1132.12 *TrGF* 5.2: θῆλυν σποράν.

1016 *Od.* 12.369: ἡδὺς αὐτμή.

1017 *Id.* 20.8: ἀδέα χαίταν (secl. J. Lucas).

1018 *Il.* 10.27: πουλὺν ἐφ’ ὑγρήν.

1019 *AP* 9.413: αἱ ... εὐρέες.

1020 *Kyn.* 3.323: εὐρέος αἴης.

1021 (1817) 74.

1022 *Ephem. Lips.* (1817) 2230; non vidi (in Marckscheffel 1840, 415).

1023 (1831) 144.

1024 (1790) I, 121.

1025 (1940) 427.

1026 (1784) 44.

1027 (1801–1807) VI 405.

1028 E.g. *Il.* 1.317, 2.153.

1029 For this meaning of ἔχειν, see Heubeck (1992) 317 on Hom. *Od.* 23.47.

1030 On this point, see Michelangeli (1898) 18 with further examples.

1031 (1817) 74–5.

1032 See *PEG* ad loc.

1033 For the argument adduced by Michelangeli in support of this view, see his detailed analysis (1898, 19–29). One of his points that could be briefly mentioned here is that if Naeke’s order of verses is accepted, then κορύμβαι and δεσμοί could hardly be differentiated, which would unavoidably result in a redundant repetition of the same thing in two consecutive lines (21).

1034 (1957) 391–7 (= 1970, 122–8).

1035 (1981) 332.

1036 See e.g. Σ Thouk. 1.6.3 (pp. 8.27–9.3 Hude): ἐφόρου δὲ τέττιγας διὰ τὸ μουσικὸν ἢ διὰ τὸ αὐτόχθονες εἶναι· καὶ γὰρ τὸ ζῶον γηγενές ἐστιν. ABFGM <ἐνέρσει> (ἐν ἔρσει) <κρωβύλον> ἢ ἐν εἰσέρσει ἢ ἐν πλοκῇ. κρώβυλος δὲ ἐστὶν εἶδος πλέγματος τῶν τριχῶν ἀπὸ ἐκατέρων εἰς ὅξυ καταλήγον. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνδρῶν κρώβυλος, τῶν δὲ γυναικῶν κόρυμβος, τῶν δὲ παιδῶν σκορπίος; Polydeukes 2.30 (I 90.5–8 Bethe) ἔτρεφον δὲ τινες ἐκ πλαγίου κόμην ἢ κατόπιν ἢ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέτωπον ποταμοῖς ἢ θεοῖς, καὶ ὠνομάζετο πλοχμός ἢ σκόλλυς ἢ σειρὰ τριχῶν· τὴν γὰρ κοσύμβην οὐκ ἔαν προσοίμην, ἀλλὰ τὸν Ἀττικὸν κρωβύλον.

1037 Differently Bowra (1957) 395 (= 1970, 126).

1038 κ 3703 (II 515 Latte). But see Bowra (1957) 395 (= 1970, 126), who adduces the same piece of information as an indication that κορύμβαι means some sort of ‘ornamental fastening’.

1039 *EM* 311.4–6 (Gaisford): ἐγκόμβωμα· ὁ δεσμός τῶν χειρίδων, ὃ λέγεται παρ’ Ἀθηναίους ὄχθοιβος, ὑπὸ δὲ ἄλλων κοσύμβη.

1040 Polydeukes 2.30 (I 90.8 Bethe).

1041 Dio Chr. 72.1.5.

1042 The italics are mine to indicate that O'Sullivan (1981, 333) himself sees some difficulty in this interpretation. His reference to an epigram by Antipatros (*AP* 6.219.3–4) does not prove anything, since the word κόρυμβοι that is used in verse 3 (θηλυχίτων, ἀσκητὸς ἐυσπεῖροισι κορύμβοις) in conjunction to κεκρύφαλος in verse 4 (ἄβρωι τε στρεπτῶν ἄμματι κεκρυφάλων) is not a semantic equivalent of κορύμβη 'fastening'. Likewise, *Com. adesp.* 1331.2 (*CAF*; omitted from *PCG*) τοὺς ἐμοὺς πλέκω κορύμβους, which clearly refers to tresses is irrelevant to the fragment of Asios, where the feminine κορύμβη is employed.

1043 See Kaibel's edition of Athenaeus, vol. III, p. 160.10 (and especially his critical apparatus).

1044 VT *Ex.* 28.4; *EM* 349.43–5 (Gaisford); for more examples, see Michelangeli (1898) 25–6.

1045 VT *Is.* 3.18.

1046 See Michelangeli (1898) 24–6.

1047 See Bowra (1957) 395 (= 1970, 126).

1048 (1621) 839.

1049 (1784) 44.

1050 (1804) 405.

1051 See also Hom. *Il.* 1.529: χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο.

1052 See West xxii.

1053 See also Hesych. χ 518 (IV 220 Hansen and Cunningham) with the correction of the manuscript reading χλιδῶνες into χλίδωνες by Henricus Stephanus.

1054 (1984) 81–2 n. 2. Originally formulated in Vendryes (1905) 221; see *EAGLL*, III 458–9 (Rodríguez Alfageme).

1055 See Probert (2003) 165, (2006) 88; also the dictional analysis of verse 6 (below).

1056 *FGrHist* 76 F 60 (critical apparatus).

1057 *FGrHist*, Kommentar, on Douris 76 F 60.

1058 (1957) 393 (= 1970, 123–4).

1059 (1947) 23–4.

1060 (1817) 76: ‘ὑπασπίδιον πολεμιστὴν eum iocose appellat Asios, qui veste utitur longa, ad terram pertinente. Hom. ὑπασπίδια προβιβῶντος’.

1061 See (1871) 206 on fr. 13.

1062 (1957) 84–5.

1063 (1957) 398 (= 1970, 130).

1064 (1984) 85 n. 17.

1065 (1984) 86. Veneri (1984, 87) pointed to Ain. Takt. (*Poliork.* 17.2–3), who referred to a similar ritual taking place in Argos. She claims that this ritual may have been brought to Samos from Argos.

1066 (1984) 91; on the Samian Ankaïos, see also Fowler, *EGM* II §2.2, pp. 97–8.

1067 (1957) 398–400 (= 1970, 130–2).

1068 ca. 565–470 BC.

1069 On this passage, see Leshner (1992) 61–5.

1070 See Sternberg (1981) 76.

1071 See Huxley (1969) 97.

1072 See Bowra (1957) 393 (= 1970, 123–4).

1073 Bowra (1957) 399 (= 1970, 130–1).

1074 On evidence for the use of τροφή in *ktisis*-literature, see Arch. fr. 293 *IEG*; Arist. fr. 565.1 (Gigon).

1075 Veneri (1984) 91; see also Schmid (1947) 21–4 and on the motif of τροφή, 186–8.

1076 Wackernagel (1916) 94; see also Bowra (1957) 394 (= 1970, 125).

1077 On this particular line the scholiast has noted: [κ]ορυμβίς τὸ ἐπὶ πᾶσι ἐπιτιθέμενον. ἔ[σφ] ἡκῶντο δὲ ἐδέδεκτο [κα]ὶ ἐσφιγγόμενοι ἦσαν.

1078 See *GEF*, p. 32.

1079 Welcker (18652, I 299) also mentions the *Minyas* but he is confusing Herakles’ war against Erginos with the epic *Minyas*.

1080 (18652) I 299.

1081 (1840) 4.

1082 (1840) 586.

1083 *FGrHist* 331 (Kommentar, p. 496).

1084 (1969) 120.

1085 (2010) 280–5 = (2015a) 267–72.

1086 See Paus. 9.29.2–3.

1087 M. Davies (personal communication) expresses his skepticism about the authenticity of the four verses attributed to Hegesinous and revives the old argument of forgery. This time, though, it is not Kallippos who is targeted as the author responsible for the forgery (as Robert 1877, 145–6 had argued) but Pausanias himself. Davies’ argument is based on the remark of Pausanias that Hegesinous’ poetry was not even extant before he (Pausanias) was born, so that he could not read it. He claims that this kind of phraseology is typical of introducing literary forgeries and informs me that this phenomenon amounts to a topos, including expressions like ‘not fully published’, ‘little known’, ‘preserved in a remote place’, etc. Along these lines, Davies maintains that ‘if these phrases create suspicion, then *a fortiori* (his italics) the statement that the composition in question *has entirely disappeared* (his italics) should create even more doubts’. Davies also observes that in cases of literary forgery the author responsible for the forgery cites an earlier one as ‘apparent guarantor’ and points to Stes. fr. 324 (Finglass) quoted by Ailian. *NA* 17.37 (pp. 292.20–293.11 Hercher) who says that he

used Krates of Pergamon as his source. I am rather skeptical towards the implementation of this approach to the case of Hegesinous for both general and particular reasons. The general reasons are methodological: Davies' argument presupposes the acceptance of too many hypotheses that cumulatively are unlikely to be true. In addition, forgeries always have a purpose: *why* would Pausanias 'invent' all this and repeat the same process afterwards in the case of Chersias (for whom there is a second source, i.e. Plutarch), with Kallippos again as the intermediate source? The Periegete's interest in making it clear that Hegesinous' poetry had disappeared before his time is consonant with his general practice of informing his readers whether he had read a given author (see his constant use of expressions like σύγγραμμα ἐπελεξάμην, ἔπη ἐπελεξάμην, αὐτὸς ἐπελεξάμην etc.). The particular reasons are that we both end up with Pausanias as the forger-composer of the four hexameters attributed to Hegesinous (a phenomenon for which I know of no parallel in the whole of his work) and with a title *Atthis* that remains completely unexplained. How is it possible that Pausanias invented a title pertaining to the local history of Attica, attributed it to a Boiotian epic poet of the archaic period, and reported that he had found all this information in an author (Kallippos) writing about the history of Orchomenos?

1088 Notice the aural similarity between Ἄγρα and Ἄσκρα and compare Kleidemos' νῦν Ἄγρα καλεῖται, Ἐλικῶν and Hegesinous' Ἄσκραν, ἥ θ' Ἐλικῶνος.

1089 See Jacoby (1949) 84–5.

1090 Fr. 654, col. i 30 *PMG*. I am not suggesting that the poetry of Korinna had also exercised its own influence with respect to this issue. After all, the date for her is uncertain. She may either belong to the archaic or Hellenistic period.

1091 9.29.2: ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς πεποιήμεθα παρ' αὐτοῦ (*sc.* Καλλίππου) διδαχθέντες.

1092 10.15.5–6; see *FGrHist* 323 F 10.

1093 See Arist. *Rhet.* 1415a17–18: ἡγεό μοι λόγον ἄλλον ὅπως Ἀσίας ἀπὸ γαίης / ἦλθεν ἐς Εὐρώπην πόλεμος μέγας.

1094 (18652) I 292, 300–3.

1095 Σ Ar. *Nub.* 595c.a (I.III¹ 132.13–22 Holwerda) and 595c.b (I.III¹ 132.16–19 Holwerda).

1096 (1877) 145. Robert (1877, 145–6) also claimed that the four verses attributed to Hegesinous and quoted by Pausanias had been forged by Kallippos. I can see no reason to endorse such a claim, not even to entertain suspicion; see *GEF*, p. 32: 'if he (Callippus) wanted to forge testimonies of old poets, he would surely have come up with verses of a less humdrum character'.

1097 See Phot. *Bibl.* 319a34 (V 157 Henry = Prokl. *Chrest.* 22 9 (I, 2, 37 Severyns), in which a certain Hegesinous from Salamis is mentioned (next to Stasinos and Homer) as the author of the *Cypria*; see also Athen. 15.682d, in which Hegesias or Stasinos are considered as the author of the *Cypria*).

1098 (1884) 338.

1099 (1886) 146 n. 1.

1100 *FGrHist* 331 T 1 and F 1.

1101 (1916) 407 n. 1. Jacoby (*FGrHist* 331, Kommentar, p. 497) was clearly negative against Wilamowitz's view, arguing that 'the personified Helikon, if anything, is another proof of the suggestion that the Aloadai on Helikon do not derive from tradition but are a result of the compiling activity of the late author'. Jacoby's criticism is not ungrounded (especially against Wilamowitz's claim about the foundation of Thespiiai by the Erechtheid Thespios/Thespieus from Athens), but the problem is here with Wilamowitz's 'new' evidence, not with the attribution of the *Atthis* to Hegesinous, which is based on radically different arguments.

1102 Wilamowitz (1916) 407 n. 1 ('*menschliche Nachfolger*').

1103 Fr. 654, col. i 30 *PMG*.

- 1104** *RE* Suppl. 4, s.v. 'Hegesinus' 2, col. 712.
- 1105** (1929) 292. See also Geffcken's (1926) I.1, 65.
- 1106** *FGrHist* 331 T and F 1 (see also Kommentar, p. 497).
- 1107** See West (2013) 32–3.
- 1108** *FGrHist* 331 F 1 (see also Kommentar, p. 497).
- 1109** See Debiasi (2010) 280 n. 184 (= 2015, 267 n. 184).
- 1110** (2010) 280–1 = (2015a) 267–8.
- 1111** See *RE* 2.2 s.v. 'Askra' 2, col. 1701 (Tümpel).
- 1112** *RE* 17.2 s.v. 'Oiklos', col. 2283 (Zwicker); see also Usener (1899) 55.
- 1113** Ἀμφὶ Ποσειδάωνα θεὸν μέγαν ἄρχον' αἰεῖδιν / γαίης κινητῆρα καὶ ἀτρυγέτοιο θαλάσσης / πόντιον, ὃς θ' Ἑλικῶνα καὶ εὐρείας ἔχει Αἰγᾶς; see *RE* 8.1 s.v. 'Helikon' 1, col.s. 6–7 (Bölte).
- 1114** ὥς ὅτε ταῦρος / ἤρυγεν ἐλκόμενος Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα / κούρων ἐλκόντων; see West (2011) 20 and 373 on Hom. *Il.* 20.404. See Hdt. 1.148.1; Strab. 8.7.2.
- 1115** Steph. Byz. α 237 (I 168.20–2 Billerbeck).
- 1116** [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 19 M–W.
- 1117** See van Groningen (1948) 290; Debiasi (2010) 282 = (2015a) 269.
- 1118** See *RE* 1.2 s.v. 'Aloadai', cols. 1592 (Toepffer).
- 1119** See Hitzig-Blümner (1907) III.1, 479.
- 1120** See *RE* 1.2 s.v. 'Aloadai', cols. 1590–1 (Toepffer).
- 1121** See Hom. *Od.* 11.305; [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 19 M–W.
- 1122** See Asios, fr. 3 *EGEF*.
- 1123** See Asios, fr. 1 *EGEF*.
- 1124** I owe this point to M. L. West (personal communication).
- 1125** (1948) 287–96.
- 1126** Paus. 9.38.4.
- 1127** See Vox (1980) 321–5.
- 1128** Paus. 9.29.2–3.
- 1129** See Roux (1954) 22–48; Roesch (1965) 226–9; Vetta (2006) 53–71.
- 1130** Paus. 9.31.4; see Debiasi (2010) 283–4 = (2015a) 270–2.
- 1131** On *not* numbering the Muses in archaic epic proems, see Tsagalis (2014); also my comments on Eum. fr. 35 incert. carm. *EGEF*.
- 1132** The terminology is that of Higbie (1990, 29) and corresponds to Parry's 'unperiodic' (1971, 255–6) and Kirk's (1985, 33) 'progressive' enjambment. This type of enjambment consists in the use of a decorative word or word-group (epithet, adverb, co-ordinate conjunction, noun in apposition) in the beginning of the next verse adding more information to a term stated in the previous verse.
- 1133** 9.38.9.
- 1134** The association of Boiotia with genealogical epic should also be taken into consideration, but not pressed too much. Not all epic from Boiotia was genealogical.
- 1135** Bethe *RE* 3.2, s.v. 'Chersias', col. 2241.
- 1136** Paus. 9.38.9. There are two epigrams associated with Hesiod's grave: a longer, four-verse epigram ('Arist.' *Peplos* fr. 640 no. 19 [v. 2] Rose; *Certamen* 14; Paus. 9.38.4; *AP* 7.54; Tzetz. *Vit. Hes.* 4–7, p. 51 Wilamowitz = 141–4, p. 92 Colonna) and a shorter, two-verse epigram (Arist. *Const. of the Orchom.* fr. 578.1 Gigon [in *CPG*: Appendix proverb. 4.92]; *Suda* τ 732 (IV 567.21–3 Adler); Tzetz. *Vit. Hes.* 8–10, p. 51 Wilamowitz = 145–7, p. 92 Colonna).
- 1137** *Sept. sap. conv.* 156f1–2, 163f8–10, 164a12–13.
- 1138** The authorship of the epigram on Hesiod's grave does not fall within the scope of this commentary, since I am dealing only with epic, whereas this epitaph is in elegiacs. Perhaps the only point to be made here is that when Pausanias says that the Orchomenians assign this epigram to Chersias, he is probably referring to the four-verse inscription shown to him as Hesiod's grave; see Debiasi (2010) 262 n. 57 = (2015a) 249 n. 57, who rightly corrects

Jacoby (*FGrHist* IIIb, p. 496 n. 5), who thought that the epigram Pausanias had in mind was the one quoted by Aristotle in his *Const. of the Orchom.* (fr. 578.1 Gigon: χαῖρε δις ἠβήσας καὶ δις τάφου ἀντιβολήσας, / 'Ἡσιόδ', ἀνθρώποις μέτρον ἔχον σοφίης). Pausanias' phrasing leaves no doubt that he is referring to the four-verse epigram he has already quoted (9.38.9): τοῦτου δὲ τοῦ Χερσίου καὶ ἐπίγραμμα οἱ Ὀρχομένιοι τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Ἡσιόδου τάφῳ μνημονεύουσιν. On Hesiod's grave epigrams, see Wilamowitz (1916) 407; van Groningen (1948) 287–96; Gow and Page (1965a) 144; Gow and Page (1965b) 413; *EG* 428; Page (1981) 159–160; Scodel (1980) 301–20; Wallace (1985) 165–71; Chamoux (2001) 84; Beaulieu (2004) 103–17; Zizza (2006) 350–4; Coppola (2008) 116–17.

1139 Robert (1877) 145–6; Wilamowitz (1884) 338–9 (who changed his mind in 1916, 407 n. 1); Bethe *RE* 3.2, s.v. 'Chersias', col. 2241; Jacoby *FGrHist* IIIb (Supplement) 609; *PEG*, pp. 142–3; *EGF*, pp. 165–6; *Contra GEF*, pp. 32, 264–6; Debiasi (2010) 261–6 = (2015a) 247–53.

1140 See *FGrHist* 385 F1–F2.

1141 4.33.7.

1142 This point is overlooked by Huxley (1969, 120–1), who argued, in absence of all evidence, that Chersias must be 'the principal claimant of authorship'. But, if that was the case, how is it possible that Pausanias, our chief source for both the *Minyas* and one of our two sources for Chersias, did not associate him with this epic? That his source was Kallippos and that Kallippos did not mention the *Minyas* does not stand to reason, since Pausanias' knowledge of the *Minyas* is clearly not based on Kallippos, as one can see on the basis of the extant fragments.

1143 This is the case e.g. with Eumelos of Corinth to whom was attributed a whole body of epic verse.

1144 *GEF*, p. 32.

1145 *GEF*, p. 32.

1146 Robert (1877) 145. In Herodotos' version (5.99 γ–ε), Chersias is not mentioned.

1147 Porzio (1912, 195) goes as far as to regard as authentic a story narrated by the poet Chersias in Plutarch's *Sept. sap. conv.* (163f8–164a1) with respect to the unexpected salvation of Periandros when he was a baby. I am very skeptical about this argument but not for the reasons put forward by Bernabé in *PEG*, p. 143. It is the typological nature of the story of Periandros' salvation that makes it liable to forgery.

1148 Hom. *Il.* 2.511; Paus. 9.38.9.

1149 [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 77 M–W; Steph. Byz. α 486 (I 284.8–14 Billerbeck); see also Paus. 10.8.4: ἐκ δὲ Βοιωτῶν – Θεσσαλίαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι τὰ ἀρχαιότερα ὠίκησαν καὶ Αἰολεῖς τῆνικαῦτα ἐκαλοῦντο.

1150 According to Strabo 9.2.41, it was later renamed Εὐδείελος.

1151 See below.

1152 See Steph. Byz. υ 20 (IV 366.13–14 Billerbeck and Neumann-Hartmann), where it is said that Aspledon was also called Hyettos, which means 'of the heavy rain', a rather odd piece of information for a place suffering from water shortage. Perhaps Hyettos was a euphemistic naming developed at a later period. On the figure Hyettos leaving Argos because he killed his son Molouros and finding refuge in Minyan Orchomenos, see [Hes.] *Meg. Eh.* fr. 257 M–W; see *RE* 2.2 s.v. 'Aspledon', col. 1737 (Oberhammer).

1153 (1820) 210–11; see Steph. Byz. α 486.2–4 (I 284.9–11 Billerbeck).

1154 *Ege* α 1292 (cf. also Et. Sym. α 1468; *EM* 157.31 Gaisford): Ἀσπληδών· φασὶ γάρ εἶναι Σπληδόνα (A, Ἀσ-, B) τὸν τοῦ Πρέσβωνος καὶ Στερότης. Απολλόδορος (*FGrHist* 244 F 172) δὲ τοῦτο φησι, καὶ Ἀσκληπιάδης (*SH* 219) οὕτως λέγει, “Σπληδόνα τ’ ἠγαθήν”· ὅταν οὖν εὕρωμεν (B 511) “οἱ δ’ Ἀσπληδόνα ναῖον”· πλεονασμός ἐστι ποιητικὸς τοῦ α. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανὸς Περὶ παθῶν (ii.168.11); see also Eust. on Hom. *Il.* 272.16–19 (I 417.4–7 van der Valk): ἡ δὲ Ἀσπληδὼν γράφεται παρ’ ἑτέροις καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ α. ἐκλήθη δὲ ἀπὸ Ἀσπληδόνοιο, υἱοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἢ Πρέσβωνος ἢ Ὀρχομενοῦ. Ὀρχομενοῦ γάρ, φασίν, υἱοὶ “Ἀσπληδών, Κλύμενός τε καὶ Ἀμφίδοκος θεοειδής”. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Φωκική, φασίν, Ἀσπληδών. See also Nonn. *Dion.* 13.94; Σ Dion. Perieg. 685.5–6 (*GGM* II, 453.16–17).

1155 See Visser (1997) 374 (and for Orchomenos and the Minyans in reference to the Homeric Catalogue of Ships, 364–78); Brügger-M. Stoevesandt-Visser (2003) 164 on Hom. *Il.* 2.511.

1156 See *RE* 15.2 s.v. ‘Mideia’ 1, cols. 1540–3 (Meyer).

1157 Paus. 9.39.1.

1158 See also Hom. *Il.* 6.436 (ἀγακλυτὸν Ἰδομεῆα), in which ἀγακλυτὸν (a variant in the formulaic system) is followed by a five-syllable word (Ἰδομεῆα).

1159 *Danaïs*, test. 1 *EGEF*.

1160 *Danaïs*, fr. 1–3 *EGEF*.

1161 On the basis of analogy and balance, the title *Danaïs* is much more likely than the title *Danaïdes*, which is cited only by the Tabula Iliaca 10K (Borgia). The plural may be either symptomatic or the result of the influence exercised by the myth of the daughters of Danaos and/or the influence of Aischylos (*Danaïdes*); see Huxley (1969) 35. The title *Danaïdes* was also used by Phrynichos who wrote a play with the same name, as well by the tragic poet Timesitheos (*Suda* τ 613 [IV 556.5 Adler]); see *RE* 4.2 s.v. ‘Danaïdes’, col. 2087 (Waser). Valenzuela Montenegro (2004, 378) explains the plural *Danaïdes* either as ‘confusion’ with Aischylos’ play with the same title or as a simple *Schreibfehler*.

1162 See West (2013) 3. On the ‘epic canon’ of the Tabula Iliaca 10K (Borgia) and the Iliac Tables at large, see Sadurska (1964); McLeod (1985) 153–65; Valenzuela Montenegro (2004) 263–4, 377–8; Petrain (2008) 83–4; Squire (2011); Petrain (2014). The size of the *Carmen Naupactium* (if that is the correct restoration of the text) was 9,500 verses (a very large epic, not much smaller than the *Odyssey*) and of another unknown epic or group of epics (West 2013, 3 n. 8) 14,400 verses.

1163 So Meyer (1892) I 79.

1164 Cf. Σ Ap. Rh. 1.4e (p. 8.1–3 Wendel), where it is recorded that Danaïs was the name given to the first ship, which was built by Danaos in order to take his daughters away from Egypt.

1165 Clem. *Strom.* 4.120.4; Harpokr. *Lex.* s.v. αὐτόχθονες (I 68.8–15 Dindorf).

1166 Philod. *Peri eusebeias* B 5818 Obbink: πα]ρὰ δὲ τῷ ποι[σαν]τι τὴν Δαναΐδα.

1167 For the reconstruction of the content of the *Danaïs* on the basis of Aischylos’ Danaid-trilogy, which is thought to have drawn heavily on its epic antecedent, see Welcker (18652) I 305; Meyer (1892) I 69; Wilamowitz (1914) 16–17; Schmid (1929) 222. Differently, Maass (1890) 29; *RE* 4.2 s.v. ‘Danaïs’, cols. 2091–2. On Aischylos’ Danaid-trilogy, see Winnington-Ingram (1983) 55–72.

1168 This is the most likely interpretation of ὠπλίζοντο θεῶς. See the analysis of fragment 1 (below).

1169 The reluctance shown by the daughters of Danaos with respect to the prospective marriage with the sons of Aigypptos is ‘analogous’ to the reluctance of Athena to marry Hephaistos, but this is hardly enough to determine the context of such an episode; see Huxley (1969) 36.

1170 *GEF*, p. 34.

1171 Meyer (1892) I 79.

1172 Detienne (1988, 161) has neatly put it: ‘L’histoire des Danaïdes raconte une guerre de sang qui grandit dans une société de sang, entre consanguins de sexe antagoniste’.

- 1173** Cf. Detienne (1988) 160, who dates the *Danaïs* to the 7th c. BC.
- 1174** See *RE* 4.2 s.v. ‘Danaïs’, col. 2092 (Bethe).
- 1175** See Huxley (1969) 37.
- 1176** The same is the case with Akousilaos (so Huxley 1969, 37–8).
- 1177** West (1985) 170.
- 1178** On the expression Δαναοῖο κόρας at verse-initial position, see Louk. *Dipsades* 6.22; *API*. 121.3.
- 1179** (1881) I 231 no. 10.
- 1180** *Bibl.* 2.1.4: ὑποθεμένης Ἀθηνᾶς αὐτῷ ναῦν κατεσκεύασε πρῶτος καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐνθέμενος ἔφυγε (‘on the advice given to him by Athena he [*sc.* Danaos] was the first to build a ship and flee after putting his daughters aboard’); see also e.g. Plin. *NH* 7.206; Σ *Ap. Rh.* 1.4a (p. 8.1–3 Wendel); Σ in Eur. *Med.* 1 (II 141.3 Schwartz); Hyg. *Fab.* 168. For a full list of ancient sources offering a parallel tradition, see Jacoby (1904) 41.
- 1181** (1892) I 79–80.
- 1182** *Bibl.* 2.1.3.
- 1183** See Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.3, where it is explicitly said that when Io had to cross the sea she swam (πολλὴν διανηξαμένη θάλασσαν).
- 1184** Hdt. 2.182; *Marmor Parium* A 9; Strab. 14.2.11; Diod. *Sik.* 5.58; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.4.
- 1185** According to Diogenes Laertios (1.89: τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἀνανεώσασθαι αὐτὸν κτισθὲν ὑπὸ Δαναοῦ), the tyrant Kleoboulos, whose *floruit* is in the sixth century BC, rebuilt an earlier temple dedicated to Lindian Athena, which was thought to be the one Danaos established after his flight with the Danaids from Egypt. See Higbie (2003) 7.
- 1186** It is unlikely that the *Danaïs* featured an episode of a sojourn of Danaos and his daughters at Rhodes on their way from Egypt to Argos. The story is reported by Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 2.1.4; the Σ (D) Hom. *Il.* 1.42 [p. 12 van Thiel] is a verbatim repetition from Apollodoros). The *Marmor Parium* (A 9.15–16) adds that Danaos left five of his daughters as priestesses at the temple of Lindian Athena that he founded at Rhodes, while Diodoros *Sikelos* (5.58) relates that three of them died there; see Garvie (1969) 166.
- 1187** There is no early source referring to an initial fight in Egypt. Aischylos as well is completely silent about it. Even Apollodoros’ (*Bibl.* 2.1.4) more detailed account barely hints to it (στασιασάντων δὲ αὐτῶν περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ὕστερον ‘when later they were on strife about the rule’); see Meyer (1892) I 82–3 n. 3. The fifth-century lyric Melanippides of Melos is the only one who, though not referring explicitly to any battle, says in his *Danaïdes* that the daughters of Danaos were training themselves by driving chariots and pleased themselves by hunting in sun-washed groves (fr. 757.3–4 *PMG*).
- 1188** Wilamowitz’s use of Phrynichos’ *Aigyptioi* and *Danaïdes* as evidence for the Amazonian nature of the Danaids in the old epic poem is conjectural; there is absolutely nothing that would entertain such a conclusion, not even Pelasgos’ words in Aisch. *Suppl.* 279–89, since his impression that they look like Amazons comes at the end of a list of other identifications (Libyans, Egyptians, Cypriot, Indians); see Phryn. fr. 1 (*Aigypt.*) and 4 (*Danaid.*) *TrGF* 1.
- 1189** See Wilamowitz (1914) 14–16. Bonner (1902) 130–1 points to Σ (D) Hom. *Il.* 1.42 [*Zs*] (p. 12 van Thiel), and contends that the murder took place in Egypt and Danaos fled subsequently to Argos on his own. Bonner bases this interpretation on the fact that the scholium says nothing about the voyage of the sons of Aigyptos to Argos, their marriages to the daughters of Danaos and the murder there. But the scholium says equally nothing about the murder taking place in Egypt. On the contrary, it clearly says that Danaos built a ship and fled with his daughters from Egypt because he was afraid of the sons of Aigyptos. According to Σ Eur. *Hek.* 886 (I 69.19–23 Schwartz), Danaos always lived in Argos, from where he exiled Aigyptos to Egypt, because he was afraid that he would lose his kingdom since his brother had sons, whereas he had only daughters. When his sons grew up, Aigyptos returned to Argos with them. Then the plot follows the regular version, with Danaos instigating his daughters to kill Aigyptos’ sons.

- 1190** (1984) 87.
- 1191** Meyer (1892) I 82–3 n. 3.
- 1192** Garvie (1969, 203) notes with respect to Aischylos' Danaid-trilogy that 'when the Αἰγύπτιοι was believed to be the first play of the trilogy, there was some ground for assigning Athena a place in it as the adviser of Danaos and his daughters'. This 'prerequisite' is very much at work in the *Danaïs*, since the epic included the Egypt-phase of the story before the arrival of the Danaids at Argos.
- 1193** See below under 'Diction'.
- 1194** See Σ Hom. *Od.* 4.477 a1–a2, b1–b4, c (II 314.67–70, 71–6, 77–8 Pontani).
- 1195** Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 583a (p. 116.2 Leone).
- 1196** Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.4. According to Charax (*FGrHist* 103 F 44 = in Steph. Byz. α 112 [I 84.14–15 Billerbeck]) her name is Aeria (also called Ποταμίτις 'of the river'); Charax adds that both the country and the river were called Αἴγυπτος after the son of Belos and Aeria. Belos was married to Side in Johannes Antiochenus 6.51; for further information, see Robert (1920–19264) II.1 266 n. 1.
- 1197** Cf. Severyns (1928) 177–8, who thinks that the poet of the *Danaïs*, being considered a νεώτερος, may have also been in the mind of Aristarchos (on whom Aristonikos' scholium is based) with respect to the equation Aigyptos = Nile. Aristarchos had written an entire study on the Nile; see also Severyns (1928) 118–9.
- 1198** It is on his list that the Σ Hom. *Il.* 1.42c (I 22.16–17 Erbse) draw.
- 1199** Seven, if Apollodoros' Πειρήνη and Hyginus' *Pirene* are not the same person.
- 1200** Nine if Κλειτός and *Clytus* are the same person and Hyginus' *Metalces* is not a scribal error for Apollodoros' Μενάλκης.
- 1201** So Schwarz (1895) 107.
- 1202** See Robert (1920–19264) II.1 267–8 n. 3.
- 1203** See Jacoby's analysis (1904) 43–4; also Schwarz (1895) 95–112.
- 1204** ὁ δὲ Αἴγυπτος αὐτὸς μὲν οὐκ ἦλθεν ἐς Ἄργος, παῖδες δὲ <έόντες>, ὥς μὲν Ἡσίοδος ἐποίησε, πεντήκοντα, ὥς ἐγὼ δέ, οὐδὲ εἴκοσι ('and as for Aigyptos, he did not go to Argos, his sons, according to Hesiod, being fifty, but according to me, twenty').
- 1205** Φρύνιχος δὲ ὁ τραγικός φησι σὺν Αἰγυπτίοις τὸν Αἴγυπτον ἦκεν εἰς Ἄργος (The tragic poet Phrynichos says that Aigyptos went to Argos together with the Aigyptioi [sc. his sons]).

1206 Αἴγυπτος, ὃς ὁ πλείστος ἔσπαρται λόγος, / ζῶν παισὶ πεντήκοντα ναυτίλοι πλάτηι / Ἄργος κατασχὼν ... (‘Aigyptos, as many rumors have it, after mooring with his ship at Argos together with his fifty sons’). This reference is obscure, since we do not know from which play of Euripides it comes; on this issue, see Eur. fr. 846 incert. fab. *TrGF* 5.2.

1207 See Meyer (1892) I 83.

1208 See Roscher, I 1303–8 (Engelmann). For an Indian parallel, see Fowler (1943) 29–31. Here is Fowler’s summary (29): ‘Prajāpati, the father of all creatures desiring incestuous relations with his daughter, pursues her through the bright sky. The gods, themselves offspring of the All-Father, wishing to protect their sister, appeal to one of their number to lay an arrow to his bow and pierce their father. Prajāpati is struck, and his seed falls to the earth. But this also is displeasing to the gods, for the seed itself is divine. They therefore mold it, breathe upon it, and give it warmth; it comes to life, and (here the versions differ widely) from one part of it the ancestors of man are born’. Fowler (30) argues that, although in the Greek version of this myth Hephaistos is not Athena’s father, he has (curiously) played an active role in her birth, since he is the one who made possible Athena’s birth from the head of Zeus by hitting it with his hammer.

1209 All subsequent narratives agree with this explanation of the name, which featured in the *Danaïs*, and was first given by ‘Erat.’ *Katast.* 13; see Gantz (1993) 236.

1210 According to Pausanias, who does not relate this story, but seems to be aware of some version of it, Erichthonios was born to Hephaistos and Earth (1.2.6; 1.14.6). In this light, some scholars (Düntzer and Welcker) have changed the unintelligible καὶ Ἥφαιστον ἐκ γῆς of the manuscript tradition into ἐξ Ἥφαιστου καὶ ἐκ Γῆς, a correction agreeing with the lemma αὐτόχθονες of Harpokr. *Lex.* (I 68.8–15 Dindorf) in which it belongs. Conversely, this textual solution has its drawbacks: the use of φανῆναι covertly indicates that Erichthonios came out of/ appeared from the ground, which means that what is meant by ἐκ γῆς is the soil and not Gaia. Schroeder’s τὸν Ἥφαιστου seems to me preferable; see ‘Plut.’ *Vit. dec. orat.* 843e6–7: κατήγον δὲ τὸ γένος ἀπὸ Βούτου καὶ Ἐρεχθέως τοῦ Γῆς καὶ Ἥφαιστου, τὰ δ’ ἐγγυτάτω ἀπὸ Λυκομήδους καὶ Λυκούργου.

1211 The *Danaïs* and Pindar (fr. 253 S–M) are the earliest sources naming Erichthonios, instead of Erechtheus, ‘as the result of whatever story existed about Hephaistos and Athena’ (Gantz 1993, 234).

1212 St.-Augustine *De civ. Dei* 18.12.

1213 See Heyne (1783) II 833–4; Frazer (1921) II 91 n. 1.

1214 Kallim. *SH* 307 (in Philod. *Peri eusebeias* [P.Hercul. 243 II 16ss. p. 10 Gomperz]).

1215 (1983) 37, 39.

1216 (1984) 110, 114.

1217 *SH* 307.16–18: τὸν] δ’ Ἥφαιστον οὐ[δ’ ἀπ]ὸ (or ὑπὸ) τῆς πηρώσε[ως σ]ωφρονι[ζεσθαι] (Henrichs 1983, 39); τὸν] δ’ Ἥφαιστον οὐ[δ’ ὑπ]ὸ τῆς πηρώσε[ως | σεσ]ωφρονι[σμένον] (Luppe 1984, 115).

1218 *Bibl.* 3.14.6: ὡς δὲ ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο πολλῇι ἀνάγκῃ (ἦν γὰρ χωλός), ἐπειρᾶτο συνελθεῖν. ἡ δὲ ὡς σώφρων καὶ παρθένος οὔσα οὐκ ἠνέσχετο· ὁ δὲ ἀπεσπέρμηνεν εἰς τὸ σκέλος τῆς θεᾶς (‘when he came near her after a great deal of trouble (he was lame), he tried to have sex with her. But, being an abstinent virgin, she did not let him, and he spilled his seed on the goddess’ leg’. Trans. by Smith and Trzaskoma); The Σ (D[A]) *Hom. Il.* 2.547 [Z^s] (pp. 109–10 van Thiel) is lifted *verbatim* from Apollodoros; see Papatthomopoulos *ad loc.*, who rightly includes it as a testimonium in his edition of the *Bibliothèque*. What is of particular interest is that the version of the *Bibliothèque* (3.14.6) adds that Athena reared Erichthonios secretly from the other gods: τοῦτον Ἀθηνᾶ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἔτρεφεν, ἀθάνατον θέλουσα ποιῆσαι (‘Athena raised him without the other gods knowing about it and wanted to make him immortal’. Trans. by Smith and Trzaskoma).

1219 See Huxley (1969) 36.

1220 (1969) 37.

1221 Fowler, *EGM* II §1.7.5, p. 49.

1222 A 10.18–19.

1223 The rest of the text is missing; see Jacoby's critical apparatus *ad loc.*

1224 A 10.19–20; see *RE* 6.1 s.v. 'Erichthonios', col. 443 (Escher).

1225 A 9.14–15.

1226 A 9.16–17.

1227 See Jacoby (1904) 47, 50.

1228 If the author of the *Phoronis* made use of 'local' Kouretes, who were associated with the area of the Argolid (like the Satyrs, their brothers, whose Argolic links may be explained by means of 'the popularity of satyric choruses in that area'), then the Kouretes of the *Danaïs* may have played a similar role; see West (1985) 59.

1229 On this topic, see Hirschberger (2004) 292–3 on fr. 45a–b (= 10 M–W); on πολυδίπτιον Ἄργος (*Theb.* fr. 1 *GEF*), see now the analysis of Davies (2014) 44.

1230 On Near-Eastern parallels, see West (1997) 446–7.

1231 See also the story of Amymone, *RE* 1.1–2 s.v. 'Amymone' 4, cols. 2002–3 (Escher), though this nymph does not really belong to the myth of the *Danaïs*; see Bonner (1900) 29, (1902) 142–4.

1232 See *GEF*, p. 271 n. 40.

1233 I provide a translation only for col. i. There is hardly anything preserved in col. ii to require a translation.

1234 The expression τὰ ἐς τὴν Μινυάδα ἔπη (Paus. 4.33.7) is odd, since only a noun indicating a person or a thing (but never a poem) is what Pausanias regularly employs after the syntax τὰ ἐς, e.g. 9.5.8: ὁ δὲ τὰ ἔπη τὰ ἐς Εὐρώπην ποιήσας φησὶν Ἀμφίονα χρῆσασθαι λύραι πρῶτον Ἑρμοῦ διδάξαντος; 9.31.5: ἐγγέγραπται δὲ αὐτῶι τὰ Ἔργα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐτέρα κεχωρισμένη τῆς προτέρας, ὥς πολὺν τινα ἐπῶν ὁ Ἡσίοδος ἀριθμὸν ποιήσειεν, ἐς γυναικὰς τε αἰδόμενα καὶ ἅς μεγάλας ἐπονομάζουσιν Ἠοίας, καὶ Θεογονίαν τε καὶ ἐς τὸν μάντιν Μελάμποδα, καὶ ὥς Θησεὺς ἐς τὸν Ἄιδην ὁμοῦ Πειρίθωι καταβαίη παραινέσεις τε Χείρωνος ἐπὶ διδασκαλίαι δὴ τῇ Ἀχιλλέως, καὶ ὅσα ἐπὶ Ἔργοις τε καὶ ἡμέραις. οἱ δὲ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι λέγουσι καὶ ὥς μαντικὴν Ἡσίοδος διδασχθεῖ παρὰ Ἀκαρνάνων· καὶ ἔστιν ἔπη μαντικά, ὅποσα τε ἐπελεξάμεθα καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἐξηγήσεις ἐπὶ τέρασιν. In order to remedy this odd phrasing, Lobeck has emended the manuscript reading τὴν Μινυάδα into τὰς Μινυάδας. Though conforming to Pausanias' *usus scriptoris*, Lobeck's emendation is unlikely, since we do not have even a single hint that the *Minyas* would have included the tale of *Minyas*' daughters. West (2003a, 271 n. 40) rightly notes that in the phrase τὰ ἐς τὴν Μινυάδα ἔπη we should understand a noun meaning 'land' or 'country' (e.g. γῆν); see e.g. D.S. 4.18.7 (παρὰ τῶν τὴν Μινυάδα κατοικούντων).

1235 The phrase καὶ ἡ Μινυάς τε καλουμένη καὶ οἱ Νόστοι in Paus. 10.28.7 indicates that in opposition to the 'secure' title Νόστοι the title Μινυάς is less certain (at least for Pausanias). Contrast the preceding phrase ἡ δὲ Ὀμήρου ποιήσις, in which the author's name is mentioned. This is not the case with the noun ποιήσις accompanying the title *Minyas*. See also the previous footnote.

1236 See Severyns (1928) 58–61.

1237 See *RE* 15.2 s.v. 'Minyas' 1, cols. 2014–16 (Schachermeyr).

1238 See Fowler, *EGM* II §5.5, p. 191.

1239 Ὀρχομενὸν Μινυεῖον.

1240 Ὀρχομενῶι Μινυεῖωι.

1241 See Heyne (1783) II 551: 'Fuit etiam Minyas inter ἔπη antiqua, memorata Pausaniae, quae ad Orchomenum spectare debuit'; Thiersch (1813, 32 n. 24) also links the *Minyas* to the Myrian land par excellence, i.e. the city of Orchomenos.

1242 Both Díez de Velasco (1990, 85) and Debiasi (2010, 275–6) interpret the presence of Meleagros in this poem as a sign of Argonautic filtering, as is the case with Theseus and Peirithoos, who were also Argonauts. This is not impossible but unnecessary. Do we have to postulate an Argonautic element in the meeting between Meleagros and Herakles in, say, Bacchylides 5? Not at all.

1243 See also Steph. Byz. μ 187 (III 322 [Billerbeck]); on the use of the word Μινυάς as a modifier of the word γῆ, see e.g. Arist. fr. 640, treatise title 50 ll. 62, 77 (Rose); Diod. Sik. 4.18.7; *Cert.* l. 251 (Allen).

1244 See *IG VII*, 3195–7 (1st c. BC) pertaining to the Charitesia; also Manieri (2009) 199–207 (Orc. 23–5).

1245 For a full list and detailed presentation of the relevant material, see Manieri (2009); West (2010) 9 (= *Hellenica* III 361); González (2013) 511–13; Tsagalis (forthcoming).

1246 *Il.* 2.511, 9.381; *Od.* 11.284. It is not absolutely clear whether the Boiotian or the Arkadian Orchomenos is meant in *Od.* 11.459, though given the context (it is mentioned together with Pylos and Sparta, two other Peloponnesian cities) the latter alternative is more likely; see Visser (1997) 541 n. 24.

1247 *Meg. Eh.* fr. 257.4 M–W.

1248 *I.* 1.56; see also *O.* 14.4 and 19.

1249 Fr. 42b *EGM*.

1250 Fr. 117 *EGM*.

1251 Pher. fr. 171 *EGM*.

1252 See Σ Pind. *I.* 1.79c (III 208.24–209.2 Drachmann), where other relevant genealogies with their sources are given; for full genealogical information and analysis, see Fowler, *EGM* II §5.5, pp. 192–4.

1253 8.33.2.

1254 9.34.6: τοῦ δὲ ὄρους τοῦ Λαφυστίου πέραν ἐστὶν Ὀρχομενός, εἴ τις Ἑλλησιν ἄλλῃ πόλιν ἐπιφανῆς καὶ αὕτη ἐς δόξαν.

1255 Other factors too testify to Orchomenos' special status within Boiotia. See Larson (2007) 148, who draws attention to the fact that Orchomenos followed different practices with respect to monetary issues (such as the minting of coins and the use of an ear of corn as symbol on them instead of the common Boiotian shield) down to the fourth century BC.

1256 The fact that in the area of Orchomenos there were various oracles and cult centers pertaining to the chthonic aspect of Greek religion (Zeus Laphystios, oracle of Trophonios) creates the temptation to associate certain scenes of the *Minyas* with the Underworld. I am skeptical about this approach. We simply do not know whether the *Minyas* was limited solely to scenes taking place in the Underworld nor was the region of Orchomenos exclusively linked with such cults.

1257 On Prodikos of Phokaia and his namesake of Samos, see *RE* 23.1 s.v. ‘Prodikos’ 1, cols. 84–5 and ‘Prodikos’ 2, col. 85 (von Fritz).

1258 See Müller (18442) 12 n. 3, who claimed that there was an Orphic poem with the title *Εἰς Ἄιδου κατάβασις*. The same view is shared by Lobeck (1829) 360, 373; Wilamowitz (1884) 223; Robert (1892) 79. *Contra* Welcker (18652) I 238–45; Schmid (1929) 222.

1259 Rohde (1908) I 302 n. 2; Dieterich (1893) 128 n. 1; Duemmler (1901) II 143; West (1983) 6, 9–10, 12.

1260 *Peri eusebeias* B 4922 Obbink.

1261 Dionysios the Kyklograph (ὁ Κυκλογράφος; see e.g. Σ Eur. *Or.* 872 [I 185.1–2 Schwartz], 995 [I 198.1–2 Schwartz]) is of doubtful origin; see *RE* 5.1 s.v. ‘Dionysius’ 110, cols. 932–3. He is credited with the compilation of a prose summary of epic material under the title Κύκλος or Κύκλος ιστορικός; see Monro (1883) 326–7; Wilamowitz (1884) 360–1.

1262 *Suda* ο 658 (III 565.20–1 Adler); see ft. 1244.

1263 Huxley (1969, 120–1) conjectured that the author of the *Minyas* must have been Chersias of Orchomenos, on the basis of the fact that the epic seems to have been an ‘Orchomenian’ poem. This is a really weak argument: Is the *Carmen Naupactium* the work of Karkinos just because he is a Naupaktian? And, even if we assume that an Orchomenian authorship is possible, how does this lead us to Chersias? Just because he is the only epic poet of the archaic period from Orchomenos that we are aware of? In my view, too much attention has been given to what has been called ‘a Hesiodic shadow’ falling upon the *Minyas*, on which see Díez de Velasco (1990) 79; Debiasi (2010) 266–79 = (2015a) 253–66.

1264 I will consider these two fragments, which are deprived of an ascription, in a separate section under ‘Fragmenta dubia fortasse ad Minyadem pertinentia’.

1265 10.28.2, 10.28.7, 10.31.3; on Polygnotos’ *Lesche*, see Paus. 10.25–31.

1266 *GEF*, p. 34.

1267 (1865) I 237–9; Huxley (1969) 118.

1268 Welcker (18822) II 422–4, (1865) I 237–8; Càssola (1952) 141.

1269 It is unlikely that this was the correct title of this epic. Pausanias (9.31.5: ὡς Θησεὺς ἐς τὸν Ἀἴδην ὁμοῦ Πειρίθωι καταβαίη) is the only source testifying to the existence of an epic about the descent of Theseus and Peirithoos to the Underworld that was attributed to ‘Hesiod’.

1270 See Cingano (2009) 126–8.

1271 See below *Min.* fr. dub. *6 *EGEF*.

1272 See *GEF*, pp. 34–5. The first scholar to have made this argument is Merkelbach (1950) 255–63, (1952) 221–2; see also Most (2006) lx–lxi and (2007) fr. 216.

1273 (2009) 127.

1274 Welcker (18652, I 238) interpreted Paus. 10.28.4 as indicating that the Underworld scenes were only a part of the *Minyas*, as is the case with the *Odyssey* and the *Nostoi*; he is also followed by Debiasi (2010) 271–6 = (2015a) 258–63.

1275 See [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 148a M–W (in [Eratosth.] *Katast.* 32 [pp. 162–6 Robert, pp. 37–9 Olivieri]).

1276 See Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.4.4; see also Díez de Velasco (1990) 85–6 with all the relevant information; Debiasi (2010) 273–4 = (2015a) 260–1. It should be noted that the Boiotians had established in a sanctuary at Orchomenos a cult of Metioche and Merope, the daughters of Orion, who had saved the region during a pestilence by calling upon the infernal powers, Persephone and Hades, who fittingly feature in the *Minyas*. For the establishment of a ἱερὸν of Metioche and Menippe and the annual offering of propitiations to these two virgins, see

Anton. Lib. 25.5 (and Kor. fr. 656 *PMG*); Schachter (1986) II 116–17.

1277 Díez de Velasco (1990, 77) has interpreted the presence of Thamyris next to Amphion by focusing his attention on their relation to music (the former being a singer who rivaled the Muses, the latter playing the lyre during the building of the Theban walls by his twin brother Zethos). But the very phrasing of Pausanias (9.5.8: ἔχει δὲ ἐς Ἀμφίονα κοινῶς καὶ ἐς τὸν Θρᾷκα Θάμυριν) makes it clear that Thamyris and Amphion had, according to the *Minyas*, both insulted the gods and had both been punished for this reason.

1278 See *Min.* fr. dub. *6 *EGEF*.

1279 See Díez de Velasco (1990) 75–7; Debiasi (2010) 274 = (2015a) 261.

1280 (1926) 5.

1281 (1967) 206–29.

1282 See Paus. 9.34.5: ἀνωτέρω δέ ἐστιν Ἡρακλῆς Χάρων ἐπὶ κλήσιν· ἐνταῦθα δὲ οἱ Βοιωτοὶ λέγουσιν ἀναβῆναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα ἄγοντα τοῦ Ἀΐδου τὸν κύνα. See Pappadakis (1917, 240–3), who has argued that Charops must have been a demonic being only later conflated with Herakles. He also follows Meyer (1901, III 302), according to whom there was at some early stage a semantical tautology between χαροπός-χάρων-χάρων. This line of thought explains Herakles' acquisition of the name Charops after his defeat of this demon.

1283 The theme of the 'Descent to the Underworld' had a long history in the literatures of both Greek and Near-Eastern peoples, who expressed the soul's journey as a 'descent'. This can be seen from their use of verbal forms denoting the idea of 'going down' (e.g. Gr. κατελθεῖν, κατίμεν; Akk. *[w]arādu*; Ugar. and Hebr. *yrd*; see West 1997, 152). What concerns us here is one of its phases, i.e. that of 'crossing the water' and the figure of the boatman of the Underworld. The earliest reference to the ferry-man of the Underworld comes from the Sumerian tale of *Enlil and Ninlil*, in which we hear of *Silu-igi* the ferry-man and guardian of the Underworld river *Id-kura* (117–20; see *LAS* 105). In the *Gilgameš* epic, the alewife Šiduri tells the hero Gilgameš that, in order to reach the Underworld, he needs to cross the ocean and then the Waters of Death (*Gilgameš*, Tablet X, 78–97). She suggests that he finds Ūta-napišti's boatman, named Ūr-šanabi, who has a vessel that can carry him across both the ocean and the Waters of Death. We are not told that Ūr-šanabi carries the dead with his vessel to his master Ūta-napišti, but that he uses it to bring to him supplies. In Babylonian literature what has to be crossed is a river named Hubur (*Theodicy* 16f.; see *BWL* 70; Foster 1993, II 807), but West (1997, 156) has left open the possibility that Greek Ἀχέρων may be associated with Hebrew 'ahārôn ('western') that is used for the western-sea, given that 'both Greeks and Semites sometimes associated dying with 'going to the sunset'. In the seventh-century *The Nether World Vision of an Assyrian Crown Prince* the ferry-man Humuṭ-tabal is portrayed as a terrifying figure (*CPLM* no. 35 rev. 5; Foster 1993, II 734). On the theme of descent to the Underworld, see *RE* 10.1, s.v. 'Katabasis' cols. 2359–449 (Ganschietz).

1284 On early (mainly Greek) *Katabasis*-literature, see Tsagarakis (2000) 26–37 and West (2014) 124, who refer to Odysseus' *katabasis* in the *Nekyia* of the *Odyssey*, to Theseus and Peirithoos, to an early *katabasis* of Orpheus, and of course the various material related to Herakles' *katabasis*. Norden (1926, 5 n. 2) had argued that there was an early epic rendering of Herakles' descent to the Underworld and that various poems are drawing on this material. If this poem was known to the tradition of the *Odyssey*, then it must have been known both to the poet of the *Minyas*, as well as to Bacchylides 5, to restrict ourselves only to a few poems (on this issue, see Lefkowitz 1969, 45–96; Foss 1994, 10–14 argues that Bacchylides is drawing on the *Odyssey*). Unfortunately, we are in no position to know whether Herakles featured in the *Minyas* or not, though the former possibility remains likely, since (a) the salvation of Theseus and Peirithoos by Herakles in the Underworld is a traditional element in the tale of the descent of the two friends in Hades, and (b) there was a cult of Herakles Charops in various sites of Boiotia (see Schachter 1981, I 145; 1986, II 3–8; Debiasi 2010, 272 = 2015, 259), on which see the commentary on fr. 1 (below). My interpretation has something in common with Díez de Velasco's (1990, 86–7) points 1, 3, and 4 but is against his point 2.

1285 In this play he is mentioned by name; see Aristophanes' parody of this verse in *Lys.* 606.

1286 See Díez de Velasco (1990) 80–1.

1287 See Felten (1975) 46–64; Vermeule (1979) 212 n. 7; Brommer (1982) 97–103 (especially 99–101); Schefold (1988) 157, 184–5, 261–2; Vollkommer (1988) 23–4; Díez de Velasco (1990) 78. According to *LIMC* (s.v. 'Charon', 218), the 'overwhelming majority of Greek representations of Charon are found from the 2nd quarter to the end of the 5th cent. B.C.' (Sourvinou-Inwood).

1288 (2010) 277 = (2015a) 264.

1289 It is likely, given the phrasing of Pausanias, that the river Acheron and not the lake Acherousia would have featured in the *Minyas*. On Acheron, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1986) 211–12 with further references to ancient sources.

1290 See Terpening (1985) 31–6, though I am against his acceptance of the old theory that the *Minyas* was an epic that narrated the victory of Heracles over king Minyas of Orchomenos (31).

1291 The earliest Greek references of crossing the Acheron are given by Sappho (fr. 95.11–13 Voigt), Alkaios (fr. 38a.2–3, 8 Voigt), Pindar (*N.* 4.85), and Aischylos (*Sept.* 856). West (1997, 155 n. 230) draws attention to a suggestion made by Immerwahr (1995, 117), with respect to a 14th-century BC depiction of an oared ship on a Mycenaean larnax from Tanagra, according to which the scene may be referring to an after-life journey.

1292 One may think of the Amphiaraeion (Amphiaraos having disappeared in a chasm opened by Zeus' thunderbolt in the expedition of the Seven) or the oracle of Trophonios in Lebadeia.

1293 See *RE* suppl. 13 s.v. 'Theseus', cols. 1174–5 (Herter).

1294 On the iconography of Charon's old age, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1986) 221.

1295 Charon's boat has black sails in Aisch. *Sept.* 854–60 (though Charon is not mentioned by name); in Eur. *Alk.* it has two oars (252, 443), a pole (254), and a rudder (439–40); sails are mentioned again in Virg. *Aen.* 6.302 and Louk. *d. mort.* 4; *cont.* 3; cf. *Kat.* 13. The idea of 'paying Charon the ferry-man' is first attested in Ar. *Ran.* 137–42; for a full list of later occurrences, see Sourvinou-Inwood (1986) 211, who offers an informative discussion of other aspects pertaining to Charon's boat. Even in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, from which Charon is absent, we can trace the notion of the existence of some sort of process for the admission of the dead in the Underworld. In Hom. *Il.* 24 Hermes' role is no doubt an adaptation from his function as ψυχοπομπός, a role that we can clearly see him playing in Hom. *Od.* 24, when he leads the souls of the suitors to Hades.

1296 See Furtwängler (1913) II 127, who rightly observes that the way the poet of the *Minyas* deals with Charon (he is not found 'at the oars' inside his boat) overtly shows that the audience is familiar with his role as ferry-man.

1297 Later sources include: an inscription from Teithronion in Phokis (Peek, *GV* 1384, p. 414); Jeffery, *LSAG* 103 no. 11; 403 pl. 13 no. 11; Eur. *Alk.* 252–7, *Herk.* 430–3; Timoth. *Niobe* (fr. 786 *PMG*); Ar. *Lys.* 605–7, *Ran.* 137–42, *Pl.* 277–8; Antiph. *Diplasioi* (fr. 86 *PCG* 2); Theok. *Id.* 16.40–1; *AP* 7.63, 66, 67, 68, 365.

1298 See Sourvinou-Inwood (1996) 346–7, who uses this argument as an explanation of the much more frequent artistic representation of Charon the ferry-man (who belonged to 'Phase 2' of a shade's descent to the Underworld) than Hermes the guide who belonged to 'Phase 1'. Whereas Hermes symbolized the painful departure of the shade from the human body, Charon emblemized a benevolent, almost welcome integration to the shade's new world, that of the dead.

1299 See Paus. 10.28.3, where it is said that Charon's boat in Polygnotos' *Lesche* was carrying Tellis and Kleobolia; but it is unlikely that this description reflects the *Minyas*, since in the *Lesche* Theseus and Peirithoos are depicted elsewhere, as sitting on two chairs, Theseus holding their swords in his hands, while Peirithoos is looking at them.

1300 Differently, a significant number of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholars: Robert (1892) 79–83; Maass (1895) 189 n. 27; Waser (1898) 19; Furtwängler (1913) II 125–

6; they all argued that the figure of Charon did not feature in the *Minyas*. *Contra* Welcker (18652, I 242 n. 425), who suggested that the scene refers to the point when Theseus and Peirithoos were trying to get out of Hades; not being able to find Charon's boat on the lake shore or river bank, they were trapped in the Underworld; see *RE* suppl. 13 s.v. 'Theseus', col. 1175 (Herter).

1301 For a perceptive analysis of the vividness of this scene, see Markantonatos (2013) 59–64.

1302 (1969) 120.

1303 *Gilgameš*, Tablet X, 88–91.

1304 *Gilgameš*, Tablet X, 96–106.

1305 George (1999) 75; see *Gilgameš*, Tablet X, 158–62.

1306 *Gilgameš*, Tablet X, 169–72.

1307 On the friendship between Theseus and Peirithoos, see Soph. *Oid. Kol.* 1593–4; on the association of the two friends with the war between the Lapiths and the Centaurs, see Hom. *Il.* 1.262–8, 2.741–4; Hom. *Od.* 21.295–346; [Hes.] *Asp.* 178–90; the François vase by Kleitias; the west pediment of Zeus' temple at Olympia; Apollod. *Epit.* 1.21; D.S. 4.70.2–4; Plut. *Thes.* 30.3; Ov. *Met.* 12.189–535; see Herter *RE* Suppl. 13 s.v. 'Theseus', cols. 1173–89; Mette (1983) 13–14; Gantz (1993) 277–82.

1308 The reading *vēā* that needs to be scanned as one syllable in Hom. *Od.* 9.283 is considered suspect by Chantraine (*GH*, I 36), but see Heubeck (1989) 29 on Hom. *Od.* 9.283–6 and the monosyllabic *vēās* in Arch. P.Oxy. 4708 fr. 1.13.

1309 See *GH*, I 146, 173–80; West (1982) 16.

1310 See West (1967) 113; West xxvi; West (1982) 16.

1311 See Finglass (2014a) 377 on Stes. *Theb.* (?) fr. 97.211–17, who draws attention to the spelling *μμεγάροις* in the papyrus.

1312 Cf. *CEG* 138.2: ἐνὶ μεγάροις; a sixth-century [550–525? BC] inscribed epitaph from Troizen.

1313 On Eurynomos as a demon of the Underworld with bestial characteristics, see *RE* 6.1 s.v. 'Eurynomos' 1, col. 1340 (Kern); *LIMC* 4.1, s.v. 'Eurynomos', 109 (Robertson). Robert (1892, 61; 1895, 117–19) thought that he is a personification of death, while Dieterich (1893, 47–8) argued that he is a personification of the 'deep earth' that devours the dead. Pausanias who is our only source for the demon Eurynomos must be drawing on local traditions, the more so since the identification of this demonic figure on Polygnotos' painting is based on the information given to him by a certain *exegetes* of the Delphic oracle.

1314 Hom. *Od.* 11.630–40.

1315 *Thes.* 20.

1316 See Heubeck (1989) 116 on Hom. *Od.* 11.630–1.

1317 Bernabé and West simply reproduce the numbering used by the first editor Kinkel.

1318 The earliest attestation of a joint punishment of Niobe's children (whose husband was Amphion) by Apollo and Artemis is Hom. *Il.* 24.602–17. For a full list of relevant sources with respect both to the punishment of the Niobids and to the number of sons and daughters of Amphion and Niobe, see Gantz (1993) 537; Fowler, *EGM* II §10.6, pp. 366–70 (especially p. 366 n. 51).

1319 It would not have been unthinkable that if the *Minyas* had referred to Amphion's musical skills, it may have opted for a version in which he had received his lyre from Apollo (like e.g. Dioskourides *FGrHist* 594 F 12; cf. Eust. on Hom. *Od.* 1682.44–5 [II 412.18–19 Stallbaum] where both Zeus and Apollo are mentioned for the twins) or the Muses (like e.g. Pher. fr. 41a *EGM*; Armenidas **2 *EGM*; Σ [D] Hom. *Il.* 13.302/Zs [p. 404 van Thiel]). In this way both his (Amphion's) Apolline punishment and his sharing the same fate with Thamyris would be further reinforced; see *RE* 1.2 s.v. 'Amphion' 1, cols. 1947 (Wernicke).

1320 For the version according to which Amphion received the lyre from Hermes, see e.g. Eum. *Eur.* fr. 30 *EGEF*; Eur. *Ant.* fr. 223.119–2 *TrGF* 5.1; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.5.5; Alex. Ait. fr. 18 dub. Powell = fr. 21 dub. Magnelli. Amphion is also mentioned in Asios (fr. 1 *EGEF*) as the twin brother of Zethos, both sons of Zeus and Antiope (with Epopeus as their mortal 'father').

1321 Hom. *Il.* 2.594–600.

1322 See Welcker (18652) I 241.

1323 Hyg. *Fab.* 9. In Telesilla (fr. 721 *PMG*) Amphion is killed by Apollo, although the reason remains unknown to us. In Ovid (*Met.* 6.147–312) he commits suicide.

1324 Paus. 9.5.9.

1325 *De salt.* 41.

1326 On this Amphion, see *RE* 1.2 s.v. 'Amphion' 2, col. 1948 (Wernicke); on the Theban Amphion, see *RE* 1.2 s.v. 'Amphion' 1, cols. 1944–8 (Wernicke).

1327 See Hom. *Od.* 11.283; Pher. fr. 117 *EGM*; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.9; Paus. 9.36.8.

1328 *Bibl.* 3.5.6.

1329 *Fab.* 9 and 10.

1330 On Niobe, see Gantz (1993) 536–40; Fowler, *EGM* II §10.6, pp. 366–70.

1331 11.280–5; ‘Hes’. *Cat. fr.* 33a7 M–W.

1332 I should be noted that Pelias’ kingdom in Iolkos is virtually in south-eastern Thessaly from which the Minyans moved to the area of Orchomenos.

1333 The Muses are connected to Apollo, and as such bring the story of the Thracian singer closer to that of Amphion who insulted the same god (and had been also punished by him in one version). The Apolline element in the Thamyris story is lurking in the place from which Thamyris is coming, i.e. the city of Oichalia that has been just sacked. Eurytos, the king and master-archer of Thessalian Oichalia is destroyed by Herakles, while Messenian Oichalia, which has been identified by ancient sources (e.g. Strabo 8.3.6, 8.3.25, 8.4.5) as Andania where there was an ancient cult of Apollo, Hermes, and Hagne (daughter of Persephone according to Pausanias), was the site of a mystery-cult that started with a sacrifice to Eurytos; see Wilson (2009) 53–4.

1334 *Bibl.* 1.3.3.

1335 See Power (2010) 49.

1336 See Soph. *Tham. fr.* *236a–*245 *TrGF* 4.

1337 For reasons of methodological soundness I have added an asterisk before *3C, just because there is no specific ascription.

1338 See Paus. 4.33.3, who refers to the ‘casting of the lyre’ by Thamyris once he was blinded by the Muses and adds that there was a river between Messene and Andania called Βαλύρα.

1339 His long hair and beard are signs of endless suffering for the loss of his musical skills. On Thamyris’ punishment, see Robert (1892) 16, 23, 26–7, 30, 50–1, 67, 72; Wilamowitz (1884) 222–4; 340–1.

1340 There may have been at some stage another link between Amphion and Thamyris, being both of them gifted in the playing of the lyre. The latter’s defeat by the Muses may include resonances of a generic rivalry between epic and *kitharoidia* and his blinding may be seen ‘as a symbolic curtailment of the Panhellenic aspirations of the itinerant, agonistic citharode’ (Power 2010, 207). Is it, then, possible that the ‘joint’ presentation of Amphion and Thamyris in the Underworld had the symbolic meaning of *kitharodic defeat*? That *katabasis*-literature was especially prone to metapoetic, if not metageneric, comments of this kind we know on the basis of the Odyssean *Nekyia*, in which the various figures Odysseus encounters evoke relevant poetic traditions, e.g. that of the *Aithiopis*, the *Ilias parva*, the *Nostoi*, a *katabasis*-epic of Herakles etc. The association of Amphion and Thamyris with *kitharoidia* must have been explicit in the *Sikyonian anagraphe*, a ‘history of “early” music’ and an evident parallel to the almost contemporaneous book of Glaukos of Rhegion Περί τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν καὶ μουσικῶν’ (*FGrHist* iiiB, 550, Kommentar p. 477). Amphion and Thamyris are mentioned in a list of citharodes given by Herakleides Pontikos in his *Συναγωγή τῶν ἐν μουσικῇ εὐδοκμησάντων* fr. 157 Wehrli, in [Plut]. *De musica* 1132a–c), Amphion being presented as the inventor of *kitharoidia*, and Thamyris as the best kitharoidic singer; see Power (2010) 230–3.

1341 If we did not have the Ibscher papyrus that contains a dialogue between Theseus and Peirithoos with Meleagros, we may have thought that the *Minyas* is just a list of heroes in the Underworld. Even fr. 4 on Meleagros ‘looks’ like the other fragments offered by Pausanias and Philodemos. But as the Ibscher papyrus makes it clear, provided that it belongs to the *Minyas*, the epic must have also included fully-fledged scenes, in which dialogue and not simple narrative would have been employed. On the basis of the material at our disposal, it is impossible to tell who were the other heroes with whom Theseus and Peirithoos engaged in conversation. In the Odyssean *Nekyia* the catalogue of heroines is flanked by scenes in which Odysseus talks to the dead (Elpenor, Teiresias, Antikleia – Catalogue of Heroines – Intermezzo – Agamemnon, Achilles, Ajax – Catalogue of Men – Herakles), since his

Underworld encounters go on even after he has accomplished his goal (to get advice from Teiresias about how to return to Ithaca). On the analogy of the Odyssean *Nekyia*, we can then postulate two types of encounters for the visiting hero or heroes in the Underworld: one in which Theseus and Peirithoos engage in conversation with the dead and one in which they simply see various mythical figures in Hades. The former type of encounter would involve questions pertaining to the fate of the deceased, the reason for the visitor's journey to the world of the dead, what it means to be in the Underworld etc. In fact, if the papyrus fragment containing the discussion between Meleagros and Theseus belongs to the *Minyas*, we have ample evidence that *katabasis*-episodes followed a more or less specific narrative pattern. All three extant examples (the Odyssean *Nekyia*, the encounter between Herakles and Meleagros in Bacchylides 5, and the fragment from the Ibscher papyrus) abide by this typology.

1342 Fr. 70b–h S–M (see Σ Hom. *Il.* 21.194 (A Ge) [V 165.71–80 Erbse]).

1343 See the play *Peirithous* by Kritias, arg. and fr. 1–14 *TrGF* 1 [43]; see also Lloyd-Jones (1967) 216. We also know of the existence of a tragedy by Achaïos (fr. 36 *TrGF* 1 [20]) and a comedy by Aristophon (fr. 7 *PCG* 4) both under the title *Peirithous*, but there is simply not enough material to draw any conclusions about their plot.

1344 See also Hom. *Il.* 9.566–72. What role the Erinys played in the death of Meleagros, according to the version known to the *Iliad*, is hard to guess, though it would have suited the function of the Meleagros-exemplum if Meleagros (Achilles-like) had been killed by Apollo (see Hom. *Il.* 22.359–60; *Aith.* arg. l. 192 Severyns; [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 212b5 M–W; Pind. *Pa.* 6.78–80); see Hirschberger (2004) 218–19. Apollo's typical role in early Greek epic is to bring death to men with his arrows (see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 1.45–52; Hom. *Od.* 3.279–80, 7.64–5, 17.251, 494; Hipponax fr. 25 *IEG*).

1345 I owe this point to M. L. West (personal communication); on the myth, see Davies and Finglass (2014) 515–17.

1346 For a survey of the various forms of their punishment in different sources, see *RE* suppl. 13 s.v. 'Theseus', cols. 1176–7 (Herter).

1347 At least one of them is always freed by Herakles: see Apollod. *Epit.* 1.23, *Bibl.* 2.5.12; Σ Apoll. Rh. 1.101–4a (p. 15.16–18 Wendel); D.S. 4.63 (see also 4.26); Hyg. *Fab.* 79; Kritias (*Peirithous* arg. 5–7, *TrGF* 1); see Mette (1983) 14–15 and 18.

1348 See *RE* suppl. 13 s.v. 'Theseus', cols. 1177–82 (Herter).

1349 On the Aitolian-Elean-Pylian mythical cycle in which the Herakles-Meleagros encounter belongs, see West (1985) 137.

1350 See P.Ibscher col. i, 26–8. The use of περιφρων for Hippodameia or Deidameia (text uncertain) shows that she is positively mentioned by Meleagros.

1351 *Cat.* fr. 51 M–W.

1352 *Her.* fr. 5 *GEF* = 19 Matthews.

1353 Fr. 17 (dubium).

1354 Fr. 18 *EGM*.

1355 *Alk.* 3.

1356 Fr. 10A-C *EGEF*.

1357 Fr. 807 *PMG*.

1358 Fr. 9 *GEF*.

1359 Fr. 52 *EGM*.

1360 Pher. fr. 83 *EGM* 1.

1361 Orion is mentioned 7 times in Homer: 5 times as a constellation (Hom. *Il.* 18.486, 18.488, 22.29; *Od.* 5.274, 11.572), once with respect to his death by Artemis (*Od.* 5.121), and once in the context of the *Nekyia* (*Od.* 11.310), in which his Underworld activity is a direct reflection of his activity in the real world. See Heubeck (1989) 111 on Hom. *Od.* 11.572–5; in Kallimachos (*Hymn to Artemis* [3] 265) Orion is in love with Artemis; in Apollod. *Bibl.* (1.4.5) he is killed by Artemis because he outdid her in discus-throwing.

1362 See previous footnote.

1363 See *Cat.* fr. 148a M–W, in which Orion is killed by a scorpion sent by Gaia because he boasted (in the presence of Artemis and Leto) that he was able to kill any kind of animal on earth. The same story is also attested in Ov. *Fast.* 5.537–44; Hyg. *Astr.* 2.26. Other authors have Orion attempt to assault Artemis, who sends a scorpion against him (Σ [D] Hom. *Il.* 18.486/Z^{s(d)} [p. 500 van Thiel]); ‘Erat.’ *Katast.* 7; Arat. *Phain.* 1.636–46; Euph. fr. 65 [Lightfoot]; Nik. *Ther.* 13–20; the same story is attested in Hyg. *Fab.* 195 but without mention of a scorpion. For all the relevant data, see Gantz (1993) 272.

1364 That they were familiar to the audience of the *Odyssey* is clear from their highly abbreviated form. Furthermore, the Odyssean version is adapting material so as to make it fit the immediate narrative context in which the Orion ‘citation’ is incorporated. Kalypso is referring to the fact that the gods hold a grudge against goddesses who have sexual affairs with mortal men.

1365 See Gantz (1993) 273.

1366 The Σ (D) Hom. *Il.* 18.486/Z^{s(d)} [p. 500 van Thiel] narrates how Zeus, Poseidon, and Hermes visiting Hyrieus in Hyria/Tanagra decided to honor their host for his hospitality. Hyrieus asked them for a child, since he was childless. The three gods threw their semen on the hide of the sacrificed ox and told Hyrieus to hide it under the earth for 10 months. After that period a son was born, who was named Urion (Οὐρίων) after the gods’ urination (οὐρεῖν-Οὐρίων). He was later euphemistically called Orion (Ὠρίων). See also Σ Nik. *Ther.* 15a (p. 41.1–2 Crugnola) with Apollo in the place of Hermes. Strabo (9.2.12) says that this version was known to Pindar who narrated it in one of his dithyrambs (fr. 73 S–M). See also Hyg. *Fab.* 195; in Servius’ Σ on Virg. *Aen.* 1.535 (I 164.10 Thilo and Hagen) Poseidon is replaced by Ares. This version may have been also known to Korinna (*PMG* 654, col. iii 32–41); see also Nonn. *Dion.* 13.97–103; *EM* s.v. Ὠρίων (823.58–9 Gaisford); Eust. on Hom. *Od.* 1535.43–4 (I 216.28–9 Stallbaum; cf. *inter alia* 1535.45–57 [I 216.30–45 Stallbaum]); Σ Lyk. *Alex.* 328 (II 130.25–6 Scheer).

1367 Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.4.3.

1368 Anton. Lib. 25.

1369 See *RE* 18.1 s.v. ‘Orion’ 1, col. 1078 (Wehrli).

1370 9.20.3: Ἔστι δ’ Ὠρίωνος μνημα ἐν Τανάγραι; see also *IG* 12 *Suppl.* 646 for an ephebic agon in the Orioneia held at Tanagra in the 3rd c. AD; see Schachter (1986) II 193–4.

1371 Ant. Lib. 25 (this version or some part of it was employed by both Korinna [fr. 656 *PMG*] and Nik. *Heteroeum.* fr. 57 [Gow and Scholfield]); see Schachter (1986) II 116–17; Debiasi (2010) 273 n. 130 = (2015a) 260 n. 130.

1372 (1916) 168.

1373 See Merkelbach (1950) 255.

1374 In Eur. *Her.* 1169–70 Theseus refers to his release from Hades by Herakles; in the *Peirithous*, whether this is by Euripides or Kritias (see Athen. 11.496b and the *Vita* of Euripides), Theseus expressed his desire not to abandon his friend in the Underworld but to stay with him (so Ioannes Logothetes and Gregorios Korinthios, see arg. on *Πειρίθου* in *TrGF* 1 pp. 171–2 [43]), though at the end both friends are saved (Σ Tzetz. *Chil. AnOx* III

359.22 Cramer). For other relevant information in this tale, see Gantz (1993) 293–5.

1375 M. L. West (personal communication); see the commentary on v. 26 (below).

1376 See below on v. 26.

1377 (19702) I 66–7.

1378 See West (2014) 63–4.

1379 See Merkelbach (1950) 263; Santamaria (forthcoming).

1380 (1950) 263; for several Iliadic examples, see commentary on v. 26 (below).

1381 Merkelbach (1950) 263.

1382 See Merkelbach (1950) 259 and 263.

1383 By having Theseus tell Meleagros the reason for their descent to the Underworld, which is triggered by Peirithoos' claim on Persephone, the *Minyas* may be aiming at drawing a line between the two friends.

1384 This interpretation is based on West's supplement (see the critical apparatus).

1385 On formal legislation permitting men to marry their paternal (not maternal) half-sisters, see the analysis below.

1386 Col. i, l. 27 (text uncertain).

1387 Gantz (1993) 292.

1388 D.S. 4.63.1.

1389 Gantz (1993) 292.

1390 On the possible influence of a Herakles *katabasis*-epic on the *Minyas*, see Lloyd-Jones (1967) 206–29. Herakles' descent to the Underworld and encounter with Theseus and Peirithoos appears on a shield-band relief from Olympia (B 2198) that is dated around 560 BC. The identification with Theseus and Peirithoos of the two figures who are seated on a chair and are stretching their hands in supplication is guaranteed by the fact that their names appear on the shield-band. It is extremely likely that the third figure who is ready to draw his sword is Herakles, despite the fact that his name is not legible any more; see Gantz (1993) 292, who entertains the possibility that the artist's 'failure' to distinguish between the two friends points to a version in which Herakles saved both heroes.

1391 Merkelbach (1950) 256: 'eine einmal geprägte Situation von einem anderen Dichter in einen ähnlichen Zusammenhang übernommen wurde'.

1392 On δουρί τε μακρῶι without βίηφι in Homer, see *Il.* 5.297, 7.140.

1393 On the periphrasis Λητοῦς ... υἱός, see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 1.9, 16.849; *HHymn to Apollo* (3) 182, 545; *HHymn to Hermes* (4) 176, 189, 243, 314, 321, 416, 500; [Hes.] *Asp.* 202; *Il. cycl.* 1.3.

1394 (1950) 259.

1395 He had also taken into account the reading]ν (1950, 258), since there seems to be a slight remnant of a line on the left connecting the two Hastae of N.

1396 (1952) 221. See e.g. the letter H in v. 10 (κασιγνήτας), v. 20 (κούρηι Δημήτερος), v. 26 (βουληφόρε).

1397 (1952) 221. In Bacch. 5.121 the phrase ὦ]λεσε μοῖρ' ὀλοά is employed by Meleagros himself, as is the case in our papyrus; for μοῖρ' ὀλοή in verse-initial position, see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 21.83; Hom. *Od.* 2.100, 3.238.

1398 10.31.4: τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ τῶι δαλῶι λόγον, ὥς δοθεῖη μὲν ὑπὸ Μοιρῶν τῇι Ἀλθαίᾳ, Μελεάγρῳ δὲ οὐ πρότερον ἔδει τὴν τελευτὴν συμβῆναι πρὶν ἢ ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀφανισθῆναι τὸν δαλὸν καὶ ὥς ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοῦ καταπρήσειεν αὐτὸν ἢ Ἀλθαία, τοῦτον τὸν λόγον Φρύνιχος ὁ Πολυφράδμονος πρῶτος ἐν δράματι ἔδειξε Πλευρωνίαις. Pausanias tells us that this was not Phrynichos' innovation but a widely known version of this myth in all of Greece: οὐ μὴν φαίνεται γε ὁ Φρύνιχος προαγαθὸν τὸν λόγον ἐς πλεον ὥς εὗρημα ἂν τις οἰκεῖον, προσαψάμενος δὲ αὐτοῦ μόνο ἔτε ἐς ἅπαν ἥδη διαβεβημένον τὸ Ἑλληνικόν.

1399 This was not how he died in the **Meleagris*; see Kakridis (1949) 13–14: 'There is no doubt that this version is a later adaptation of the tale in the *Iliad* and of no particular importance. Later epic poetry extended the similarity between the fate of the Aetolian hero and that of Achilles (wrath, quick death after appeasement of wrath) to the manner of his

death, by putting Apollo in the place of the Erinyes’.

1400 For the friendship between Theseus and Peirithoos in various ancient authors, see Mette (1983) 13–15.

1401 See Hom. *Il.* 15.329–31 (Ἑκτωρ μὲν Στιχίον τε καὶ Ἀρκεσίλαον ἔπεφνε, / τὸν μὲν Βοιωτῶν ἡγήτορα χαλκοχιτώνων, / τὸν δὲ Μενεσθῆος μεγαθύμου πιστὸν ἑταῖρον), where Arkesilaos is designated as the loyal friend of the more famous hero Menestheus; in Hom. *Il.* 15.437–8 (Τεύκρε πέπον, δὴ νῶϊν ἀπέκτατο πιστὸς ἑταῖρος / Μαστορίδης), Lykophron (son of Mastor) is Teukros’ friend; in Hom. *Il.* 17.500 (αὐτίκα δ’ Ἀλκιμέδοντα προσηῦδα πιστὸν ἑταῖρον), Automedon asks his loyal friend Alkimedon to keep Achilles’ horses close to them; in Hom. *Il.* 17.589 (σὸν δ’ ἔκτανε πιστὸν ἑταῖρον) Apollo informs Hektor that Menelaos had killed Podes, son of Hetion, his loyal friend; in Hom. *Il.* 17.557 and 18.235 the expression πιστὸν ἑταῖρον designates Patroklos, Achilles’ trustworthy comrade; see also Hom. *Od.* 15.539 (ἧ καὶ Πείραιον προσεφώνεε, πιστὸν ἑταῖρον), in which Peiraios is referred to as Telemachos’ loyal friend. These examples of epic use are strong evidence that the πισ[τὸς] ἑ[ταῖρος] designated in this fragment of the *Minyas* is Peirithoos. Although it could be counterargued, on the basis of Σ Apoll. Rh. 1.101–4a (p. 15.12–14 Wendel: καὶ ὁ μὲν Θησεὺς τῆς Ἑλένης ἐρασθεὶς ἔσχεν συμπράττοντα αὐτῷ τὸν Πειρίθουν, ὁ δὲ Πειρίθους τὴν Περσεφόνην θελήσας ἀγαγέσθαι ἀναγκαίως εἶχε τὸν Θησέα ἐπόμενον) that Peirithoos is the ‘leader’ in this adventure (Theseus being his follower), since he is the one who desires Persephone, Meleagros does not know *at this point* the reason for the descent of the two friends. In this light, he cannot possibly be aware of the fact that Peirithoos desired to go to the Underworld and that Theseus followed him. This crucial piece of information is revealed by Theseus at the very end (v. 23) of his ensuing reply to Meleagros; see below on v. 26.

1402 See Vergados (2013) 518 on *HHymn to Hermes* (4) 440.

1403 (1952) 221.

1404 Hom. *Il.* 10.118 (χρειῶ γὰρ ἰκάνεται); Hom. *Od.* 2.28 (τίνα χρειῶ τόσον ἵκει), Hom. *Od.* 5.189 (ὅτε με χρειῶ τόσον ἵκοι). When employed elliptically in Homer, χρειῶ scans like a monosyllable, see Hom. *Il.* 10.85, Hom. *Od.* 1.225 (τίπτε δέ σε χρειῶ;), as may be the case in this papyrus. On χρει(ι)ῶ, which is either feminine or, less frequently neuter, see e.g. Hom. *Il.* 10.85, 10.142, 11.606; Hom. *Od.* 2.28, 4.707, 5.189.

1405 See Merkelbach (1950) 259.

1406 Merkelbach's initial supplement of Θησεύς δ' ἀντηῦδα π] is not very likely, since the form ἀντηῦδα is unknown in early hexameter poetry (it is attested for the first time in Soph. *El.* 1478).

1407 ἴδεν ὀφθαλμοῖσι (a d l L).

1408 *Il.* 2.173 = 4.358 = 8.93 = *Od.* 5.203 = 10.401 = 10.456. In Homer, διογενής is only used for certain eminent Achaeans, never for the Trojans: Patroklos (*Hom. Il.* 1.337), Achilles (*Hom. Il.* 1.489), Ajax (*Hom. Il.* 7.234), Agamemnon (*Hom. Il.* 9.106), Eurypylos (*Hom. Il.* 11.810), Menelaos (*Hom. Il.* 23.294).

1409 Kirk (1985) 20.

1410 On patronymics of Greek epic heroes, see Higbie (1995) 43–68. Meleagros is always the son of Oineus in the *Iliad*, but son of Ares in [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 25.1–4 M–W. Hainsworth (1993, 134 on *Hom. Il.* 9.543–4) claims that 'Meleagros' standing as a hero later elevated his parentage' and draws attention to the case of Bellerophon (see *Hom. Il.* 6.155 in comparison to [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 43a.81 M–W).

1411 See *Hom. Il.* 2.641, 9.540, 9.543.

1412 Merkelbach (1950) 260.

1413 On Wyss's supplement, see my comments on Latte's suggestion (immediately below).

1414 On the construction 'dat. (masc./fem.) + ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεά', see e.g. *Hom. Il.* 1.55 (τῷ γὰρ ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη); *Hom. Od.* 18.158 = 21.1 (τῇ δ' ἄρ' ἐπὶ φρεσὶ θῆκε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη).

1415 The situation here is rather different from that in *Hom. Il.* 9.571, in which the Erinys in the dark places beyond the earth listens to Althaia's curse and takes action against Meleagros.

1416 (1957) 53; on this point, see Bolling (1922) 213–14. Merkelbach takes it for granted that Peirithoos is the one of the two friends who has initially addressed Meleagros and asked him about his death.

1417 (1989) 247 on *Hom. Od.* 15.234.

1418 On the use of the Περσ- and Φερσ- spellings in Greek poetry (with emphasis on metrical inscriptions), see Keil (1908) 536–7; also Merkelbach (1950) 257. Andorlini and Lundon (2015, 6 n. 32) draw attention to Aristonikos' Σ (A) *Hom. Il.* 13.197 [III 437.92–4 Erbse; with further bibliography] (ὅτι συνεχῶς κέχρηται τοῖς δῆκοις. ἡ δὲ ἀναφορά πρὸς τὰ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος· Ἀθηναίων γὰρ ἴδιον) that refers to Aristarchos' preference for the dual; on this issue, see Matthaios (1999) 382 and bibliography in n. 411.

1419 (1950) 260.

1420 See Perisynakis (1991) 297–302. On the bride's father acting as an ἐεδνωτής, see Tsitsicles (1962) 24–39.

1421 See LSJ s.v. ἐδνόω.

1422 See also Eur. *Hel.* 933; *AP* 7.648 (Leonidas of Taras); Theokritos (*Id.* 22.147) employs the active form (ἐὰς ἐδνώσε θυγατρὰς).

1423 Merkelbach (1950) 261.

1424 As Zeus' son.

1425 For μεγακυδής, see 'Man.' *Apot.* 2.150; *API* 267.23, 275.1, 308.3, 377.11, 727.1; *IG* II/III² (3.1) 3015.3, *IG* III/III² (3.2) 7447.5, *SEG* 30.307.5, *IG* IV 1608.3, *IScM* II.2 369.5; *IG* XII.V 677.11, *IG* XII (Suppl. 167–329) 239.8, *MAMA* I, 100.2, Egypt insc. métr. 64.9, *IGUR* III 1336, A, right, 60.

1426 (1950) 261.

1427 Translation in *GEF*, p. 273.

1428 Gagarin (1986) 67, who refers to the edition of the Solonian laws by Ruschenbusch (1966); see also Ruschenbusch's post-mortem edition (2010) and the new edition by Leão and Rhodes (2015).

1429 So Merkelbach (1950) 262.

1430 Theseus' penalty will be temporary because of Herakles' intervention.

1431 *Th.* 768 om. *IT*², Par. 2772, susp. Wolf; *Th.* 774 habet r, om. *ak*.

1432 See Pind. fr. 243 S–M, in which Peirithoos and Theseus are designated as sons of Zeus

and Poseidon respectively (φάν δ' ἔμμεναι / Ζηνὸς υἱοὶ καὶ κλυτοπόλου Ποσειδάωνος).

1433 Merkelbach (1950) 263.

1434 (1950) 263.

1435 τοῦνεκ' (α) is often placed at verse-initial position in early epic (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 5.342, 5.822, 6.334).

1436 There is no need to suppose that we are dealing with an elided form of the common Homeric form βήμεναι; see Chantraine, *GH* I 86, 485 n. 2.

1437 = fr. *14a Radici Colace = fr. dub. 13a.10 *PEG*.

1438 See also Ap. Rh. 1.190, 1.1046, 3.518; [Opp.] *Kyn.* 2.23.

1439 See Mette (1983) 13.

1440 (1950) 263.

1441 Deest in pap. et Ω*.

1442 See Merkelbach (1950) 263.

1443 So M. L. West (personal communication); see above (p. 331) on the so-called 'hypotenuse conversation'.

1444 Theoretically (and given the reading O before ΔΑΜΕΙΑ), we cannot exclude Λαοδάμεια, a name inscribed on an Apulian red-figure calyx-krater from Anzi (IV–III c. BC), now in London (BM F 272); see *LIMC* VII.1, p. 944 [Neils]; Merkelbach (1950, 263) observed that it is attested in Homer (*Il.* 6.197 as daughter of Bellerophon), albeit not in relation to Peirithoos.

1445 See *LIMC* 7.1 s.v. 'Peirithoos', 232–42 (Manakidou).

1446 Personal communication.

1447 (2000) 336–7 n. 1.

1448 (2003) 274–5 as *Minyas* fr. *8 *GEF*.

1449 See Janko (2000) 169.

1450 See also Bacch. **25.20 []ι δαμέ[ν]τα πολύλλισ[το].

1451 *SH* 927b.11 = P.Oxy. 2523 (2nd c. AD).

1452 By Bücheler (1889), non vidi; see *SH* 927b, 11 (= P.Oxy. 2523). I owe this information to Janko (2000) 336–7 n. 1.

1453 In conformity to the general practice followed in this commentary, I will be using the transliterated form of the Greek title (*Naupaktia*, *Naupaktika*) in the translation of the relevant testimonies and fragments, whereas in the ensuing commentary I will be using the latinized title *Carmen Naupactium*.

1454 This translation is based on *GEF*, p. 279 with slight modifications.

1455 On the basis of the rare word ποδοσοφία, Schaefer (1913, II 277) argued that the expression ποδοσοφίαν ἀκούσασα came from the epic itself, in the form of ποδοσοφίην αἰούσα. This suggestion has been wrongly taken up by Bernabé (*PEG*, p. 125 ad fr. 7). Kinkel mentions it in a footnote (*Carm. Naup.* fr. 7–8, p. 201 n. 2); Davies (*EGF*) and West (*GEF*) are right to omit it. The word ποδοσοφία is also attested in *Aesop.* fr. 138.3 [Perry] (οἱ ἐνταῦθα βάτραχοι ἀκούσαντες τῆς ποδοσοφίας ἑαυτοὺς εἰς τὰ βάθη τῆς λίμνης ἐδίδονσαν).

1456 For the 'title' *Ναυπακτίδες*, see below.

1457 I am hereby adopting (like *PEG*, *EGF*, and *GEF*) Bekker's emendation *Ναυπακτικῶν* for the manuscript reading (T[V]) *Να(υ)πακτίδων*. Even if the title *Ναυπακτίδες* means 'the women of the *Carmen Naupactium*' and not 'the women of Naupaktos' (which would be against other parallels like e.g. Aischylos' *Βασσαρίδες*), it can hardly have been the correct title for this epic. First, it does not fit the poem's content. Second, Pausanias, who is our single source describing the content of this epic as *ἐπεσιν ... πεποιημένοις ἐς γυναῖκας* ('verses composed with respect to women') and has used the same expression for the 'Hesiodic' *Catalogue of Women* (1.3.1; 9.31.5), consistently employs the title *Ναυπάκτια* (e.g. 4.2.1, where he refers to it together with the *Catalogue of Women* and the genealogical poetry of Kinaithon and Asios).

1458 According to Gomperz's supplement.

1459 See Wilamowitz (1916) 412; *PEG*, p. 123.

1460 *GEF*, p. 33; the same point has been made by Marckscheffel (1840) 257.

1461 Marckscheffel (1840) 257.

1462 Hadas' (1936, 166–8) interpretation of Pausanias' expression *ἐπεσιν ... πεποιημένοις ἐς γυναῖκας* as hiding a comic intention, on the basis of the presentation of a feeble Jason who desperately needs the help of Aphrodite, is weak. Epic heroes regularly receive divine help.

1463 (1969) 69. Huxley's suggestion is based on Lérat (1952) II 167–9, who argued in favor of a cult of Ariadne in western Lokris.

1464 *RE* 16.2 s.v. 'Naupaktos', col. 1984 (Trowbridge and Oldfather); Huxley (1969) 69; Matthews (1977) 189 n. 4. All the evidence on Hesiod's death and place of burial is conveniently gathered by Jacoby (1930) 120–3 (T 32–42).

1465 Mazon (1928) xiii; see also Schwartz (1960) 504.

1466 *Plut. Sept. sap. conv.* 19 p. 162c–e; see Nagy (2009) 305.

1467 See Schwartz (1960) 503–5.

1468 (2003b) 91–101 [= 2015, 225–37]. On the etymology of *Ναύπακτος* from *ναῦς* + *πήγνυμι* (ναF+ παγ-), see *RE* 16.2 s.v. 'Naupaktos', cols. 1979–80 (Trowbridge-Oldfather).

1469 Strab. 9.4.7: ἀπὸ τῆς ναυπηγίας τῆς ἐκεῖ γενομένης, εἴτε τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐκεῖ ναυπηγησαμένων τὸν στόλον, εἴθ', ὥς φησιν Ἑφορος (*FGrHist* 70 F121), Λοκρῶν πρότερον παρασκευασάντων.

1470 Strab. 9.5.15: ἀπὸ τῆς ναυπηγίας τῆς Ἀργοῦς.

1471 On Charon of Lampsakos, see below.

1472 *FGrHist* 262 F4.

1473 τὰ δὲ ἔπη τὰ Ναυπάκτια ὀνομαζόμενα ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων ἀνδρὶ ἐσποιοῦσιν οἱ πολλοὶ Μιλησίωι· Χάρων δὲ ὁ Πύθεώ φησιν αὐτὰ ποιῆσαι Ναυπάκτιον Καρκίνον. ἐπόμεθα δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς τῇ τοῦ Λαμψακηνοῦ δόξειν· τίνα γὰρ καὶ λόγον ἔχοι ἂν ἐπεσιν ἀνδρὸς Μιλησίου πεποιημένοις ἐς γυναῖκας τεθῆναι σφισιν ὄνομα Ναυπάκτια;

1474 Marckscheffel (1840) 252.

1475 We only know of two tragic poets under the same name; see *OCD* s.v. 'Carcinus' 1–2, pp. 290–1 (Brown); *RE* 10.2 s.v. 'Καρκίνος' 4–5, cols. 1951–4 (Diehl); see also *TrGF* 1, pp. 128–31 and 210–15 respectively.

1476 Marckscheffel (1840) 252.

1477 Instead of taking *Νεοπτόλεμος* with the previous sentence, they read it with the next one: *κοιλάδα τῆς Κρήτης κατέδυσαν. τοῦτο δὲ φησι καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος* (*FGrHist* 702 F4) ὁ τὰ *Ναυπακτικά* ποιήσας. καὶ *Φερεκύδης ἐν ζ'* (Pher. fr. 29 *EGM*) φησὶν (codd.) εἰς τὸ σπέος αὐτὰς φυγεῖν τῆς Κρήτης τὸ ὑπὸ τῷ λόφῳ τῷ Ἀργινούντι. The correct reading is the following: *κοιλάδα τῆς Κρήτης κατέδυσαν. τοῦτο δὲ φησι καὶ Νεοπτόλεμος* (*FGrHist* 702 F4). ὁ <δὲ> τὰ *Ναυπακτικά* ποιήσας καὶ *Φερεκύδης ἐν ζ'* (Pher. fr. 29 *EGM*) φασὶν (Keil) εἰς τὸ σπέος αὐτὰς φυγεῖν τῆς Κρήτης τὸ ὑπὸ τῷ λόφῳ τῷ Ἀργινούντι. See Marckscheffel (1840) 253–4.

1478 Other poems were (falsely) attributed to him, like the *Titanomachy*; see Eum. *Tit. fr.* 15 *EGEF* (above).

- 1479** (1840) 254.
- 1480** Marckscheffel (1840) 254.
- 1481** See Arist. *De poetis* (in Diog. Laert. 2.46): ἐφιλονέικει ... καὶ Κέρκωψ Ἡσιόδοι ζῶντι.
- 1482** ‘zu viel unsichere Faktoren’ (Wilamowitz 1916, 413).
- 1483** Huxley (1969) 69.
- 1484** Matthews (1977) 189.
- 1485** Plut. *Sept. sap. conv.* 162c.
- 1486** Matthews (1977) 189.
- 1487** The scholium reads as follows: ὁ δὲ τὰ Ναυπακτικά The missing participle may be ποιήσας, γράψας, πεποιηκώς.
- 1488** Differently, Matthews (1977) 207.
- 1489** See Herodorus fr. 54 *EGM*.
- 1490** Huxley (1969) 73.
- 1491** See *RE* 16.2 s.v. ‘Ναυπάκτια ἔπη’ col. 1976 (Diehl), who interprets the use of parallel names as typical to the ‘logographische-genealogische Methode’; see also Amatori (2013) 158, who observes that features such as the family of origin, the references to the father, mother (Amatori endorses Gärtner’s emendation) and brother, and the use of ὀπλότατος are indicative of genealogical catalogues.
- 1492** Marckscheffel (1840) 254–5.
- 1493** See *RE* 16.2 s.v. ‘Ναυπάκτια ἔπη’, col. 1976 (Diehl).
- 1494** See e.g. Hom. *Od.* 11.260, 266, 305 (τὴν δὲ μέτ’).
- 1495** See West (2003a) 153; also *Carm. Naup.* fr. 1 *GEF*.
- 1496** See e.g. Hom. *Od.* 7.56–8: Ναυσίθοον μὲν πρῶτα Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων / γείνατο καὶ Περιβοία, γυναικῶν εἶδος ἀρίστη, / ὀπλοτάτη θυγάτηρ μεγαλήτορος Εὐρυμέδοντος; Hom. *Od.* 11.281–3: καὶ Χλῶριν εἶδον περικαλλέα, τὴν ποτε Νηλεὺς / γῆμεν ἔδν διὰ κάλλος, ἐπεὶ πόρε μυρία ἔδνα, / ὀπλοτάτην κοῦρην Ἀμφίονος Ἰασίδαο; *HHymn to Aphrodite* (5) 22–3: Ἰστίη, ἦν πρῶτην τέκετο Κρόνος ἀγκυλομήτης, / αὐτὶς δ’ ὀπλοτάτην, βουλῇ Διὸς αἰγίοχιο.
- 1497** Μητροπάτωρ is a very rare word. It is only attested once in archaic epic (Hom. *Il.* 11.224); see also [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 26.31–2 M–W.
- 1498** See Hom. *Il.* 13.697 = 15.336.
- 1499** Cf. Matthews (1977) 191, who argues that the subject of ἐξονόμαζεν may have been Eriope’s mother, Periklymene or Klymene; Hyg. *Fab.* 14.2: *Admetus Pheretis filius, matre Periclymene Minyae filia ex Thessalia*; Σ Eur. *Alk.* 16 [II 217.28 Schwartz]: μήτηρ Ἀδμήτου Κλυμένη.
- 1500** Ap. Rh. 1.229–30.
- 1501** See the critical apparatus (above).
- 1502** According to Fowler (*EGM* II §4.4, pp. 146–7), Pherekydes may have taken Alkimache from the [Hesiodic] *Catalogue of Women*, where Aias may have featured among Helen’s suitors. This suggestion rests on West’s (1985, 118) reconstruction of the contents of [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 198 M–W, partly on the basis of Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.10.8.
- 1503** Cf. Erbse (1960) 75–6 and his note on Σ Hom. *Il.* 15.333c (IV 82.30–3). He argues against Schrader’s (1879, 231–52; 1880, I, 48 on 2.494ff.) attribution of certain Porphyrian fragments, which are attested in Eustathios, to a lost work on *Paralipomena Homerica* and instead assigns them to the *Quaestiones Homericae*; see also Porph. fr. 384 with critical apparatus (p. 468 Smith).
- 1504** See van der Valk (1963) I 454 n. 213. Cappelletto (2003, 328) suggests that, if the *Zitatennest* of the Homeric scholia comes from Apollodoros’ *Peri neon*, then the citation of the διωνυμία Eriope/Alkimache of the *Carmen Naupactium* was adduced independently from Apollodoros, as a solution to the different traditions offered by Homer and Pherekydes-Mnaseas-Porphyry.
- 1505** For other examples from archaic epic, see West (1966) 204 on Hes. *Th.* 137.

- 1506** See Roscher (1884–1886) I 236 s.v. ‘Alkimache’ 2–3.
- 1507** (1837) I 71 n. 2.
- 1508** (1840) 408.
- 1509** (1832) 637.
- 1510** See e.g. Matthews (1977) 191.
- 1511** *GEF*, p. 276.
- 1512** See e.g. Hom. *Il.* 1.35, 1.48, 1.549, 2.391, 2.812, 11.81, 19.356, 23.194; Hom. *Od.* 2.164, 7.284, 17.447, 23.86; Hes. *Th.* 386; *HHymn to Demeter* (2) 28; *HHymn to Hermes* (4) 556.
- 1513** See e.g. Hom. *Il.* 4.247–8, 23.59–60; Hom. *Od.* 2.408, 3.5, 7.290–1, 9.551–3, 11.75.
- 1514** = [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 240.3 M–W.
- 1515** I would like to thank Martin West for making this difference clear to me.
- 1516** See West (1973b) 110.
- 1517** See West (1973b) 25.
- 1518** See West (1973b) 25.
- 1519** There are numerous examples of this placement in Homer; see e.g. ὄφρα μὲν οὖν (Hom. *Il.* 9.550, Hom. *Od.* 15.361), νῆα μὲν οὖν (Hom. *Od.* 4.780), καὶ τὰ μὲν οὖν (Hom. *Od.* 13.122), πρῶτα μὲν οὖν (Hom. *Od.* 22.448).
- 1520** *RE* 16.2 s.v. ‘Ναυπάκτια ἔπη’, col. 1976 (Diehl).
- 1521** See *Carm. Naup.* fr. 9 *EGEF* (ap. Paus. 2.3.9).
- 1522** Huxley (1969) 73.
- 1523** (1977) 191.
- 1524** See Hom. *Il.* 14.119–20 (ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν αὐτόθι μένει, πατὴρ δ’ ἐμὸς Ἄργεϊ νάσθη / πλαγχθείς), in which Diomedes refers to his grandfather Oineus and his father Tydeus parting ways, the former staying in Kalydon, the latter going to Argos.
- 1525** Huxley (1969, 72–3) argued that the subject may be Mermeros, son of Ilos, who is mentioned in Hom. *Od.* 1.259 with respect to the Thesprotian Ephyra.
- 1526** Matthews (1977) 191.
- 1527** For the emendation proposed by Papazeti (2008, 21), see also Sziget (1901) 373 (non vidi; I owe this reference to Papazeti).
- 1528** (1969) 73. Huxley also drew attention to the Hesiodic fragment’s reference to Dodona, which was ‘once part of the kingdom of Thesprotia ([Aisch.] *PI* 831)’, as well as to the fact that ‘from it the upland pastures lead down westwards towards the coast – Δωδώνανθεν ἀρχόμενοι πρὸς Ἴόνιον πόρον (Pindar *Nem.* 4.53)’; see also Hom. *Il.* 2.750: οἱ περὶ Δωδώνην δυσχείμερον οἰκί’ ἔθεντο (‘they made their homes around wintry Dodona’).
- 1529** (1977) 191–3.
- 1530** The same applies to Amatori (2013, 159–60), who opts for Iolkos (on the basis of Hom. *Od.* 11.256–7), since she also reads ἐπὶ θινὶ θαλάσσης εὐρυπόροιο.
- 1531** Huxley (1969) 72–3.
- 1532** See Hesych. π 2830 (III 140 Hansen): π ο λ υ β ο ὑ τ η ς: πλούσιος.
- 1533** See Amatori (2013) 159, who places this episode in Iolkos and suggests that Pelias and Neleus are the people ‘hidden’ behind ὁ μὲν ... ὁ δέ.
- 1534** See Amatori (2013) 158–9 n. 7.
- 1535** (1969) 70–1.
- 1536** See Matthews (1977) 193.
- 1537** The placement of the Strophades is a matter of controversy among ancient authorities: [Hesiod] places them close to Kephallenia (fr. 150.30 and 156 M–W); the Σ in Ap. Rh. 2.285 (p. 149.14–15 Wendel) in the Sicilian sea; Hyg. (*Fab.* 14) in the Aegean; Pomponius Mela (2.110.5) close to the coast of Epiros (adding that they are identical with the Echinades). According to Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1.9.21), the Echinades (= Strophades) are situated close to the Propontis. In modern times, Strophades is the name given to the two islets off the coast of Messenia in southwestern Greece, 27 miles south of the island of Zakynthos.
- 1538** Matthews (1977) 193. This point is followed by all modern editors (see *PEG*, *EGF*,

GEF), who print the text of the scholium, as it has been edited by Wendel. Fowler (Pher. fr. 29 *EGM*, and *EGM* II, §6.4.5, p. 223 n. 78) adopts the reading καὶ Φερεκύδης δὲ (δὲ P : om. L) that results in the acceptance of a lacuna after ὁ <δὲ> τὰ Ναυπακτικὰ ποιήσας < . The consequence of this textual variation is that Fowler has to keep the manuscript reading φησὶν instead of φασὶν (Keil), which in itself means that the author of the *Carmen Naupactium* is not credited with the same version found in Pherekydes but with another one that has been lost due to the lacuna.

1539 Fowler (*EGM* II, §6.4.5, p. 223) says that the reference to the Sicilian sea shows that Pherekydes may have in mind what later authors (Strabo 8.4.2) called the Strophades islands, a name that still designates two islets south of Zakynthos. This is not impossible, but I remain skeptical with respect to the inclusion of the Strophades in Pherekydes' version of the story, let alone in the *Carmen Naupactium*.

1540 Fowler (*EGM* II, §6.4.5, p. 223) refers to another tradition represented by Akous. fr. 31 (in *Bibl.* 3.15.2), in which 'the Harpyiai are actually killed by the Boreadaí': ἡ δὲ (sc. Ὠρείθυια) γενναῖα θυγατέρας μὲν Κλεοπάτραν καὶ Χιόνην, υἱοὺς δὲ Ζήτην καὶ Κάλαιν περρωτοὺς, οἱ πλέοντες σὺν Ἰάσωνι {καὶ} τὰς Ἀρπυίας διώκοντες ἀπέθανον, ὥς δὲ Ἀκουσίλαος λέγει, περὶ Τήνων ὑφ' Ἡρακλέους ἀπώλοντο ('She had daughters, Kleopatra and Chione, and sons, Zetes and Kalais, who were winged. They sailed with Jason and died while pursuing the Harpyiai, though according to Akousilaos, they were killed by Herakles at Tenos', translation [with spelling modifications] by Smith and Trzaskoma [2007] 69); according to Apollodoros (*Bibl.* 1.9.21), it was fated for the Harpyiai to be killed by the Boreads and the Boreads to die while pursuing something they could not catch); see also Jacoby *FGrHist* 2 F 31 and Kommentar, on Akous. 2 F *ad loc.*, pp. 381–2.

1541 (1977) 194.

1542 The text printed by Schober reads: Αἰσι|χύλος δ' [ἐν Φινει] καὶ Εἴβυ[κος καὶ Τε]λέστης [ποιοῦσιν] τὰς Ἀρπ[υίας θεᾶς] οὐσας ὑπ[ὸ τῶν Βορεα]δῶν τελευτώσας; Luppe's (1987, 29–30) is as follows: Αἰσι|χύλος δ' [ἐν Φινει] καὶ Εἴβυ[κος καὶ Τε]λέστης [λέγουσι(ν)] τὰς Ἀρπ[υίας ?θεᾶς?] οὐσας ὑπ[ὸ τῶν Βορεα]δῶν [ἀνηρῆσθαι].

1543 Schober opts for the *Kypria* and Pherekydes; see p. 79 of his edition.

1544 See *EGF* p. 147 on fr. 3^B: 'fort(asse) audacius: vid. Luppe, *GGA* 239 (1987) 29'.

1545 (19214) II.3.1 795 n. 2.

1546 (1977) 194–5.

1547 See Σ Ap. Rh. 1.1–4e (p. 7.17 Wendel), 1.224–6a, b (p. 28.9, 28.12 Wendel), 1.238 (p. 29.6 Wendel), 1.526–7 (p. 46.2 Wendel), 1.551a (p. 47.10 Wendel), 1.1167–8b (p. 106.24 Wendel), 1.1289–91a (p. 116.16 Wendel); 2.319 (p. 152.10 Wendel), 2.341 (p. 154.9 Wendel), 2.896 (p. 193.12 Wendel); 4.257–62b (p. 274.2 Wendel), 4.282–91b (p. 280.22 Wendel), 4.507–21 (p. 287.10 Wendel), 4.585–8 (p. 289.7 Wendel), 4.839–41a (p. 296.5 Wendel).

1548 Σ Ap. Rh. 1.14 (p. 8.21 Wendel), 1.124–9b (p. 18.7 Wendel), 1.139–44b (p. 19.13 Wendel), 1.747–51a–b (pp. 63.13 and 64.7 Wendel); 3.993 (p. 244.21 Wendel); 4.1091 (pp. 305.16, 306.14, 306.15, 306.19 Wendel).

1549 Σ Ap. Rh. 1.87 (p. 14.15–16 Wendel), 1.118–21 (p. 17.4 Wendel), 1.124–9a (p. 18.2 Wendel), 1.580b (p. 50.10 Wendel); 3.1241 (p. 254.21 Wendel); 4.1091 (p. 306.26 Wendel).

1550 Matthews (1977) 195.

1551 See *LSJ* s.v. φέρω A viii (p. 1924).

1552 See *GEF*, p. 277: 'lists all the heroes recognized by him'.

1553 3.521; see Huxley (1969) 71.

1554 This was considered 'absurd' by Matthews (1977) 195. It does not seem to have annoyed early critics such as Diehl and Kinkel nor later ones like Huxley and West.

1555 In Hom. *Il.* 18.39–48 there is a long list of no less than 33 Nereids, who immediately afterwards ascend, together with Thetis, to the shore to meet with Achilles.

1556 The lists of Nereids and Okeanids in Hes. *Th.* 243–62 and 349–61 include 51 and 41 names respectively.

1557 (1878) 461.

1558 *Ap. Davies, Carm. Naup.* fr. 5 *EGF*.

1559 See *LSJ* s.v. κελεύω 5 (p. 937); e.g. Hom. *Il.* 2.50; Hom. *Od.* 2.6; Diod. *Sik.* 19.17.3.

1560 On Mopsos, see Flower (2008) 43–5.

1561 (1977) 197; see Σ *Ap. Rh.* 1.139–44d (p. 19.17–18 Wendel).

1562 See Σ *Ap. Rh.* 1.139–44a (p. 19.11–12 Wendel) and 1.139–44d (p. 19.15–19 Wendel).

1563 Teiresias, Kalchas, and Iamos are typically presented as old men.

1564 A similar case, albeit in a historical context, is that of the seer Megistias who, according to Simonides (702–5 *FGE*; see also Hdt. 7.219, 221), did not abandon the Spartans at Thermopylai, although he was aware of his impending death.

1565 Fowler, *EGM* II §6.3.4, p. 214.

1566 See the analysis of fr. 4 (above).

1567 (1977) 195.

1568 1.118–20 (Talaos, Areios, Leodokos), Herakles (1.122–3), 1.133–8 (Nauplios), Idmon (1.139–44).

1569 (1977) 196.

1570 [Hes.] *Wedding of Keyx* fr. 263 M–W; Pind. *P.* 4.172; Hdt. 7.193; Pher. fr. 111 *EGM*; Antim. *Lyde* fr. 69 (Matthews); Posidipp. fr. 703 *SH*.

1571 See previous footnote.

1572 In later sources, such as Dionysios Skytobrachion (*FGrHist* 32 F 6a–b = fr. 15a–b Rusten) and Demaratos (*FGrHist* 42 F 2), Herakles participates in the entire journey to Kolchis.

1573 So Matthews (1977) 196–7.

1574 Medeia took with her to the Argo the fleece that was placed in Aietes' palace (see fr. 8 below).

1575 On this role of seers in ancient Greece, see Flower (2008) 30: 'The Greek seer is not a messenger of the gods, but rather an interpreter, even if a potentially inspired one, of signs'.

1576 3.84–9.

1577 (1977) 199.

1578 See *RE* 1 s.v. 'Aphrodite', cols. 2729 and 2774 (Dümmler); there was a month Ἀφροίος named after her in Larisa and Perrhaibia. There were also local cults of Aphrodite in Thessaly under the name Ποντία and Εὔπλοια. Aphrodite had maritime associations and as such she was expected to protect sailors, like the Argonauts; see e.g. Eur. *Med.* 527–8. On Aphrodite's relation to sea and sailing, see Cyrino (2010) 108–14.

1579 Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 299–308; see also Paus. 10.38.9, 10.38.12.

1580 See Pirenne-Delforge (1994) 307–8.

1581 Hes. *Th.* 960: Ἰδυίαν καλλιπάρηον; *Ap. Rh.* 3.243: Εἰδυῖαν ἄκοιτιν. See also Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.9.23 (ἦν δὲ αὕτη [*sc.* Μήδεια] θυγάτηρ Αἰήτου καὶ Εἰδυίας τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ, φαρμακίς).

1582 (1863) 370.

1583 (1977) 199.

1584 For φευγέμεναι at verse-initial position (though without the genitive), see Hom. *Il.* 10.359 and 21.13.

1585 Matthews (1977) 199.

1586 (1966) 299 on Hes. *Th.* 481; cf. Hom. *Od.* 12.284 (διὰ νύκτα θοήν); Hom. *Il.* 12.463 (νυκτὶ θοῆι) and 14.261 (Νυκτὶ θοῆι).

1587 (18693) 365–70.

1588 See also Antim. *Art.* fr. 112.2 (Matthews): Ἄιδος ἐκπρολιποῦσα θοὸν, δόμ]ον, which may have been formed on the basis of the Homeric expression (so West 1966, 299 on Hes. *Th.* 481).

1589 See Dué and Ebbott (2010) 338, who argued that apart from *Iliad* 10 'the formula is used during Priam's infiltration of the Achaean camp, and is associated particularly with the

danger of his mission'. The 'swiftness' of the night is associated with the ambush theme but not exclusively. It may be the case that it simply pertains to terror and danger, which characterize, among other things, the ambush theme. In Hom. *Il.* 12.463 and 14.261, as well as in Hom. *Od.* 12.284 the adjective *θοός* modifies the night but there is no ambush. The Homeric scholia (ABT) attempt to explain the meaning of *θοός* by recourse to various fancy explanations concerning cosmological perspectives, which are of little value; see the useful summary offered by Dué and Ebbott (2010) 338–9. Night can also indicate a swiftly occurring, destructive *action* without the use of the adjective *θοός*, as ὁ δ' ἦγε νυκτὶ ἐοικώς (Hom. *Il.* 1.47).

1590 (1993) 193 on Hom. *Il.* 10.394.

1591 It is perhaps accidental but worth noticing how fitting this formula would have been later on in the plot in the form *πλείωμεν οἰκόνδε θοῇ σὺν νηὶ μελαίνῃ*, when someone (Jason, Argos, Idmon or Medeia) may have urged the Argonauts to sail off with the fast, dark ship.

1592 Differently from the version of Apollonios Rhodios, in which he had died on the outbound journey.

1593 Herodoros fr. 49–50 *EGM*.

1594 See Σ Ap. Rh. 4.257–62b (p. 273.12–13 Wendel): Ἡρόδορος (fr. 10 *EGM*) ἐν τοῖς Ἀργοναύταις φησὶ διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπανελθεῖν (κατελθεῖν Schwartz) θαλάσσης, δι' ἧς ἦλθον εἰς Κόλχους. Another example of a seer dying on the way home is offered by *Nost.* 288–300 (Severyns), where Proklos' 'Teiresias' might be an error for 'Kalchas'; on rival traditions concerning Kalchas' place of death and on seers dying during a homeward journey, see Finglass (2013c) 39–40.

1595 The return journey of the Argonauts by the same route was also employed by Soph. *Skyth.* fr. 547 *TrGF* 4; Eur. *Med.* 434–5; Kallim. fr. 9 (Pfeiffer).

1596 For a classification of authors relating the Argonauts' return journey into two groups, one narrating 'a fantastic journey round the edges of the known world and beyond (through Okeanos), and another one opting for a return by the same route, see Fowler, *EGM* II §6.6, pp. 227–8; see also West (2005) 41–2 (= 2011, 281).

1597 See Huxley (1969) 72; Matthews (1977) 203. But I am very skeptical about Matthews' tendency (1977, 203–5) to 'dig' for features of the *Carmen Naupactium* in every single 'Argonautic' reference to Herodoros.

1598 Fr. 53 *FHG* II, p. 40.

1599 The verb *ἀναζευνύναι/ἀναζευνύειν* means to 'yoke' or 'harness again'. It is also employed in the sense of 'moving off' an army (Hdt. 9.41: ἀναζεύξαντας ... τὸν στρατόν) or 'breaking up' a camp (Hdt. 9.58: ἀναζεύξαντας τὸ στρατόπεδον). In the context of the Apollonios Rhodios scholium none of these uses makes any sense.

1600 Fr. 52 *EGM*; see Huxley (1969) 71–2.

1601 *Carm. Naup.* fr. 6 *EGEF*: ἐφ' ἐστίασιν καλουμένων τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν κατ' ἐπιβουλὴν / Herodorus fr. 52 *EGM*: τὸν δὲ δόλωι καλέσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ δεῖπνον.

1602 See Matthews (1977) 201.

1603 See Matthews (1977) 201, *contra* Robert (19214, III.3.1 791 n. 4, 796) who thinks that μετ' ἄεθλον in *Carm. Naup.* fr. 6.3 *EGEF* designates only the killing of the dragon. The evidence of Ap. Rh. 1.15–17 (see also 1.362) is decisive.

1604 Matthews (1977, 201) claims that Pausanias is not the only one saying that Jason did not settle at Iolkos and lists several other sources (Pind. *N.* 4.54–8; Pher. fr. 62 *EGM*; [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 208, 209, 211 M–W), though only one of them (Pherekydes) refers to Jason. Matthews' argument is based on the fact that in all (but Pherekydes) of the sources mentioned above Akastos is king of Iolkos after Pelias.

1605 See Eum. *Kor.* fr. 24 *EGEF*.

1606 See my discussion of Eum. *Kor.* fr. 24, pp. 120–6.

1607 See Matthews (1977) 205, who lists some examples in which φόνος or κακόν are used to designate Pelias' murder: Pind. *P.* 4.250 (τὰν Πελίαο φόνον); Pher. fr. 105 *EGM* (τῷ Πελίαο κακόν); Ap. Rh. 3.1135 (κακὸν Πελήϊ). In addition, when there is a causal association between θάνατος and some ensuing development in a story, Pausanias basically employs a causal construction, not a temporal one as in *Carm. Naup.* fr. 9 *EGEF*: see 1.17.6 (καὶ οἱ θάνατον Λυκομήδης διὰ ταῦτα ἐβούλευσεν 'and because of these things Lykomedes plotted death/ murder against him'); 1.23.1, where the expression διὰ τὸν Ἰππάρχου θάνατον means 'because of the murder of Hipparchos'; 1.26.4, where the phrase διὰ τὸν Κάλω θάνατον designates the murder of Kalos by Daidalos; in 3.15.2 a temporal construction is used (μετὰ τὸν Ἰφίτου θάνατον 'after the murder of Iphitos) but it is accompanied by the expression καθαρσίῳ ἔνεκα ('so as to be cleansed [from the murder]') which reveals a causal association; in 7.4.6, the expression ὥς καὶ θάνατον τῷ Μίνωι βουλεύσαι τὰς γυναῖκας ἐς χάριν Δαιδάλου ('so that the women contrive the murder of Minos for the sake of Daidalos') pertains to the murder of Minos by Kokalos' daughters; and in 9.11.1 the phrase Ἀμφιτρώνα διὰ τὸν Ἥλεκτρυῶνος θάνατον φεύγοντα ἐκ Τίρυνθος clearly shows that Pausanias is referring to Amphitryon's exile from Tiryns because of the murder of Elektryon.

1608 For a full account of the various versions, see Gantz (1993) 365–73.

1609 Since the murder of Aison by Pelias made his (*sc.* Aison's) wife and mother of Jason commit suicide, Jason is *in extenso* avenging her death too.

1610 Matthews (1977) 205.

1611 μέγας βασιλεὺς ὑπερήνωρ, / ὕβριστῆς Πελῆϊς καὶ ἀτάσθαλος ὀβριμοεργός.

1612 ὕβριστῇ Πελήϊ τελέων χαλεπήρες ἄεθλον.

1613 See Matthews (1977) 206; Gantz (1993) 366.

1614 See Davies and Finglass (2014) 209–22.

1615 So Gantz (1993) 366.

1616 See Gantz (1993) 190.

1617 For reservations about the context of Soph. *Rhiz.* fr. 534 *TrGF* 4, see Lloyd-Jones (2003) 268–9, who suggests that while at Kolchis Medea 'used the herb Prometheion to protect Jason during his ordeal' (269).

1618 In Ap. Rh. (4.982–1222) the Argonauts pass from Korkyra (Drepane) on their way to Iolkos. The context is completely different from the one pertaining to Jason's resettling at Korkyra in the *Carmen Naupactium*.

1619 See *GEF*, p. 33 and p. 281 n. 45.

1620 The author of the *Carmen Naupactium* is not familiar with a Medea murdering her children; see Friedländer (1914) 315–6; *RE* 15.1 s.v. 'Mermeros', col. 1037; Pfeiffer (1922) 72–3 n. 3; Will (1955) 107 n. 1; Vian (1974) xxx n. 2.

1621 On the location of this Ephyre in Thesprotia, see Hammond (1967) 446–7, on the basis of Thouk. 1.46.4 and Strabo 7.7.5; see also Σ Hom. *Od.* 1.259a1–c (II 135.20–136.27 Pontani); Eust. on Hom. *Od.* 1448.22–3 (I 101.22–3 Stallbaum) and 1448.29–30 (I 101.29–30 Stallbaum); Apollod. *FGrHist* 244 F180.

1622 On the connection between Corinthian Ephyre and Medea, see Eum. *Kor.* fr. 18, 21, 24 *EGEF* (see also fr. 1 and 20).

1623 Matthews (1977) 206.

1624 See Meuli (1921); West (2005) 39–64.

1625 See Münzel (1883) 21–5; on Dietze's *Dreiquellentheorie* and a possible stemma of the various sources pertaining to this issue, see Henrichs (1975) 6–8.

1626 The name of Apollodoros (the grammarian) that is mentioned at the top of the list of authors given in the Σ Eur. *Alk.* 1 (II 216.16 Schwartz = Pher. fr. 35 *EGM*) with respect to the death of Asklepios is rightly treated by Münzel as the ultimate source of the entire list, according to a practice of the scholiast to designate first the source of all the other sources; see also Henrichs (1975) 10; Carrière and Massonnie (1991) 234; Cameron (2004) 103.

1627 Philodemos is the earliest among our extant sources offering a list of authors who had

dealt with Asklepios' punishment by Zeus because of his raising the dead or healing the wounded. But he is not the common source from which all other sources ('Apollodoros', the Σ to Euripides, the Σ to Pindar, and Sextos Empeirikos) draw from; see Cameron (2004) 101–2, who shows that all the abovementioned sources offer selections from the same rich dossier.

1628 See Zucker (1904) 12–13; Henrichs (1975) 8; Carrière and Massonie (1991) 233–4. Van der Valk (1958, 106–14) had opted for Apollodoros the mythographer but his view is not convincing; see Cameron (2004) 100–2. It has to be noted too that despite the fact that in Wagner's edition of Apollodoros' *Bibliothèque* the list of authors relating the thunderbolting of Asklepios by Zeus is bracketed, there are good reasons in support of its authenticity. In his own edition, Papathomopoulos rightly does not bracket it; see Cameron (2004) 100, who leaves open the possibility that this list was inserted into an earlier draft of the *Bibliothèque* by Apollodoros himself.

1629 See Henrichs (1975) 8.

1630 See Heyne (1783) II 701–4.

1631 = fr. 26 *PEG* = 19 *EGF* = 5 *GEF*.

1632 The same episode seems to be implied in Tib. 2.3.11.

1633 Of the early sources of this episode, only Stesichoros, Pherekydes, and Pindar explain Zeus' punishment as a result of his anger against Asklepios for raising the dead. Among later authors, Diodoros Sikelos and Hyginus do exactly the same thing. Hesiod and Akousilaos also refer to Asklepios' death but, since they survive in fragmentary form, we do not know how they explained it. Akousilaos mentions also Apollo's punishment by Zeus (fr. 18 *EGM*), as does Andron (fr. 3 and, perhaps, 16A *EGM*). Later authors explain Asklepios' punishment not by raising the dead, but by using his healing power: according to Polyarchos or Polyanthos of Kyrene (*FGrHist* 37 F1a–b), Asklepios had healed the daughters of Proitos, according to Telesarchos (*FGrHist* 309 F2), Orion; Sophokles (*Phin. A* and *B*[?] fr. 710 *TrGF*) seems to had him cure from blindness one of the Phineidai (on this point, see Lloyd-Jones 2003, 337 on fr. 710), while Phylarchos had him cure both of them (*FGrHist* 81 F18).

1634 For the references to the previous authors in this list, see above.

1635 Pindar (*P.* 3.55–8) does not give any name but refers to money as the motive of Asklepios' act.

1636 Since any discussion of whether Apollo avenged his son death (by killing the Kyklopes or their sons) or not would have been mere guesswork, I refrain from treating this topic; for a useful analysis, see Gantz (1993) 92; Fowler, *EGM* II §19.2, p. 78.

1637 See Soph. (*Phin. A* and *B*[?] fr. 710 *TrGF*); Phyl. *FGrHist* 81 F18.

1638 *Kor.* fr. *23 *EGEF*.

1639 *Bibl.* 3.9.16.

1640 *Ach.* 1.157; *Theb.* 5.432.

1641 *Fab.* 14.

1642 See Vian (1974) 244.

1643 The same version was adopted by the poets Kinesias (fr. 774 *PMG*) and Telestes (fr. 807 *PMG*), whose *floruit* is the late fifth century BC.

1644 So Gantz (1993) 288.

1645 See e.g. Ov. *Met.* 15.497–546.

1646 It is omitted from *GEF*.

1647 The translation is by West (2003b, 371) with a few modifications.

1648 (18652) I 237; (1849) II 422–4. See also Kinkel (1877) 63; Schmid (1929) 222.

1649 The association with Herakles has been made for the first time by Robert (19214) II.2 624–5 on the basis of the poem's title.

1650 Pausanias' references to the *Minyas* (4.33.7; 9.5.9; 10.28.2; 10.31.3) do not include even a single mention to Herakles.

1651 (1952) 141–8.

1652 Càssola (1952) 141–4.

1653 See *GEF*, p. 33.

1654 I owe this point to M. L. West (personal communication).

1655 (1952) 144–6.

1656 M. L. West (personal communication) reminds me that one cannot rule out the possibility that the *Phokais* might have taken in more recent historical events, like Mimnermos' elegiac *Smyrneis*.

1657 (1952) 146–8.

1658 *EGF*, *praeefatio*.

1659 See Burkert (1962) 39 n. 14, who rejects Wendel's emendation; see also Pher. fr. 47 *EGM*.

1660 For the translation, see *GEF*, p. 285.

1661 See Wilamowitz (1914) 25; Jacoby (1922) 373; *RE* 20.1 s.v. 'Phoronis' 2, col. 646 (Stoessl); *GEF*, pp. 33–4.

1662 Conversely, we have solid information that Io's tale featured in the epic *Danaïs* (see below).

1663 See fr. 1–5 *EGM*.

1664 See fr. 23–8 *EGM*.

1665 *FGrHist* 304 F1; see *EGM* II, §7.1.1 pp. 237–9.

1666 Schmid (1929) 294.

1667 P.Oxy. 2260 i 3.

1668 Clem. *Strom.* 1.102.6.

1669 Clem. *Strom.* 1.164.2.

1670 Σ Ap. Rh. 1.1126–1131b (p. 102.1 Wendel).

1671 Strab. 10.3.19; *EGen^B* s.v. ἐπιούριος (*teste* Alpers) and *EM* 374.22–3 (Gaisford).

1672 Phoroneus is the only Argive *Urmensch* who functioned as a counterpart of Deukalion. He may well have been embraced by both Tiryns and Argos at a very early date; see Fowler, *EGM* II §7.1.1, p. 236 and §7.1.2, p. 240. Another mythical inventor associated with the Argolid was Palamedes; see Thraede (1962) 163. On Deukalion's function as the first man, first inventor of cities, first founder of temples for gods, and first king (with a description remarkably similar to Phoroneus), see Ap. Rh. 3.1088–9.

1673 See Gantz (1993) 198. For example, in Bacch. 19.18, [Aisch.] *PV* 589, Hdt. 1.3, Soph. *El.* 5 (as well as the fragmentary play *Inachos*), and Kallim. *Hymn.* 3.254, Io is the daughter of Inachos. The entire 'Argive' line 'Phoroneus>Niobe>Peiren' between Inachos and Io is absent; see Fowler, *EGM* II §7.1.1, p. 235.

1674 *RE* 20.1 s.v. 'Phoronis' 2, col. 646 (Stoessl).

1675 See also Eum. *Eur.* fr. 28 *EGEF* and the discussion above.

1676 Robert (19204) II.1 279; *RE* 20.1 s.v. 'Phoronis' 2, col. 646 (Stoessl); Schmid (1929) 294.

1677 Thraede (1962) 160.

1678 See Hyg. *Fab.* 143.1: *qui primus mortalium dicitur regnasse* 'who is said to have been the first human to rule'.

1679 *Phor.* fr. 2.5 *EGEF*, 4.3 *EGEF*; see also *RE* 20.1 s.v. 'Phoronis' 2, col. 646–7 (Stoessl).

1680 See Ruiz de Elvira (1971) 88–9.

1681 See Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.1; Σ Lyk. 177 (II 86.23 Scheer); Σ Pl. *Tim.* 22a (p. 282 Greene); Σ *Eur. Or.* 1246 (I, 211.21 Schwartz).

1682 *Bibl.* 2.1.1. According to Robert (1920, I 280 n. 5), the name Τηλεδίκη may have been formed on the basis of the cultural mission and spiritual qualities of her husband Phoroneus.

1683 177 (II 86.25 Scheer).

1684 *Tim.* 22a (p. 282 Greene). This Telodike is, according to the Platonic scholia, the daughter of Xouthos and Neobe (*sic*). This 'peculiar' spelling is also attested in a 2nd c. BC inscription from Argos with respect to the daughter of Phoroneus and Peitho (see below).

1685 *Or.* 932 (I 189.18–19 Schwartz), 1246 (I 211.23 Schwartz); see also a new inscription (2nd c. BC) from Argos (edited by O. Psychogiou and published in *Bull. Épigra.* n. 228 [in *REG* 122 (2009) 439]); Fowler, *EGM* II, §7.1.2, p. 240 n. 12: τόνδε τάφον λαοὶ τεύξαν βασιλῆϊ Φορωνεῖ / κτίστορι πρεσβίστηϊ Ἰναχίας πόλεως / ὃς δεῖξεν ναίειν τε πάτρην χρῆσθαι τε νόμοισι / πρῶτος ἀποστρέψας ἀγριότητα βίου / τῷ δ' υἱοὺς Ἄπιν τε καὶ Εὐρώπα Αἰγιαλῇ

τε / καὶ Νεόβην [*sic*] Πειθῷ γείνατο καλλίκομος / πρώτη δὲ θνητὴ μάκαρος Διὸς ἦλθεν ἐς
εὐνὴν / τεῦξέν τε ἀνθρώπων ἡμιθέων γένεσιν.

1686 2.21.1.

1687 See *RE* 20.1 s.v. 'Phoroneus', col. 645 (Schmidt).

1688 See West (1985, 76), who argues that the author of the [Hesiodic] *Cat.* and Akousilaos 'agreed about Argos being the son of Niobe and Zeus'.

1689 See Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.1: Νιόβης δὲ καὶ Διὸς (ἥ πρώτη γυναικὶ Ζεὺς θνητῇ ἐμίγη) παῖς Ἄργος ἐγένετο, ὥς δὲ Ἀκουσίλαός φησι (fr. 25 *EGM*), καὶ Πελασγός, ἀφ' οὗ κληθῆναι τοὺς τὴν Πελοπόννησον οἰκοῦντας Πελασγούς 'From Niobe and Zeus (with whom being the first mortal woman Zeus had intercourse) Argos was born, and as Akousilaos says, Pelasgos too, from whom those who inhabit the Peloponnese were called Pelasgians'; Σ Lyk. 177 [II 86.27–31 Scheer] (Νιόβης τῆς Ἄπιδος ἀδελφῆς καὶ Διὸς Ἄργος, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ χώρα, κατὰ δὲ Ἀκουσίλαον (fr. 25 *EGM*) καὶ Πελασγός σὺν Ἄργῳ, ἀφ' οὗ ἡ ἀπὸ Πελοποννήσου χώρα ἡ καὶ Ἀπία λεγομένη μέχρι Φαρσαλίας καὶ Λαρίσσης Πελασγία ἐκλήθη 'From Niobe the sister of Apis and Zeus Argos was born, hence the land, and according to Akousilaos Pelasgos was born together with Argos, hence the land of the Peloponnese and the so-called Apia until Pharsalia and Larissa were called Pelasgia').

1690 See *RE* 20.1 s.v. 'Phoroneus', col. 645 (Schmidt).

1691 See Fowler, *EGM* II §7.1.1, p. 237.

1692 See *RE* 20.1 s.v. 'Phoronis' 2, col. 647 (Stoessl).

1693 On the Idaian Daktyloi, see Lobeck (1829) 1156–81; Preller and Robert (18944) I 657–8; Hemberg (1952) 41–59; Fowler, *EGM* II, §1.7.3, pp. 43–5; on their relation to the *Phoronis*, see Blakely (2006) 192–214. Although in *Phor.* fr. 1 *EGEF* they are named γόητες Ἰδαῖοι, it is clear that the poet of this epic is referring to the Idaian Daktyloi.

1694 Hemberg (1952, 41–44) has collected all the ancient sources referring to the Idaian Daktyloi, classifying them into three sets: (a) the largest set comprises sources referring to the Daktyloi as smiths and demonic sorcerers; (b) a smaller set of sources pertains to the designation of Titias and Kyllenos or one of them as Daktyloi; and (c) an even smaller set of sources pertains to Herakles being a Daktyl. My analysis will only deal with the first set representing the earliest known material.

1695 See Hesych. ι 158 (II 346 Latte). Since (a) the Apollonios Rhodios-scholium is in response to the appearance of the Idaian Daktyloi at the dance performed by the Argonauts for the Great Mother at Mt Dindymon in Phrygia, and (b) they are designated as Φρύγες ἄνδρες ('Phrygian men'), it is likely that the scene described in the *Phoronis*-fragment should be placed in Phrygia too. On the importance of the exotic location of Phrygia and the liminality of the Idaian Daktyloi designated as γόητες ('sorcerers'), see below.

1696 Pher. fr. 47 *EGM*; Hesych. ι 158 (II 346 Latte); *EM* 465.31–2 (Gaisford).

1697 Apoll. Rh. 1.1129; Mnaseas fr. 30 (Cappelletto).

1698 Stesimbr. *FGrHist* 107 F12a (*ap. EM* 465.32–40 [Gaisford]). The same version is reported by the Σ Paus. 5.7.6 (p. 148 Spiro), which adds the information that the name Δάκτυλοι originated from the fact that Zeus' nurses used their fingers to throw the dust. The *EM* (465.30–1 [Gaisford]), which on this point depends on the Σ Paus. 5.7.6 (p. 148 Spiro), places this last detail before the 'dust story'.

1699 Σ Paus. 5.7.6 (p. 148 Spiro) and *EM* 465.32–3 (Gaisford).

1700 Polydeukes 2.156 (I 131.9–11 Bethe).

1701 Soph. *Κωφοὶ Σάτυροι* fr. *366 *TrGF*.

1702 Hellan. fr. 89 *EGM*; see also Ambaglio (1980) 106 on fr. 7 (89).

1703 Polydeukes 2.156 (I 131.11–13 Bethe).

1704 Ap. Rh. 1.1129–31; Varr. *Atac. Argon.* 1.3.1–3 (*FPL* p. 233); Nonn. *Dion.* 14.24–6. see also Diom. *Gramm.* 1.478.21–5 (*GL*), where Rheia placed her hands on the mountainside while in labor, with the result that the Daktyloi were born.

1705 See Stesimbr. *FGrHist* 107 F12b (*ap. Σ Ap. Rh.* 1126–31a [p. 101.3–5 Wendel]).

1706 See Eliade (1977) 86–7; Burkert (1962) 39; Fowler, *EGM* II § 1.7.1, p. 35, § 1.7.3, pp. 43–5.

1707 *FGrHist* 70 F 104 (in Diod. Sik. 5.64): ὑπάρξαντας δὲ γόητας ἐπιτηδεῦσαι τὰς τε ἐπιδασκαλίας καὶ μυστήρια, καὶ περὶ Σαμοθράκιαν διατρίψαντας οὐ μετρίως ἐν τούτοις ἐκπλήττειν τοὺς ἐγγχωρίους· καθ' ὃν δὴ χρόνον καὶ τὸν Ὀρφέα, φύσει διαφόρῳ κεχορηγημένον πρὸς ποίησιν καὶ μελωιδίαν, μαθητὴν γενέσθαι τούτων, καὶ πρῶτον εἰς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐξενεγκεῖν τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια. See also Diod. Sik. 3.74 and 5.64 in reference to Idaian Herakles. I owe this point to Burkert (1962) 39 n. 16.

1708 See also Soph. *Κωφοὶ Σάτυροι* fr. 364 and *366 *TrGF* 4.

1709 The meeting of the Idaian Daktyloi with Rheia must be placed in Phrygia; see Mnaseas (fr. 30 Cappelletto), who in the first book of his work *On Asia* explains their name on the basis of the names of the father (Daktylos) and their mother (Ida). Since this information was included in a work on Asia, it is much more likely that the Phrygian and not the Cretan Mt Ida is meant. The information offered by the *Marmor Parium* (*FGrHist* 239 F 11) is uncertain due to textual problems, though the reference to Crete is much more likely due to Minos.

1710 Cf. Plin. *NH* 7.197 (= [Hes.] fr. 282 M–W): *aes conflare et temperare Aristoteles* (fr. 924 Gigon) *Lydum Scythen monstrasse, Theophrastus Delam Phrygem putant, aerariam fabricam alii Chalybas, alii Cyclopas, ferrum Hesiodus in Creta eos qui vocati sunt Dactyli Idaei* ('Aristotle claims that the Lydian Skythes showed how to refine and use bronze, Theophrastos [claims that it was] Delas the Phrygian; others claim that the Chalybes showed the craft of refining bronze, others the Kyklopes; Hesiod those called Idaian Daktyloi [who showed how to refine] iron'); Clem. *Strom.* 1.16.75: Κέλμεις τε αὐτὰ καὶ Δαμναμενεὺς οἱ τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων πρῶτοι σίδηρον εὗρον ἐν Κύπρῳ, <ὡς δὲ Ἡσίοδος ἐν Κρήτῃ M–W> Ἐέλας δὲ ἄλλος Ἰδαῖος εὗρε χαλκοῦ κρᾶσιν, ὡς δὲ <Ἀριστοτέλης M–W : Ἡσίοδος codd.>, Σκύθης ('Kelmis and Damnameus of the Idaian Daktyloi first discovered iron in Cyprus, <according to Hesiod in Crete,> and Delas, another Idaian, discovered the mixing of bronze, and according <to Aristotle M–W : Hesiod codd.>, Skythes').

1711 Huxley (1969) 31.

1712 For taking Pliny's *Lydum Scythen* as 'Lydian Skythes' instead of 'Skythian Lydos', see Fortenbaugh (2014) 164–5; see also [Hes.] *Id. Dakt.* fr. 282 M–W and Most's translation (fr. 217a–b, pp. 295, 297).

1713 See Huxley (1969) 31. On Akmon, see also my comments on Eum. *Tit.* fr. 1A–B *EGEF* (above).

1714 On the textual problems of Clement's version, see the critical apparatus in the edition of the Hesiodic fragments by Merkelbach and West (on fr. 282).

1715 κ 2175 (II 459 Latte). Hesychios (κ 2176 [II 459 Latte]) calls one of the Idaian Daktyloi Κέλμης (*sic*).

1716 Kallimachos (*Ait.* fr. 100 [Harder]) refers to a primeval sculptor named Σκέλμης; see Harder (2012) II, 762–3. Fowler (*EGM* II, §1.7.3, p. 43 n. 162) is right in suggesting caution against pressing too much the distinction between the discovery and refinement of iron, as argued by Blakely (2006) 209–10.

1717 See Eur. *Alk.* 980: τὸν ἐν Χαλύβοις δαμάξεις σὺ βίαι σίδαρον; ('do you tame by force the iron among the Chalyboi?').

1718 Strab. 10.3.22.

1719 On the identification of right with male and left with female in early Greek thought, see Parm. 28 A 54, B 17 D–K; Anaxagoras 59 A 107 DK; Pythagoreans 58 B30 D–K; see also E. Lesky (1950) 1263–93; Vidal-Naquet (1986) 64–6; Lloyd (1962) 56–66 (= 1991, 27–48); (1966) 37–41; Wirth (2010). In Pherekydes (fr. 47 *EGM*) male Daktyloi undo spells, whereas female Daktyloi are sorcerers casting spells. In Sophokles (fr. 364–6 *TrGF* 4), it is only the males (five this time) who are considered responsible for the discovery and refinement of metal.

1720 Fowler (*EGM* II §1.7.3, pp. 43–4) highlights the fact that the only piece of information we possess in reference to the dwarfish size of the Idaian Daktyloi is Paus. 8.31.3 (citing as

his source Onomakritos [*Orph. test.* 193 Kern]), according to whom there was a statue of Herakles in Megalopolis only one cubit in height. On the other hand, as Fowler (l.c.) observes, it is a widespread belief that magical craftsmen and smiths are dwarfish. This is the case with the Kabeiroi in Greece; see Dasen (1993) 197.

1721 *FGrHist* 107 F12b (*ap. Σ Ap. Rh.* 1.1126–31a [101.3–5 Wendel]): ὅτι δὲ νύμφη τῆς Οἰαξίδος γῆς δραξαμένη τοὺς καλουμένους Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους ἐποίησε, παρὰ Στησιμβρότου εἴληφε ('He [*sc.* Apollonios Rhodios] has taken from Stesimbrotos that a nymph grasping with her hands the land of Oiax created the so-called Idaian Daktyloi'). In Serv. in Virg. *Ecl.* 1.65 (III.2 27.15–16 and 28.2–3 Thilo-Hagen) Oaxes is the son of Apollo and Anchiale.

1722 See e.g. Strab. 10.3.22.

1723 So Blakely (2006) 210–11. Her description rests on ancient sources such as (e.g.) Lucret. 5.1241–57; Sen. *Epistl.* 90.12; Poseid. *FGrHist* 87 F 48 (*ap. Athen.* 6.233d); Arist. *De mir. ausc.* 837a24–6; Diod. Sik. 5.35.2–4; Manil. 1.856–7. It may also be relevant to the fact that in antiquity iron was smelted in the ground; see West (1966) 395 on *Th.* 865.

1724 Hesych. ι 184 (II 347 Latte); *EM* 465.59 (Gaisford); see also Hdt. 4.109.

1725 See Wilamowitz (1931) I 279; Hemberg (1952) 45; Blakely (2006) 210 and n. 97.

1726 See West (1978) 188–9 on *Op.* 150.

1727 Paus. 2.19.5; see Robert (19204) II.1 279; Huxley (1969) 32.

1728 For a different view, see Kaibel (1901) 488–99; Kleingünther (1933) 27.

1729 Blakely (2006) 193.

1730 Blakely (2006) 196–8.

1731 Blakely (2006) 198.

1732 Notice the stress on the prestigious status of iron in *Phor.* fr. 2: ἰόνετα (6) and ἀριπρεπές (7).

1733 See Bourdieu (1987); Earle (1987); Peregrine (1991); Helms (1993).

1734 Blakely (2006) 201.

1735 Blakely (2006) 202.

1736 See *RE* 20.1 s.v. 'Phoronis' 2, col. 648 (Stoessl).

1737 E.g. Hom. *Il.* 22.450, 24.354; Hom. *Od.* 11.610, 18.221.

1738 *HHymn to Helios* (31) 19.

1739 Hom. *Il.* 23.240 and Hom. *Od.* 12.280 respectively.

1740 See also Plin. *NH* 7.197 (= [Hes.] *Id. Dakt.* fr. 282 M–W), who employs the infinitive *monstrasse* (rendering in Latin the verb δεικνύειν?) with respect to the blending and tempering of bronze (*aes conflare et temperare*) by the Lydian Skythes and Delas of Phrygia, two of the Idaian Daktyloi. Cf. Thraede (1962, 162), who claims that 'the transition between history and myth, culture and cult, has led to the use of εὐρίσκειν in its profane-neutral meaning having the same sense with (κατα)δεικνύναι'.

1741 Bethe (1889) 413 n. 2.

1742 It has been rejected by Poerner (1913) 380.

1743 See *Cat.* fr. 10a.17–19/10b M–W; also West (1985) 59; Hirschberger (2004) 183 on [Hes.] *Cat.* fr. 5.19 (= 10a.19 M–W).

1744 Blakely (2006) 195.

1745 Fowler, *EGM* II §1.7.5, p. 53. On the Kouretes clanging their shields in celebration for the newborn Zeus in Crete and the orientalizing bronze shields from Ida in Crete, testifying to the fact that the shield dance formed part of an initiation festival in the 8th c. BC, see Burkert (1977) 168.

1746 See *RE* 4.2 s.v. 'Daktyloi', cols. 2019–20 (Kern).

1747 See Fowler, *EGM* II §1.7.5, p. 50.

1748 Fowler, *EGM* II §1.7.5, p. 50.

1749 Pausanias (9.27.8) takes Herakles of Erythrai to be an Idaian Daktyl; see Fowler, *EGM* II §1.7.3, p. 44 n. 167; also Paus. 7.5.5.

1750 10.3.22.

1751 See Strab. 10.3.21. What is said about the nine Kouretes and the Korybantes as the

offspring of the first hundred people born in Crete and called Idaian Daktyloi in Strabo (10.3.22) cannot come from Demetrios of Skepsis but from a source that ‘avait voulu résoudre le problème de la contradiction des témoignages homériques ... et non se prononcer sur l’origine des Dactyles’ (Lasserre 1971, 136). See also Radt (2002) VII 200 on Strab. 10.22.10–11 (= 473C 26–7).

1752 See Huxley (1959) 95–9 and, in particular, 97. Huxley stresses the fact that during the apex of their power in the 8th c. BC the Phrygians must have controlled the area around Mt Sipylos that was rich in metal resources; see Strab. 14.5.28.

1753 Fr. 3 *EGEF*: πα]ρὰ δὲ τῷ ποι[σαν]τι τὴν Δανα[ῖδα] μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν θε]εράπον[τ]ες [οἱ Κου]ρῆτες (‘According to the author of the *Danaï*s, the Kouretes are the servants of the Mother of the Gods’).

1754 See Huxley (1969) 37.

1755 On a connection between the Idaian Daktyloi and music, which must have been developed on the basis of the sounds produced by the refining of metals, see *RE* 4.2 s.v. ‘Daktyloi’, col. 2020 (Kern), where attention is brought to [Plut.] *Mus.* 1132f (naming [on the authority of Alexander Polyhistor *FGrHist* 273 F77] the Idaian Daktyloi as the ones who, after Olympus, brought notes/ melody to the Greeks); Polydeukes 2.156 (I 131.9 Bethe: καὶ δάκτυλος ὁ ῥυθμός ‘dactyl [is called] the rhythm’); Solin. 11.6 p. 72.12–15 Mommsen² (*studium musicum inde coeptum, cum Idaei dactyli modulos crepitu ac tinnitu aeris deprehensos in versificum ordinem transtulissent* ‘thence the study of music started, when the Idaian Daktyloi transferred the scales caught by the crackling and ringing of the air into a verse sequence’).

1756 *De Daedalis Plataeensisibus* fr. 158 (Sandbach) [in Eus. *Præp. evang.* 3.7.5.–8.1 p. 99ab (1.124.9 ff. Mras)].

1757 No connection should be made between Kallimachos' Skelmis (codd.) or Kelmis (οὐ πῶς Κέλμιον ἔργον, suggested by Gallavotti 1962, 294–6, and followed by Fraser 1972, II 1020–1 n. 96; the confusion is already there in Roscher, IV 990 [Höfer]), since the Idaian Daktyl under the name Kelmis was exclusively a metalworker and has nothing to do with wooden *xoana*; see Jacoby (1922) 367 n. 1; Pfeiffer (1934) 19.

1758 The translation is by Nisetich (2001) 159.

1759 Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.2.

1760 Paus. 2.25.8.

1761 On Kallithyia as the first priestess of Hera at Argos, see Σ Arat. *Phain.* 161 [161.14–16 Martin]; Africanus (in Georg. Synkell. p. 175.3 Mosshamer); and Eus. (via Hieron.) p. 37^c (Helm), where the peculiar expression '*Callithias, Pirantis filius*' is used. See also Mellén (1901) 19–20.

1762 See Fowler (*EGM* II §7.1.1, p. 239 n. 11), who rightly notes that the variant Καλλιθήη shows that the form Καλλιθύεσσα is not associated with sacrifice; see Hesych. ι 1185 (II 384 Latte): Καλλιθύεσσα ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ πρώτη ἰέρεια τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς [H, La] [τῆς ἐν Ἀργεὶ Ἥρας Knaack; τῆς Ἀνθείας <Ἥρας> Latte, on the basis of Paus. 2.22.1] ('Kallithyessa was called the first priestess of Athena [or: of Hera at Argos; or; of Hera Antheia]'). This is fr. 769 incert. auct. (Pf.), which has been considered (Pfeiffer *ad loc.*) to belong to [Hesiod] (*Cat.* fr. *125 M–W) on the basis of the mention of Io, whose father Peiren featured in [Hesiod] (*Cat.* fr. 124 M–W [in Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.5.1]).

1763 Harder (2012) II 759.

1764 *FGrHist* 304 F1; see Fowler, *EGM* II §7.1.1, p. 238.

1765 See Fowler, *EGM* II §7.1.1, p. 238.

1766 Dowden (1989) 119.

1767 Paus. 7.18.1, 7.22.1. See Meyer (1892) I 91; *RE* 19.1 s.v. 'Peiranthos', cols. 101–2 and s.v. 'Peiren' (1) cols. 105–6 (Krischan); Roscher, III 1753–4 (Höfer) and III 1754–5 (Jessen); for more details, see Fowler, *EGM* II §7.1.1, p. 238 n. 8.

1768 (2012) II 760. See also Donohue (1988) 133–4 and 195–6.

1769 7.4.4. See also Menod. Sam. *FGrHist* 541 F1.

1770 2.17.5.

1771 Fowler, *EGM* II §7.1.1, p. 238.

1772 Fowler, *EGM* II §7.1.1, p. 238.

1773 Huxley (1969) 34. The Herodotean reference plays on the double meaning of the word Ἄργος that Kleomenes misunderstands as the city instead of the hero to whom the Delphic oracle was referring. Huxley links this Herodotean story with Akousilaos (fr. 27 *EGM*), arguing that the Mycenaean grove in which Argos guarded Io, having been transformed into a heifer, was in the original version the grove near Tiryns.

1774 See Wehrli (1972) 88.

1775 So in *GEF*; *PEG* and *EGF* have περί. On the accentuation πέρι, ἄπο, ὕπο, see Monro (18912) 167.

1776 See now West xix and n. 44: 'non in sensu est discrimen sed in syntaxi'.

1777 (1969) 34.

1778 See Latte (1955) 193.

1779 All standard etymological dictionaries (*GEW*, *DELG*, *EDG* s.v. ἐριούνιος) note that the explanation of ἐριούνιος by ancient authorities, on the basis of various words pertaining to the second part of the compound (οὖνης, οὔνιος) and referring to Hermes' paragonal ability for theft, are mistaken. Following Latte (1955, 192–5, who has drawn attention to a suggestion made by Bergk 1856, 384 [see also Leumann 1950, 123]), οὔνον has been associated with a Cypriot word for δρόμος ('course, path, road') and Arkadian οὔνει (for οὔνη) meaning 'over here!', 'run!'. This is further corroborated by the Cypriot name Φιλούνιος corresponding to the Attic name Φιλόδρομος (Latte 1955, 194). If this explanation holds true, then ἐριούνιος

would mean ‘fast runner’ reflecting another ability of Hermes as the messenger of gods. Messengers, after all, are often characterized as fast (e.g. Hom. *Il.* 18.2; Hom. *Od.* 15.526; *HHymn to Dem.* 2.407; *HHymn to Pan* 19.29). Differently, Masson (1961) 256, who argues that if Latte’s suggestion was correct, then the syllabic script should have been *pi-lo-u-ni*, not *pi-lo-ni*. Masson maintains that the false diphthong ου in Φιλ-ούνιος reflects a pronunciation with a closed *ō*, Φιλώνιος.

1780 For Hermes as guardian of Io, see Mellén (1901) 15–22.

1781 See Huxley (1969) 34.

1782 On Io being a priestess of Hera, see e.g. Apollod. *Bibl.* 2.1.3 (ταύτην ἱερωσύνην τῆς Ἥρας ἔχουσαν Ζεὺς ἔφθειρε ‘Zeus raped her [Io] who had the priesthood of Hera’); see the analysis of the previous fragment.

1783 See Fowler, *EGM* II §7.1.1, pp. 239–40.

1784 See Gantz (1993) 198.

1785 The translation is based on Smith and Trzaskoma (2007, 147) with a few modifications.

1786 P.Oxy. 1241, col. 4, 3–5.

1787 See Kakridis (1980) 50.

1788 *Fab.* 143: *itaque exordium regnandi tradidit Phoroneo, ob id beneficium quod Iunoni sacra primus fecit*; see also Kakridis (1980) 51 and 173 n. 13. For the establishment of the first temple in honor of Hera, see the discussion under ‘Plot’ (above).

1789 Kakridis (1980) 52.

1790 This line of thought is further corroborated by the fact that according to Hyg. (*Fab.* 274.8) and Cassiodorus (*Var.* 7.18.2) Phoroneus was the first inventor of weapons. Arms were, obviously, not needed under the rule of Zeus, since men spoke a single language, and there were no disputes among them.

1791 See Kakridis (1980) 174 n. 27.

1792 (1963) 104; see also Kakridis (1980) 56.

1793 Sept. *Gen.* 11.4–8.

1794 See Hom. *Od.* 11.305–20; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.7.4 (with a couple of additional details); Hyg. *Fab.* 28; see Gantz (1993) 170–1.

1795 Hom. *Il.* 24.602–17; see Gantz (1993) 536–40.

1796 *Fab.* 143.

1797 See Kleingünther (1933) 27–8.

1798 Thraede (1962, 158–86) offers a detailed analysis of what he calls the ‘Heuremata-Kataloge’ genre, which dealt with the first inventors of various things. Our principal ancient sources for this genre, the life of which continued down to the Middle Ages, are Pliny and Hyginus, as well as some authors who were active during the long period of christianization of the Greek East, such as Tatian, Clement of Alexandria, Eusebios, Gregory of Nazianzos, and Theodoretos of Kyrrhos (158).

1799 On πρῶτος εὐρετής, see Kleingünther (1933) 27–8.

1800 (1952) 109.

1801 (1958) 115–17; see e.g. the etymologizing of Παλλάς (a standard epithet of Athena) from the verb πάλλω (‘leap’) by recourse to her birth that was interpreted as a form of ‘leap’ from Zeus’ head in full armor (πανοπλία). That Apollodoros dealt with the etymology of Παλλάς (from the skin of the giant Pallas whom Athena killed in the Gigantomachy) in his work *Peri theon* is also known from P.Köln III 126 (= P.Colon. inv. 5604), in which he adduces relevant material from Epicharmos and the epic *Meropis*.

1802 In Soph. *Oid. Kol.* 1054 the epithet ἐγρεμάχαν designates Theseus.

1803 On δολιχάρορος (attested only in *Philetas* fr. 21.1 [Spanoudakis = *SH* 674.1], see Spanoudakis (2002) 218–20 on 21.1e and 21.1g.

1804 Under the proviso that the dative plural ἀγομέ[νοις] modifies a preceding ὅμιν.

1805 As Hera presided over Argolis from her sanctuary, the Heraion, so Athena protected the urban space, having two major cult sites in the akropolis of Larisa (Athena Polias and on the hill called Aspis, where she was worshipped as Oxyderkes (‘clear-sighted’)). See also Billot

(1997/8, 19 and n. 93), who notes that Zeus and Athena exercised in Argos a poliadic function, as is the case in Tiryns and elsewhere. There were identical *xoana* of Athena in her temples both at Larisa and Lessa (Paus. 2.25.10); see Billot (1997/8) 27; Serghidou (2001) 70 n. 74; Deacy (2008) 128–9. The special link between Athena and Argos can be seen, among other things, in that it was believed that the wooden xoanon of Athena, the Palladion, was stolen by Diomedes from Troy and dedicated to Argos ‘because the goddess removed the mist from his eyes when he was fighting at Troy’ (see Paus. 2.24.2). Another important aspect of Athena (concerning her musical associations) is that of Athena *Salpinx*, on whom see Serghidou (2001) 57–74.

1806 Fragments with an asterisk indicate citations deprived of an ascription. The order of presentation is alphabetical. Testimonies are not included in these lists.

1807 Tables with comparative numeration of fragments are provided only for those authors for whom my edition differs from the numeration adopted in major previous editions. In this light, Kinaithon, Asios, Hegesinous, Chersias, the *Phokais*, and the *Danais* are omitted.